Eros and Ritual in Ancient Literature

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Eros and Ritual in Ancient Literature

Singing of Atalanta, Daphnis, and Orpheus

Evangelia Anagnostou-Laoutides

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"I read somewhere of a shepherd who, when
asked why he made, from within fairy rings,
ritual observances to the moon to protect his
flocks, replied: 'I'd be a damn' fool if I didn't.'
These poems, with all their crudities, doubts,
and confusions, are written for the love of
Man and in praise of God, and I'd be a damn'
fool if they weren't."

Dylan Thomas 1956
Preface to his collection *Adventures in the Skin Trade and Other Poems.*

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E. A.-L.
Aberystwyth, August 2003

INTRODUCTION

THE MYTHS

For many years, the study of Greek mythology as a major aspect of Greek culture was haunted by the aura of a superlative society that almost stood alone among the other peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean and had practically invented every value related to human development. As a result of this view, our appreciation of Greek myths was doomed to remain limited and our understanding of their social function could not proceed further than the safe speculation that they must have played a significant role in ancient social structure either by reflecting it or by interpreting it.[1] In more recent days the rising of comparative studies[2] which coincided with

[1] F. Graf 1987a: 3-4 argued that 'a myth makes a valid statement about the origins of the world, of society and of its institutions, about the gods and their relationship with mortals, in short about everything on which human existence depends.' According to Graf, myth is considered valid only at a particular time and place by the community in whose tradition it has taken shape. During antiquity the rhetoricians would define myth as a 'fictitious story that illustrates the truth;' cf. F. Graf 1993: 2-6; also Theon Progymn.3; however, see Cic.Inv.rhet.1.27 and Isidore of Seville Etymol.1.44.5 who argued that a myth is a tale that was neither true nor plausible. Plato excluded myths from truth, but he recognised their expressive power; P. Murray 1999: 251-62 and K.A. Morgan 2000: 132-91. C. Calame 2003: 3-27 explained that in antiquity myth was called to play the role of archaeology for specific communities depending on their social and geopolitical needs. His book offers a rich bibliography on approaches to ancient mythologies; see esp.nn1, 7, 12, 13, and 14 of his first chapter (pp.122-125).

[2] Scholars have detected Indo-European rituals and an Indo-European narrative tradition in the epic poetry of the Greeks, while comparative linguists studied the elements of an Indo-European poetic language. They have discovered that Greeks, Hindus, and Iranians employed the same metaphors for poetic creation and have taken this fact as proof of the

the discovery and examination of more Near Eastern texts has led to the appreciation of the similarities that Greek myths exhibit in comparison with Eastern mythic specimens.[3] The work of W. Burkert and his pupils,[4] as well as the studies of G. Nagy, C. Penglase and others have given more completed answers regarding the central position of myth in Greek society and religion. Greek civilisation is now understood as a complex institution, which had to absorb many traditions from its interactions with other social and religious entities.[5] In this vast cauldron of ideas about man and god, the Greeks had to decide on their own stance as members of the social and cultic group that the city-state represented, as citizens of a state that lived with the guilt of giving birth to ephemeral creatures and under the heavy responsibility of

existence of an Indo-European poetic tradition. The narration of myth in the epic poetry of the Greeks can be seen in a historical context extending as far back as the 3rd millennium BC, at a time long before the height of Mycenaean civilisation. See F. Graf 1987a: 74-5 and H. Fraenkel 1975: 26-7, 34-5, and 44-53.

[3] M. Grant 1962: 94-103 confirmed that the Greek theogony might have preserved reminiscences of extremely ancient religious tales such as the Babylonian creation epic of *Enuma Elish* in which the victorious battle of the young god Marduk against the powers of chaos was described. It was also stated that man was created by the blood of the defeated god Kingu. The *Enuma Elish* is comparable to the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the tale of the historical king of Uruk who lived in Sumeria around 2500 BC, as one of the most significant expressions of Mesopotamian religious literature. Although the *Enuma Elish* has not come down to us in any text earlier than the 1st millennium BC, its origin is assigned to the Old Babylonian period of the 2nd millennium. Indeed its inclusion of non-Semitic names suggests that the story may go back from this Semitic (Akkadian) literature to a non-Semitic, Sumerian original two thousand years earlier.

[4] See F. Graf 1998b for the contributions of M.L. West, K. Pestalozzi, J.N. Bremmer, A. Henrichs, P. Blome, R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, E. Simon, G. Baudy, J. Scheid, Ph. Borgeaud, H.S. Versnel, H.J. Lloyd-Jones, E. Krummen, C. Calame, Ch. Riedweg, H.D. Betz, T.A. Szlezák.

[5] R. Buxton 1999 (Intr.): 1: 'It has often been maintained, and it is still widely held, that the civilisation of ancient Greece underwent a development from myth to reason, or -to adopt the Greek-derived terms which have sometimes assumed talismanic status in relation to the debate- from Mythos to Logos.' This view is held nowadays to be rather simplistic as Buxton also argued; cf. C. Calame 1999: 119-43 and 2003: esp.13-18; also, G.W. Most 1999: 25-47.

preparing them to accept their mortality. The anxiety of the ancient world was particularly associated with the necessity of birth (i.e. sexual activity) and death that absolutely defined the human condition and of course, with the nature of the gods who administered insufferable fortunes to mortals.

Myths originally set out to explain the encounter of primitive man with the sacred and the divine.[6] In this process, amatory tales were often placed right at the core of religion. Erotic myths held a vital role in ancient theology and excited poetic imagination from an early stage. They appear in numerous poetic genres from Greek lyric poetry to Latin elegy essentially because ancient Greek imagination conceived the universe or its main components as the result of sexual unions between primordial entities;[7] consequently, divine generations were attributed births, amorous indulgences and wedding feasts and /or deathlike experiences as part of their adventures. The story of Persephone is a significant example of how, according to tradition at least, an erotic abduction occasioned the institution of mystery rites. To deal with the issues of birth, adolescence and death the Greeks had devised initiation rituals often designated as mysteries.[8] A number of rites that dealt with

[6] J.N. Bremmer 1998: 31 demonstrated that 'the terms 'religion,' 'ritual' and the opposition 'sacred vs. profane' originated or became redefined around 1900.' This happened thanks to pivotal works at the end of the 19th century when religion was emerging as a field in its own right. Bremmer drew the attention to the historically conditioned meaning of these terms. See H. Fraenkel 1975: 53-93 and 96-108 for the encounter of man with the divine in Homer and Hesiod respectively; also cf. C. Penglase 1994: 9; R.P. Martin 1989: 14-42 and B. Lincoln 1999: 3-18.

[7] See Hes.Th.477-496; Apollod.Bibl.1.5-6; OF150-6; also, cf. Musaeus Vorsokr.2B8; Epimenid.Vorsokr.3A1.111: B21-4; Pherec.Vorsokr.7B1-5 and H. Fraenkel 1975: 243f., 260-279 and 350ff. where he examines the first philosophical trends that questioned the authority of the Olympian pantheon; yet, even the Ionian philosophers and more so the Eleatic Parmenides understood creation and natural phenomena in terms of 'unions' of elements which Empedocles named after the gods; see R. Wright 1995: 63 and 163-184.

[8] A. Henrichs 1998: 33-7 observed that although Greek culture was extraordinarily rich in rituals it also was very secretive about their nature and purpose. The author attempted to 'take the Greeks' statements on rites seriously as products of their ritual self-understanding' by exploring a number of ancient literary works [for example, Eur.Bacch.200-03;

the passage to adulthood were closely associated with sexual initiation for both sexes.[9] In fact, sexual activity had a profound importance in cult and ritual copulation or its enactment was regarded as a sanctified means of communicating with the divine.[10] Often in the framework of these rites the initiate was understood to die to the condition of previous existence, for example as an adolescent, and experience rebirth in his new form as a citizen or as a married woman, (certainly) as a member of the newly initiated.[11]

Heraclid.Perieg.fr.2.9 (Pfister); Hes.Th.535-41 and 553-57; Pap. Derveni col.6.5-10; Ar.Nub.298-313; Thuc.2.38.1; [Xen.]Ath.Pol.2.9; Strab.10.3.9; Pl.Leg.910b8ff.; Aretaeus 3.6.11; Sall.De dis et de mund.16]. In this study, his view will be challenged in the sense that although the Greeks were indeed secretive with regards to their ritual initiations, it would be a mistake to take their literary allusions to them at face value. The highly metaphoric use of ancient Greek language should not be underestimated nor the fact that literary works are subjected to the understanding and intention of every writer and even commentator. See F. Graf 2003a: 241-256; S.I. Johnston 2003: 155-170. In addition, I think that mysteries /initiation rites as part of ever-changing societies should not be classified in a negative way focusing on what ought to be excluded from them, especially since the term seems to have been so fluid in antiquity.

[9] R. Seaford 1981: 52-67: 'And yet for two generations it has been recognised by some that certain elements of Greek civilisation are best understood in the context of comparative anthropology. The Greeks are not after all set mysteriously apart. I am not a comparative anthropologist; and yet my study of the particular subject of tribal initiation has convinced me (and I am not alone in the conviction) that among the ancient Greeks, a people no longer wholly primitive, we find rituals which are both strikingly similar to 'tribal initiation' and different from it in precisely the respect that the observable development of 'tribal initiation' leads us to expect at an advanced stage of that development.'

[10] W. Burkert 1983a: 130-8 (cf. App.In48); cf. M. Olender 1990: 83-113.

[11] The notion of initiation has attracted undiminished scholarly interest since the 1950s although it has defied an efficient definition to this day. D.B. Dodd 2003: xiv (Preface) summarises the scholarly trends with regards to the application of the term to Greek rites before concluding that earlier works on initiation 'have created a kind of Kuhnian paradigm, which in turn has encouraged the often uncritical acceptance of the view that initiation was a common and coherently legible phenomenon within the Greek world and that it provides the hermeneutical keys to interpreting a wide array of cultural and literary

The mysteries of Artemis and Dionysus were most usually appropriate for this kind of rites of passage.[12] In the East the goddesses that preceded these rites were Cybele,[13] Inanna or Ishtar, all aspects of the highly sexed and dangerous primordial fertility goddess who ruled over creation and often extended her authority from the realm of the living to the Netherworld.[14] Furthermore,

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productions.' On the theories of A. Van Gennep and V. Turner and the use of the initiatory paradigm, see B. Lincoln 2003: 241-251. Throughout this volume I distinguish between mystery initiations and rites of passage (for youths of both sexes) as suggested by F. Graf 2003b: 9, although I do see many similarities between the two types of initiation. Therefore, although I agree with the theoretical speculation of the volume, in terms of textual analysis I found myself closer to the thinking of J.M. Redfield 2003: 255-259 who focuses on initiation patterns and a sense of initiatory experience that comes down to authorial viewpoint without necessarily drawing any conclusions about the nature of ancient rites /texts that reflect rites; cf. S.I. Johnston 2003: 156ff.

[12] Artemis who had originally nothing to do with Apollo posed in the Iliad as the daughter of Zeus, lady of wild things (Hom.Il.21.470f). She appeared in this capacity on an Athenian vase of c. 800 BC and her worship seems to go back to the mistress of animals in Cretan, non-Greek religion. On a Cnossus seal a goddess of this kind is accompanied by lions, just like the lions at Mycenae (where the name of Artemis occurs on an inscription) flanked a pillar, which symbolised her cult. She played a rather inglorious role in the Iliad and it has been suggested that this may be because she was, to the Greeks, the goddess of a conquered race; see M. Grant 1962: 126; cf. N. Marinatos 1998: 114 argued based on iconography that 'the Greeks created a deity of peculiar harshness and anti-sexuality' under Near Eastern influence.

[13] See P. Pachis 1996: 193-222 for the orgiastic cult of Cybele during the Hellenistic years. Also, see J. Rein 1996: 223-39 regarding the non-Greek origins of Cybele. She argued that Miletus had probably an important role in the adoption of the worship of the Phrygian mother by the Greeks in the late 8th through the 6th century BC. Archaeological evidence from Miletus is also discussed. M.J. Vermaseren 1977: 13-36 and L.E. Roller 1999: 119-200 offer a thorough and critical examination of all the archaeological and literary evidence for the cult of Cybele in Greece and in Rome. Cf. R. Turcan 2001: 109-117 and J. North 2000: 54-62.

[14] The idea about the cult of the Mother Goddess was mainly developed by scholars like J.J. Bachofen 1967, E. Neumann 21963, M. Gimbutas 1989 (also, see 1999: esp.131-97 where she collected information about the goddess' cults from the Minoan religion through

rituals dealt with the citizen's anxiety regarding death. Man has always regarded the mystery of death in a paradoxical fusion of astonishment and fear about what lay or what he hoped that lay ahead. In most ancient theogonies and cosmogonies death was explained as a direct consequence of man's relation to the gods and more specifically as a demarcation of their different nature.[15] The mysteries of Demeter and the Orphic mysteries often promised to their initiates in antiquity forgiveness of sins and a secure place in the Isle of the Blessed /Elysium after death.[16] These mysteries had certain similarities among them, and customarily Orpheus was regarded as a hierophant of the goddess.[17] Furthermore, Dionysus,

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the Etruscans and the Celts to the Baltic cults of the goddess) and P. Monaghan 1999: 7-25. However, the majority of scholars reckons that matriarchy does not correspond to any historical reality, but was an erroneous invention of modern scholars. See L. Goodison 1992: 294-300 who argued that there was never one goddess. However, this is not to say that the various cults are not comparable or that a certain amount of syncretism did not take place; see M.E. Voyatzis 1999: ch7 who addressed the question of disjunction between the archaeological and literary evidence and concluded that we lack a clear record of the powers attributed to each of the gods.

[15] Pind.Pyth.8.95-7: "ἐπάμεροι· τί δέ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ /ἄνθρωπος. ἀλλ' ὅταν αἴγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ, λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μείλιχος αἰών" (Sandys). The comparison of mankind with falling leaves was also a motif as old as Homer at least: Hom.Il.7.146f.; Ar.Av.685f.; Verg.Aen.6.309-12; cf. Isaiah xl.6 in the *Old Testament* and the first epistle of Peter i.24 in the *New Testament*.

[16] Demeter was believed to have shown to Triptolemus her rites: "σεμνὰ, τά τ' οὔ πως ἔστι περεξ[ίμ]εν |οὔτε πυθέσθαι,] /οὔτ' ἀχέειν· μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν σέβας ἰσχάνει αὐδήν. ὄλβιος ὃς τάδ' ὄπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων· /ὃ δ' ἀτελὴς ἱερῶν, ὅ τ' ἄμμορος, οὐ ποθ' ὁμοίων /αἶσαν ἔχει φθίμενός περ ὑπο ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι" (Hom.h.Dem.478-2). Also, see Eur.Bacch.274: Euripides identified Demeter with earth and at Athens Demeter and Earth shared the same shrine; cf. Themist.ap.Stob.218h (Farnell). For the confusion on the exact location of this afterlife paradise, see S. Cole 2003: 193-217.

[17] M. Grant 1962: 312: 'This promise of rewards in the afterlife, a response to men's longing which made a wonderful change from the traditional gloom of Hades, was the keynote of post-Homeric, archaic Greek religion in the 6th century BC: and particularly of the Mysteries of Demeter, and the movement called Orphic.' Aristophanes made the initiates speak of themselves as those who have been initiated and have led a righteous life (Ar.Ran.154-8, 455-9). An added element at Eleusis was the glorification of agriculture as the basis of civilised and peaceful

whose mythology associated him with the Underworld, and who had reputedly experienced rebirth, was also invoked to save the souls of the initiates; the mysteries of Dionysus were actually preoccupied with man's relation to nature as an indestructible part of the natural cycle of birth-maturity-decay.[18] These mysteries were repeated throughout the Near East, and particularly in Egypt, where Isis had assumed the role held by Demeter in the Eleusinian mysteries.[19] The similarities between the mysteries could be attributed either to cultural interaction or to their analogous character, since they were all designed to give hope to mortals regarding their fortune after death.[20]

These rituals were reflected in the legends and the local mythology of the Greeks[21] and soon occupied a place in the centre

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life, with Triptolemus as its hero (Isoc.Paneg.28-9).

[18] F. Zeitlin 1982: 129-58 discussed the rites of Dionysus and Demeter regarding the ancient perception of female sexuality as dangerous. Also, see M.R. Lefkowitz and M.B. Fant ²1992: 273-6 and 280-81; E. Fantham 1994: 86-7 and 92-4 and R. Kraemer 1979: 55-80.

[19] K.M. Summers 1996: 337ff. discussed the public cult practice for Isis at Rome in the mid-1st century BC; the author argued that Lucretius (DRN.2.600-60) described a real cultic event as he witnessed it at Rome, an event distinctive to Roman practice. S.A. Takacs 1996 discussed Cybele's arrival at Rome in the following article: 367-86; cf. J.M. Vermaseren 1977: 38-63 and L.E. Roller 1999: 200ff.

[20] R. Seaford 1981: 52ff. argued that in the Greek mysteries we particularly find two kinds of tribal initiation: the mysteries of Dionysos and those of Eleusis. Yet these mysteries were quite similar to the mysteries of imported Oriental gods such as Sabazios and Isis. Seaford commented on the similarities of the various mystery cults: 'All these initiations, because they are all derived ultimately from the same kind of ritual, resemble each other, and because they resemble each other they tend to fuse with each other: one initiatory cult may contain features drawn from another initiatory cult sacred to another deity (an obvious example is the peripheral association of Dionysos with the mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis).'

[21] However, it should be clarified that one does not expect all myths to be an allegory of ritual; see F. Graf 1987a *passim* for the various theories that tried to analyse the majority of myths under a singular pattern be they scientific or psychological or social or ritual. According to the mythologists of the 18th and 19th centuries, the origins of myth lay in the childhood of humankind. Therefore, the successful interpretation of myths relied on the reconstruction of the life of early man (pp.33-6). The

of their literary production.[22] In several cases the myths preserve or allude to the cultural origins of the rituals and they often indicate later interpolations to which the rites were perhaps subjected.[23] Furthermore, once these myths were introduced to literature they acquired an existence of their own as literary texts, which have invited criticism, comparison, and interpretation since antiquity

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Myth and Ritual theory at the beginning of the 20th century explained the creation of myths as an instinctive reaction of the ancient groups towards incomprehensible rites they had inherited. See E. Durkheim, B. Malinowski, L. Strauss for variations of the theory (pp.39-45). R. Barthes introduced the semiotic approach of mythology, which viewed myth as a 'metalanguage,' a linguistic version of the reality behind the myth (p.53). Also, see pp.68-75 for the theory of M.P. Nilsson who argued that *all* myths were traceable to the Mycenaean period. On page 110, Graf wrote: 'the relationship between myths and the institutions that they purport to explain requires closer explanation. Not every ritual, cult statue, or temple was explained by an *aition*;' also, see K. Dowden 1999: 221-243 on the relation between ritual and mythology and S.I. Johnston 2003: 156f. who advises caution in associating initiatory myths with particular festivals or rituals.

[22] In lyric poetry, we often read about the love life of gods or heroes and we must assume that it was a source of knowledge for Alexandrian scholars who were interested in rare versions of the Homeric myths (see ch1n10). Hence, lyric poets had indeed included in their poetry mythological descriptions and more specifically myths about the love of gods and heroes. Stesichorus, the greatest choral lyric poet, was considered the greatest teller of myths between Homer and tragedy; cf. Anonym.On the Sublime 13.3 and PMGfr.217. F. Graf 1987a: 147-8 wrote: 'archaic choral lyric poetry influenced not only the subject matter of tragedy but also its form, as is immediately apparent from the meter of its choral songs and from the fact that the Doric dialect was artificially used in them.' In addition, the use of myth as paradigm was borrowed from choral lyric poetry; also, see A.B. Lord 1995: ch2; cf. B. Lincoln 2003: 241f. who examined the history of initiatory paradigms as defined by anthropological schools of thought at the dawn of the 20th century.

[23] See M. Meslin 1970: 138 for the reflection of social structures, values, and self-images in rituals; also D. Baudy 1986: 212-27; S. Shechter 1975: 349 remarked that Ovid's topics all pertain to the Calendar; yet at bottom they are similar to those adverted to by the Propertian "sacra, dies and cognomina" (4.1.69) (cf. opening lines of the Fasti: "tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum /lapsaque sub terras ortaque signa canam /…sacra recognosces annalibus eruta priscis /et quo sit merito quaeque notata dies"). As in Propertius, cult and geography are implied. Also, see R. Turcan 2001: 29-85.

itself.[24] F. Graf has written:[25]

> *Myths are narratives and as such they obey the conventions of the literary genre in which they are told. They are also assembled from narrative patterns which migrate from one myth to another. Just as narrative patterns sometimes migrate from one myth to another, so whole myths sometimes migrate from one cult to another.*

Nevertheless, the mythic crystallisation of these rituals as well as the literary imprinting of the myths bear the traces of the social and religious beliefs of the ancient Greeks and of the peoples that influenced them.[26] In addition, the cultural impact that the Greeks

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[24] M. Grant 1962: 145: 'The Greek hymns of the 8th and later century BC, which we know as the *Homeric Hymns* have come down to us in a form which is literary rather than devotional. They are closer to ritual than the epic poems were, yet they are not in themselves a part of ritual: the elements of praise, thanksgiving, and prayer are perfunctory, and the main content is the narration of myth. The ancient attribution of these hymns to Homer and their careful imitation of his style, suggest that they belong to the aristocratic epic tradition.' The *Iliad* includes a reference to a hymn (Hom.Il.1.472). See the Hom.h.Dem.*passim*; cf. M. Grant ibid.: 137; as far as we know, the *Homeric Hymns* were not mentioned as a collection before the 1st century BC. Of their authorship, apart from the *Hymn to Apollo* little can be said, though there was a tradition that the founder of the genre was Olen and that it was he who brought the worship of Apollo and Artemis from southern Asia Minor (Lycia) to Delos; see H.P. Foley 1997: 181f. for the epic tradition of the myth and 65-118 for its affiliation to women's rites; A. Suter 2002: 101-208 interpreted the tale as a *hieros gamos*.

[25] F. Graf 1987a: 96-110. Cosmogonical and cosmological speculation after Hesiod followed two separate paths. One was that of mythological poetry, the other that of philosophical reflection- in short, Orphism and Presocratic philosophy. See M.L. West 1983.

[26] M. Grant 1962: 159 investigated the relation of myth and ritual. He argued that ritual gives myths their names, many details, and much of their explanatory character. Myth acts more slowly upon the conservatism of rites-interpreting (rightly or wrongly) their elements, and gradually imposing features of its own. Yet, myth is also potentially inherent in ritual from the beginning, not only as the spoken correlative of what was performed, but as a translation of the real, static, temporal, immediate ritual into terms of the eternal and transcendental. Myth is the projection of rites on to the plane of ideal situations. See pp.159-160 about the different stages of ritual to which myths correspond; cf. S.I. Johnston

had on Roman values, a combination which produced Greco-Roman civilisation, was particularly based on the embracing of myths about Greek Cosmic theory.[27] The various poetical treatments of myths could possibly shed more light on the tradition[28] to which these myths were understood to belong during antiquity, and on the perceptions that already existed regarding the issues with which these legends were concerned.[29] It is the purpose of this study to argue that certain myths, which enjoyed much

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2003: 157.

[27] However, J. Scheid 1995: 15-31 was opposed to the sterile viewing of Roman piety through the adoption of Greek rites. The author argued that the Romans reworked the Greek borrowings through their own aesthetic appreciation of religiosity; cf. J. Champeaux 1989: 263-279; Livy 39.8ff.; R. Turcan 2001: 1-14 and J. North 2000: 76-85.

[28] F. Graf 1987a: 178-93 mentioned that the sophists were the first to question the validity of myth fundamentally and they even invented their own myths. In their myths, tradition was employed as a stable point of reference that facilitated the understanding of the audience. After them, Plato and other philosophical movements like the Pythagoreans and the Stoics employed mythological allegories for the purpose of their doctrines. Allegorical interpretation proceeds from the assumption that the poet deliberately situates his meaning not at the literal level, but at a deeper level, beneath the veil of literal. In Plato's day the allegorical interpretation of myth had already been practised for over a century. Yet, even the philosophers relied for the communication of their theories on certain mythic patterns and well-known myths, which they successfully transmitted along with their objections to the value of traditional motifs. See C. Calame 2003: 18-22 and 114-119.

[29] It could be argued that the Hellenistic poets like Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes focused on the aesthetic perfection of mythical narration. In addition, it has been remarked that since Hellenistic poets were in their majority scholars as well, mythography could be seen as the result of their readings of myths. Parthenius of Nicaea dedicated to his friend Cornelius Gallus, the Roman politician, poet and friend of Vergil a small collection of erotic myths taken from local stories, as raw material for 'epics and elegies.' See F. Graf 1987a: 191-2 and J.L. Lightfoot 1998: 559-60 (Appendix II). In addition, the Hellenistic authors often employed myths for the sake of entertainment and in certain cases the mythographers would go as far as inventing ancient authors, whose work they claimed to have copied (Euhemerus). However, it must be noted that the more scholarship on myth develops the more the tendency of ancient poets and scholars to invent mythic details is doubted (Philo of Byblos).

popularity in Greek and Roman literature, refer or allude to initiatory structures found in ancient cults. Furthermore, the literary manipulation of these myths by ancient men of letters will be discussed with the intention of outlining and explaining the ideas that the Greeks and later the Romans shared regarding society and cult. The origins of these ideas and their affiliation with notions treated in Near Eastern texts will be also explored.[30]

Doubtless the most controversial power that captured the ancient social and cosmic order was *Eros*; although the Greeks, as well as the rest of the so-called 'primitive' cultures did not place on sexual interaction the sense of guilt that later religions did, they could perceive *Eros* at two levels: as the creative force that released life into beings and as the tedious necessity for the human race, which thus depended on women for procreation.[31] This second aspect of love was associated with pollution and was strictly banned along with birth and death from every sanctuary.[32] Myths which reflect rites of an initiatory character (that be coming of age rites or mysteries) often had an erotic character which could partly explain their popularity;[33] therefore, the myths analysed in this

[30] See C. Penglase 1994: 5 (also his n8); according to the author, there were three periods of contact between the Greeks and the Near Eastern civilisations. The first period of contact was in the late Mycenaean times of the 13th and 14th century BC, when Greeks had colonised Tarsus and Northwest Syria. The second period of extensive contact was in the 1st millennium; in particular from 800 or 850 BC onwards the Greeks were especially influenced by the Near East including the Mesopotamian cultures. The third period of contact is the Hellenistic period, discussed above; cf. W. Burkert 1979: 52, M. Robertson 1975: 21; J.M. Hurwit 1985: 125-32.

[31] Pherecydes of Syros (c. 550 BC) wrote that when Zeus was about to accomplish the creation he transformed himself into *Eros*; Procl.ap.Pl.Ti. (Diehl 3.156a). Empedocles who lived in the 5th century BC was a Sicilian philosopher-scientist and miracle-worker. He named the natural basic forces of binding and separation as Love and Strife. Paus.9.27.1 confirmed that there was a very ancient 'unwrought stone' of *Eros* at Thespiae. Hes.Th.120-2 also wrote: "ἠδ' Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι, /λυσιμελής, πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων /δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν;" also, see M. Grant 1962: 111.

[32] N.H. Demand 1994: 121-155.

[33] On the purely metaphorical employment of nature in erotic poetry as well as the poets' power to alter details of myths based on their own

book have been chosen for their erotic content, which continued to fascinate different audiences throughout antiquity. In addition, these myths were often employed in programmatic works which stamped the literary history of antiquity, and whose echoes sounded clearly in European literature until the nineteenth century. The myths that will be investigated are: the myth of *Atalanta*, the myth of *Daphnis* and the myth of *Orpheus*.

All three myths were celebrated prominently by Hellenistic and later by Roman writers. However, the story of Atalanta was first narrated by Hesiod, the tale of Daphnis that was attributed to Stesichorus appears to have been restricted to Sicily and had no parallel version on mainland Greece, while the tradition of Orpheus is very old and ambiguous to the point that its origins are lost in legend. The Orphic religion which was particularly widespread in South Italy was also associated with mysteries taking place in Thessaly and even with the Eleusinian mysteries. Despite the differences in the possible time of their conception and their geographical expansion, these tales seem to borrow elements from Near Eastern religious ideas and cultic practices that underline a subtle affinity between them. The fact that Hellenistic scholars essentially 're-discovered' them to inspire their works implies that they had also recognised in these myths the common background that I shall argue in the following pages.

THE POETS

Of course, myths were treated by poets who had a specific literary orientation and followed literary conventions with reference to the genre they had favoured.[34] The reason why, despite the changes in

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experience, see C. Calame 1999: 166-7.

[34] B.H. Fowler 1984: 119-149 focused on the preference of the melic poets for the "ποικίλα:" 'the variegated nature of the objects of their senses.' Hence, the melic poets relied on this aesthetic principle for their understanding of the world or even for their era's perception of the world. They regarded *Eros* as a bittersweet agent of the gods who can be eluded. See C. Calame 1999: 13ff. for the differences between the *eros* of the melic poets and the *eros* of epic poets. Various literary genres employ different semiotics and symbols or interpret them differently; on page 142 Calame argued that the Greek tragedians were particularly interested in girls fated to be sacrificed before reaching maturity and beautiful wives tragically destroyed by their second marriages. Their attack focused on the

literary fashion, these myths would attract the interest of both authors and audiences over and again must lie in the universal truths that were supposedly captured in them.[35] Furthermore, one cannot neglect the essential role of Hellenistic scholars in the transmission of Greek literature to the Romans, a point often raised in the thesis.[36] In the third century BC, because of the great political and historical changes, which had intervened, many ancient works had already been lost, and confusion arose in the field of literary tradition. The classification of the material was indeed necessary for an edition of ancient work. Nevertheless, it seems that Hellenistic scholars kept this strict generic division only in their editions of others.[37] As regards their own literary

implacable sexual force personified in *Eros* and Aphrodite, a force that cannot be avoided. Also, see A. Carson 1998: 3-10 for the description of *Eros* as bittersweet.

[35] C. Calame 1999: 99 opposed to the feminist studies of Sappho's poetry arguing that the 'gendered dimension of Sappho's poems in truth depends rather on the social and pedagogical function of the poems sung and danced on ritual and communal occasions,' instead of on 'the erotic sensibility and sexuality of the author;' cf. C. Calame 2003: 27-55 where he explains his semionarrative approach to myth. Calame assumes that there is a 'syntactic plan' of discourse (or semionarrative surface structures) within which the actorial figures change roles in relation to each other, in a specific temporal and spatial context, by which features of the natural and social world are drawn into the narrative.

[36] S. Shechter 1975: 348-9 discussed Callimachus' *Aetia*: the narratives in this work are labelled 'aetiological' or '*aetia*' and are thought of as offering causal or temporal explanations for topics bearing upon, as E. Rohde would have it 'customs, sacred and profane, obscure appellations for places and gods, and other curiosities' (see E. Rohde 1960: 84-5). Rohde's definition of 'aetiological' myths was applied to non-Callimachean works: the tales are classified mainly by their topics into, for instance, 'regional legends,' which are chiefly about cult and names, and into 'transformation myths,' which largely concern peculiarities of nature. Nevertheless, both categories can be found *in tandem*, as he also remarks (pp.84 and 91-2).

[37] Two closely related but distinguishable critical notions that were shaped during this period are especially pertinent to the understanding of Theocritus' theoretical formation and principles of poetic practice; they are the metrical criterion for generic classification and the doctrine of separateness and fixity of the literary genres. These criteria found their clearest and most definite expression in the canonical lists of the foremost

production they did not hesitate to diffuse the material they had inherited from the archaic period into various poetic forms.[38] R. Pfeiffer described the double quality of the Alexandrians as scholars and poets:[39]

> *The new generation of about 300 BC living under a new monarchy realised that the great old forms also belonged to ages gone forever…poetry had to be rescued from the dangerous situation in which it lay, and the writing of poetry had to become a particularly serious work of discipline and wide knowledge, 'τέχνη' and 'σοφίη.' The new writers had to look back to the old masters, especially of Ionic poetry, not to imitate them -this was regarded as impossible or at least as undesirable- but in order to be trained by them in their own new poetical technique. Their incomparably precious heritage had to be saved and studied. This was felt to be, first of all, a necessity for the rebirth and future life of poetry, and secondly an obligation to the achievements of past ages which had given birth to the masterpieces of Hellenic literature…Thus a novel conception of poetry, held by the poets*

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authors, which were drawn up for each of the literary genres by Aristophanes of Byzantium at the end of 3rd century BC. In archaic Greece, different kinds of poetry were closely bound to the contexts in which they were performed; the specific occasion determined the choice of music, theme, and diction, and furnished as appropriate name for the type of poetry as well. See M.L. West 1974: 1-39 and C. Calame 1974: 117-21. However, with regards to the fluidity of generic boundaries in the Hellenistic period see the *Hellenistica Groningana* volume 1998 *passim*.

[38] A. Henrichs 1999: 223-251 examined the blurred boundaries between history and myth in the Hellenistic period through a study of human sacrifice. In the Hellenistic period, the distinction between the human and divine, myth and ritual becomes less obvious. Hence, Phaenias of Eresus (320 BC) foisted myth into 'history,' making it prose fiction. Gods increasingly became culture heroes while men became deified. In addition, during the Hellenistic period the violence of the Dionysian myths seemed to be transposed onto the worshippers; a phenomenon that also signifies the conflation of myth and ritual at that time; cf. A. Henrichs 1987: 242-77.

[39] R. Pfeiffer 1968: 87-90; cf. Strab.14.657: "ποιητὴς ἅμα καὶ κριτικὸς," for Callimachus. D.M. Halperin 1983: 195: 'The first representative of this new age was Philetas of Cos, revered by Theocritus and by Callimachus as well, who articulated the aesthetic idea, if not the name, of *leptotes* or finess in poetry (fr.10 Powell), whose compilation of glosses immediately became famous throughout the Greek world…;' also, see K. Spanoudakis 2002: 70f.

> *themselves, led the way to the revival of poetry as well as to a new treatment of the ancient poetical texts and then of all the other literary monuments…for the new poetical technique could not be successfully practised without the constant help of the old masters. Glossaries, invaluable in the first place for the choice of words, helped also to give an understanding of the great poetry of the past.*

The work of the Alexandrians secured the continuity of literary motifs as well as of ideas from the archaic to the Roman period, and appreciated intertextuality[40] by inserting in their works word-plays and obscure allusions to particular lines and notions introduced in Homer, Hesiod or any of the ancient Greek lyric poets.[41] Indeed the ritual and religious aspect of love as described in the mythic versions discussed in this thesis is overlaid with the personal seals of a series of authors who were inspired by each of the myths.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Chapter One: The Myth of Atalanta

The myth of Atalanta was initially treated by Hesiod but it often reappeared in poetry until the late Augustan period. The popularity of the myth in antiquity is additionally confirmed by its survival in

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[40] T.K. Hubbard 1998: 15 argued that the ancient poets functioned as especially expert readers who responded to an equally learned predecessor: 'authorial intent is certainly not irrelevant...What is needed for a fuller understanding of allusion in poetry is thus a symbiotic union of intertextual theory with reader-response criticism.'

[41] According to the later tradition, Philetas was appointed to undertake the education of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (308-246 BC), the second ruler of Hellenistic Egypt, and he numbered among his pupils the poets Theocritus and Hermesianax as well as the scholar Zenodotus; the latter initiated the systematic study and recension of the Homeric epics and eventually succeeded his teacher in the office of royal tutor. About the time that Zenodotus was engaged in editing the text of Homer, Callimachus undertook to devise a system for arranging all the works currently being assembled in the libraries of the Alexandrian Museum, a task which resulted in a 'critical inventory of Greek literature,' called the *Pinakes* or tablets 'of all those who were eminent in any kind of "παιδεία" (intellectual or artistic culture) and their writings in 120 books' (as Hesychius and Suda describe it). See R. Pfeiffer 1968: 126-8.

the scripts of I. Tzetzes, a scholar of the twelfth century AD.[42] The erotic element of the myth was underlined during the Hellenistic period although it was also implicit in the archaic versions. There were two main versions of the myth; an Arcadian that focused on the heroine's hunting skills and a Boeotian that referred to the foot race that she had set as a prerequisite for her marriage.

Atalanta as a heroine particularly hostile to marriage is compared to Artemis. Consequently, it will be argued that the myth should be understood in the context of rites of passage from adolescence to adulthood. Details from later versions of the myth such as those of Apollodorus, Aelian, and Ovid are discussed in relation to the cultic processes in honour of Artemis at Brauron, Haloa and other locations. Atalanta is perceived as a by-form of the goddess who, as her mortal reflection confirms, exhibited many similarities with Near Eastern goddesses like Cybele and Ishtar. Although Artemis was regarded as a strictly virginal deity, her role as protector of the young of every species also gave her aspects of a fertility goddess.

In this framework, the apples that appeared in the myth of Atalanta underline the association of the myth with fertility and therefore, with pre-nuptial customs. In addition, they stress the erotic character of the myth since the early days of its circulation; the question of whether later poets that treated the myth were aware of its erotic connotations is put forward. A study of the role of the apples in Near Eastern rites and magical spells shows remarkable similarities between the Greek and the Near Eastern cultic practices. In both cultures, apples were associated with erotic filters and nuptial ceremonies thus indicating that in antiquity lovers were regarded as bewitched. The circumstances under which the Greeks were influenced by the Near East cultures are also covered.

The myth of Atalanta was treated by Propertius in the programmatic elegy of his *Monobiblos*, a poem that has raised many debates regarding the nature of Latin erotic elegy and its origins. The allusions employed by Propertius seem to be explained more effectively through the recent reading of the myth in association with fertility rites. Propertius and the other elegists seem to have been familiar with a set of ideas initially promoted in the Near East

[42] Tzetz.Chil.12.937 (= 453.928-42 Leone); cf. ch5n245.

that extolled the magical aspect of love which could even cause madness and disease to its victims. Propertius' preference for the myth stresses the erotic implications of certain motifs within the myth such as the motif of running in the wild. Furthermore, the association of love and marriage with agriculture, a relation often imprinted in ancient metaphors is also pointed out.

Chapter Two: The Myth of Daphnis (Theocritus)

In the previous chapter, the agricultural aspect of love was merely touched upon. This chapter explores in detail the views of Theocritus on love as rendered through the myth of Daphnis. The myth was favoured by Theocritus' ancient editor(s) as the most representative of his bucolic poetry and was therefore placed at the beginning of his collection.[43] The status of Theocritus among the Hellenistic poets and the longstanding aphorism that bucolic poetry is at the fringe of Hellenistic literary production will be presented. It has nowadays been accepted that Theocritus did not invent the bucolic genre, although the question regarding the origins of the genre remains unanswered. The claims of the ancient sources, which refer to as yet unattested fertility rites, will be examined through the indications contained in the tradition of Daphnis.

According to the traditional version of the myth, Daphnis, the Sicilian proto-shepherd cheated on his divine beloved and was blinded in return before falling off a rock into a river. The tragic death of the hero is also treated in the first *Idyll*. The argument that Theocritus followed another version, which allies Daphnis with the Euripidian Hippolytus, is here refuted. The association of Daphnis with cult is investigated and motifs already detected in the myth of Atalanta, like that of a girl wandering in the wilderness, are brought to discussion. It is held that Daphnis was in love and therefore, he could be viewed as a prototype of the Propertian elegiac lover.

In the first *Idyll* Theocritus offered certain clues about the mythic affiliation of Daphnis with heroes such as Adonis and Gilgamesh who had their origins in the Near Eastern cults of the consort of the fertility goddess. It is argued that Theocritus, who in *Idyll* fifteen described the celebration of the Adonia at Alexandria,

[43] W.G. Arnott 1996: 55 suggested that Theocritus perhaps placed *Idyll* 1 at the head of his works himself.

probably employed elements from the worship of Adonis to describe the death of Daphnis. Consequently, Daphnis should be understood as another version of the sacred shepherd /hunter that was annually lamented throughout the East as Tammuz, Dumuzi, or Adonis. The cult of those heroes was part of the fertility rites in honour of the goddess. Evidence to support the cultic substance of Daphnis is also derived from the bucolic poems of Moschus and Bion.

The description of a Cup that Theocritus described before the death of Daphnis in his *Idyll* enters the forum of debate. Its epic tradition will be covered in one of the thesis' appendices. The third scene on the Cup is especially analysed in relation to eastern religious motifs that Theocritus might have adduced from contemporary literature. The death of Adonis was celebrated by the Greek Adoniazousai of *Idyll* fifteen as much as by the women of Jerusalem. The scene is compared with the *Song of Solomon*, a profoundly and unusually erotic poem included in the *Old Testament*. The poem was probably contemporary with Theocritus (3rd century BC) and its central figures could be identified with Aphrodite and Adonis. The usual argument that Theocritus influenced Hebrew literature is reversed with additional evidence from Bion and Moschus. It is held that the *Song* was probably derived from the cult of Adonis and could be included in the same tradition as Greek bucolic poetry. Daphnis should be identified with Adonis and be incorporated in the tradition of eastern fertility deities such as Tammuz and Dumuzi.

The last part of the chapter examines the actual description of the death of Daphnis who is said to have *'gone [to the] river,'* an expression that has been much discussed. The report of Daphnis drowning after falling off a rock is compared with famous legends of lovers to whom literature attributed a similar death. It will be argued that Daphnis, as a lover who totally submitted to love, had to experience death symbolically, much like the death that sexual initiation would customarily bring upon the consort(s) of the fertility goddess. A Near Eastern tradition of associating love with death and witchcraft is also identified and Daphnis' representation in Theocritus and Vergil is discussed under the light of this evidence.

Appendices

Appendix I: The Epic Tradition of the First *Idyll*

The description of the Cup included in the first *Idyll* of Theocritus is regarded as a typical sample of *ecphrasis*, a technique of delaying the plot by inserting a detailed description of an object of art. Hellenistic writers in their extensive use of it followed the tradition established by Homer with the description of the *Shield of Achilles* which was later imitated by the author of the *Shield of Heracles*, often attributed to Hesiod. It has been argued that the Cup of Theocritus should be included in the epic tradition from which it was inspired.

The two epic shields and their mythic owners are compared to Daphnis. It seems that the erotic adventures of Achilles and Heracles could actually provide a convincing framework for the adventures of Daphnis. Heracles, who according to Sositheus, was reputed to have saved Daphnis and his beloved from the hands of the spiteful king Lityerses, had famously died as a lover (rather than a soldier) before being reborn at a higher level. Achilles, who was also identified with excessive lust and grief, was relieved of his sufferings after death in the Isles of the Blessed where he lived happily married to Iphigeneia.

The adventures of the two heroes are discussed in the context of ritual transformation and their fortunes are compared with the death of Daphnis. The latter was definitely not an epic warrior; yet he seems to have been a competent 'epic' lover.

Appendix II: The Cup of Theocritus

The three scenes depicted on the Cup are described in relation to the erotic torture of Daphnis. It is argued that the first two images on the Cup treat well-known erotic motifs that refer to the dangers of love. A link between the tale of Daphnis and common ideas about love is established in confirmation of the argument that Theocritus opted for the traditional version of the story.

In the first image, motifs regarding the dangerous character of women are treated. Theocritus seems to have inherited his views on the nature of women from Hesiod. In addition, Daphnis' affliction by a woman is probably reflected in the suffering of two young men that pose in the first image on the Cup.

The second image refers to a fisherman. In antiquity, the

dangers that fishermen face when at sea were often compared with the adventures of lovers. The love of women was also compared to the various moods of the sea itself. Furthermore, the sea was associated with the waters of death and Charon was imagined as a boatman. The possibility that the silent fisherman of the second image alludes to the death of Daphnis because of love is examined.

Appendix III: Fishermen: Lovers of Death?

In the second scene on the Cup a fisherman is depicted and his possible connotations with the erotic adventure of Daphnis will be presented in Appendix II summarised above. Here the links between the sea and erotic danger are explored and it is argued that the fisherman stands as a reminiscence of the erotic traps that tantalise lovers and indeed Daphnis by the end of the poem.

Furthermore, evidence from Greek drama and Hellenistic epigram is gathered in support of an association between fishermen and their implements (nets, hooks etc.) with deaths resulting from or attributed to erotic misconduct. The cases of Agamemnon and Heracles in particularly are discussed.

Chapter Three: The Myth of Daphnis (Vergil)

The influence that the work of Theocritus has exercised on Vergil is undoubted. The latter introduced Daphnis, Thyrsis, Menalcas and the rest of the bucolic *personae* in his *Eclogues*, a collection of poems which along with his *Georgics* have laid the foundation for a major part of European literature from the days just after Vergil's death until the English pastoral poetry of the sixteenth century and following with Schiller on the continent. The modern criticism on the literary relation of Vergil with Theocritus will be summarised and the view that Vergil showed more understanding of Theocritus than has been assumed will be pursued.

Hence, the fact that Vergil presented the death of Daphnis in his *Eclogues* with close reference to Theocritus, yet he also described the apotheosis of Daphnis in terms similar to the apotheosis of Heracles, should not be regarded as accidental. The comparison of Daphnis with Heracles further developed in Appendix I will be briefly debated here along with the hero's likening to Caesar, whose apotheosis had recently taken place.

Furthermore, attention will be drawn to Vergil's technique of attributing to Daphnis features traditionally ascribed to Orpheus

and Prometheus, two heroes renowned for their sufferings and their contribution to civilisation. It will be argued that Vergil cast Daphnis in the role of a culture hero with civilising and spiritual powers with the purpose of promoting the pastoral "locus amoenus" as the ideal place for the spiritual regeneration of the Romans that his poetry anticipates.

Vergil transferred the place of Daphnis' suffering from Sicily to Arcadia, a location that according to the tenth *Eclogue* could accommodate the erotic unhappiness of lovers like Daphnis, Gallus, and Orpheus. The myths that associate Arcadia with early civilisation and the Golden Age are discussed. In his fourth *Eclogue*, Vergil predicted that Arcadia can be restored and that the Romans will experience a second Golden Age.

The identity of the child whose birth, according to Vergil, will bring the realisation of the second Golden Age is examined in the context of rites regarding the absolution of sins and the promise of rebirth. The Orphic and Dionysian mysteries are particularly discussed, on the strength of two factors: Vergil referred to the cradle of the child that will blossom automatically, a motif mentioned in the birth of Dionysus. In addition, at the end of the fourth *Eclogue* Vergil compared himself with Orpheus and Linus, who were associated with the mysteries of Dionysus. Vergil's comparison is discussed in detail and the conclusion reached is that the poet favoured ancient rites in which the birth of a child was regarded as the obvious sign for the gratification of the devotees. In this context, the Eleusinian mysteries are also brought into discussion.

It seems that Vergil appreciated these mysteries because of their agricultural character; this idea is also supported by his effort to link the Golden Age with agriculture in his *Georgics*. The last part of the chapter argues that in doing so, Vergil does not contradict Hesiod who also referred to the Golden Age conditions as preserved in the righteous caste of the farmers.

Chapter Four: Poetry and Vergil

The comparison of Vergil with Orpheus brings to light the question of Vergil's stance in this New Order of things that he prophesised. Traditionally poetry was associated with erotic passion and as covered in the previous chapter, Arcadia seemed hospitable to both notions. Nevertheless, art and intemperate lust as ideally

combined in the legendary figure of Orpheus were radically opposed to the hereditary views of the Romans. This short chapter deals with the basic inconsistency of suggesting Arcadia as the ideological foreground of the Roman renaissance.

In a world in which, according to the first and the ninth *Eclogues*, poetry is shown to be ineffective, the answer seems to lie with the farmer that Vergil depicted in his *Georgics* as enjoying some of the advantages of the Golden Age. In the third book of the *Georgics* the farmer was seen as carefully arranging the mating of his animals, imposing his iron will over irrational sexual instinct. Vergil's view of love is presented as a creative force, sexual as much as spiritual.

This study supports the view that the farmer represents the ideal statesman of an ideal state as reflected in the society of the bees of the fourth *Georgic*. The bees have a special claim to the Golden Age as well as in poetic tradition. The view that Vergil did not refer to the bees' association with poetry because he wished to banish it from the new society that was about to arise is challenged.

On the contrary, Vergil's posture as the bard of the new era is examined. Vergil like Hesiod, Orpheus, and Silenus, moves between legend and universal truth, and restores the role of the ancient "vates" to its previous status. Vergil poses as the hierophant of the new era, who finds in poetic tradition the solutions for a secure future. Vergil's appreciation of poetry anticipates a more optimistic reading of the fourth *Georgic*.

Chapter Five: Orpheus and Aristaeus

The fourth book of the *Georgics* treated the story of Orpheus and Aristaeus. The argument that Vergil invented the story in which Aristaeus is responsible for the death of Eurydice is questioned. This book has raised a great many discussions regarding Servius' comments according to which Vergil had included in the last part of the book praises for his friend Gallus, a poet and politician who committed suicide after losing favour with young Octavian, the monarch that was later called Augustus.[44] The view that Augustus

[44] Throughout this book, the names of Octavian and Augustus will be both employed to describe Caesar's young nephew who came to succeed him as head of the Roman State in 44 BC. His principate was established in 27 BC, the date he received the name Augustus as his title. Therefore, with this chronological distinction in mind, my references will be to the

ordered Vergil to exchange the "laudes Galli" with the verses that now contain the epyllion of Orpheus and Aristaeus is disputed. The more moderate view that Vergil probably changed a few verses in the second edition of the book (if there was ever a second edition) is adopted.

The importance of the bees has already been discussed in the previous chapter in association with the poetry of Vergil and the Golden Age. However, in this chapter the bees are examined as a bridge between the Hesiodic Golden Age and the agricultural version that Vergil puts forward. Through their association with the cult of Zeus, the bees pose as the tangible example of Zeus' theodicy. The *Bugonia* is examined as Aristaeus' reply to the sacrificial codes of Prometheus, which brought about the separation of man from god. Aristaeus is seen as a heroic embodiment of the justice of Zeus.

However, the expiation of guilt, which Aristaeus secured through the *Bugonia*, has been the preoccupation of several mystery cults in antiquity, pre-eminently of the Orphic mysteries and those of Demeter at Eleusis. The association of these cults with bees and honey is stressed. Furthermore, the Orphic views on sexuality and justice seem to have been in close compliance with the morals of the new era according to which Aristaeus is punished for his lust.

The claim of Aristaeus, Orpheus, and Eurydice in the tradition of bees and honey seems to link them with initiatory patterns in the context of prenuptial rites. Aristaeus' stance as a solemn husband and pious beekeeper, the bees' hostility towards adulterers, and the rape of Eurydice by Aristaeus are all brought into discussion. A comparison of Eurydice with Persephone, which originates from the relation of bees with the cult of Demeter and Kore, seems to support this conclusion. It is argued that the story of Orpheus and Aristaeus is employed as an example of restoration within the new order of Zeus, a restoration that Vergil wishes for the total of the Roman nation that has just emerged from civil war.

Throughout the chapter, a parallelism between Aristaeus and Orpheus is constructed with the intention of emphasising their similarities. Initially Aeneas and then Prometheus are invoked as a reference point for the comparison. According to the evidence

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young Octavian who re-established the Roman republic until 27 BC and to the revered monarch Augustus after 27 BC.

presented, Aristaeus and Orpheus shared a number of similarities in their legendary aspects as culture heroes and as deities.

Orpheus, who was additionally reputed as author of cathartic poetry and magical spells, had repeatedly attracted the criticism of Plato who despised all miracle-workers, and indeed Orpheus as much as Pythagoras, who was accused for passing off his writings as those of the legendary poet. This aspect of Orpheus does not seemingly correspond to the character of Aristaeus as depicted in Vergil. At this point of the analysis the name and legend of Aristeas of Proconnesus is also discussed.

His identification with Aristaeus is argued on the basis of three comparisons: firstly, on Aristeas' similarity with Prometheus as it emerges through the similarities of pseudo-Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vinctus* and Aristeas' epic about the Arimaspeans. Secondly, on Aristeas' association with Egypt and magicians; Vergil significantly suggested Egypt as the place that the *Bugonia* was practised while a combination of the traditions of Aristaeus and Aristeas survives in late literature. Thirdly, on Aristeas' connection with Pythagoras and his rites which were in essence Orphic. It is argued that even if syncretism should be suspected in Vergil's treatment, the poet understood these rituals as similar in essence and as functioning within the new order of Zeus. The message conveyed is that under the new theodicy salvation is possible as long as disordered *eros*, as represented by Orpheus, is replaced by methodically channelled energy dedicated to the recreation of well being.

Appendix IV: Orpheus, Pythagoras and the Egyptians

The fourth appendix discusses the connection of Pythagoras and Oprheus with the Egyptians based on Herodotus 2.81, a text where special reference is made to the prohibition of wool in burials. The custom, which applied to the initiates of specific rites, is traced in Egypt but also in Greece, and its origins raised many disputes in classical scholarship. Herodotus employed four adjectives to describe the rites in which this custom was observed, although interpolation by a later commentator is very possible. The rites are described as Orphic, Bacchic, Egyptian, and Pythagorean. Despite the longstanding debate over the meaning and the syntax of the lines it would be useful to accept that already in antiquity the rites mentioned above were understood to be similar. This is further

confirmed by the syncretism that is noticed in the treatment of these rites by a series of ancient writers. Apuleius and Vergil are mentioned as two of them. Hence, the comment of Herodotus (or indeed of a later scholar) would simply reflect the affinity of the rites as already understood in antiquity.

CHAPTER ONE.

THE MYTH OF ATALANTA IN ANTIQUITY

ANCIENT LITERATURE: ITS PRINCIPLES

Before embarking on the treatment of ancient erotic mythology and its conventional motifs, a few words on literary critical approaches, ancient and modern, would be necessary in order to comprehend the issues that arise with regards to the understanding and appreciation of ancient texts. As scholars have often argued,[1] ancient literature seems to be ruled by principles considerably different from those which modern literary criticism has established. Originality in ancient poetry has always been a major point of debate and especially during the previous century,[2]

[1] C. Segal 1968b: 1-2; Also G. Nagy 1990: 52-81 and D.M. Hooley 1990-1: 77-92 with relevant bibliography. The discussion on literary imitation, which is the canon in ancient literary production, begins already with lyric poetry; see P.A. Miller 1994, on lyric tradition and T.G. Rosenmeyer 1992, on the mimesis of Anacreon in antiquity. Hellenistic authors had meticulously referred to the works of Homer (P. Murray 1981: 87-92) and of Hesiod (M. Griffiths 1983: 46-7 and ibid. 1990: 198) in their poetry (see chs 3 and 4 for relevant bibliography). Their literary example was revered by the Latin poets of the Augustan period and Ovid for instance, was largely thought to have derived his inspiration from previous literary works; e.g. S. Hinds 1987b: 8-17. For a negative approach to Ovid's poetic methods, see B. Otis 1938: 188-229.

[2] D.A. Russell 1979: 1-16; also, F. Cairns 1979: 121-130. Regarding Roman elegiac poets, see G. Williams 1968: 513-525. On Ovid's imitation not only of Propertius but also of Hesiod, Lucretius and even Vergil, see J.F. Miller 1983: 26-34. For Ovid and Callimachus, see D. Lateiner 1978: 188. T. Whitmarsh 2001: 29-38 studied the rules of literary writing during the *Second Sophistic*. Although his conclusions refer to a restricted and late period of ancient literary production, his argument that literature was employed in order to 'construct Greek identity in relationship to the Greek past and the Roman present' (pp.1-2) remains valuable with regards to the appreciation of literature in antiquity. It could be argued that the Hellenistic scholars were under similar pressure to continue and

Hellenistic and Augustan poetry did not enjoy much appreciation by critics,[3] mainly because the various literary genres of these periods drew their inspiration from ancient classical poetry. In addition, both Hellenistic and Augustan poets openly confess and repeatedly name their literary predecessors in their works,[4] a practice that was regarded as a scholarly technique of claiming affinity with a certain literary tradition.

Callimachus effectively argues the evolution, which occurred to poetry in the third century BC in his *Aetia*,[5] where he states his preference for short and elegant poetic forms. Callimachus and the poets who followed his literary manifesto believed that Homer had uniquely set his seal on epic composition and that there was nothing to be added to epic tradition. Any attempt at rivalling

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consolidate their Greekness in Egyptian Alexandria which led them to close dependency on classical Greek literary works. Following Whitmarsh's argument, this affinity which was a result of their "παιδεία" did not obstruct them from claiming originality in other aspects of their work (i.e. literary forms). For the expansion of this discussion to ancient (mainly Roman) art, see E.K. Gazda 2002: Introduction (cf. E.E. Perry 2002: ch7 of the same edition).

[3] Of course, scholars' partiality towards epic poetry had its roots in the belief that epic was the proper kind of verse for the encomium of heroic deeds. Homer already in Aristotle (Poet.1449a) was considered as a representative of 'serious poetry.' For a detailed analysis of the views of Plato and Aristotle on art as a form of mimesis, see S. Haliwell 2002: 37-98 and 151-207 respectively. The author described the concept of mimesis as complex but dynamic (222ff.) in ancient literary history. See H. Fraenkel 1975: 132-237 for the different treatment of Homeric concepts by early Greek lyric poets; also, see p.25 where Fraenkel comments on the linguistic borrowings of lyric poetry from the Homeric epics: 'From epic this special language was inherited by elegy; lyric also often uses epic words and forms in order to give its language an epic colouring and to conjure up epic associations. '

[4] See Prop.3.1; Ov.Am.1.15; etc. Even Tibullus (3.6.41), who generally avoided naming his models, referred to "doctus Catullus." See K. Berkman 1972: 107ff.; F. Solmsen 1961: 273-9.

[5] C.A. Trypanis 1975: Introduction; cf. 1981: 270f. Callimachus described his "Λεπταλέην Μοῦσαν" in the Prologue of the *Aetia*; A. Couat 1931: 125ff. cf. T.D. Papanghelis 1990: Introduction; R. Pfeiffer 1968: 88-92. Also, see M. Harder 1998: 95-113 on Callimachus' genre crossing in his *Aetia*. For the literary technique of genre crossing that the Alexanrian philologists seem to have practised, see ch2n5.

Homer was sentenced to be condemned as lofty pretensions.[6] Of course, epic poetry, mainly represented in ancient Greece by Homer and Hesiod, would remain the literary source of their works, but the general feeling was that poets should come up with something better than clumsy imitations. This view refutes the charge that in antiquity originality was not regarded highly.[7] Besides, Aristotle had already defined discovery as a form which could be closely connected with the plot and the action of a play, an observation that reveals a wider concept of literary originality by his time.[8]

Throughout ancient works, motifs, initially introduced in epic poetry, are systematically reworked. Mythology and legendary incidents from the life of gods and heroes, as exploited by Homer

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[6] A.H. Couat 1931: 413-415. Also, see H. Fraenkel 1975: 27 where he explains the origins and development of epic poetry and how it came to signify an essentially Greek way of life: 'So the epic, whose earliest seed sprouted in the motherland, became in its Ionian maturity and perfection the enduring possession of the Greek nation. After the recitations turned into books, Homeric epic became a universal item of education for the nation at large and an educational force for one generation of Greeks after another.'

[7] D. Lyons 1997: 30 argued that so pervasive was the interest of the Greeks in 'being the first,' that it has been said that in Greek culture 'everything had to have an inventor.' For heroes mentioned as "πρῶτος εὑρετὴς" (first inventor), see A. Brelich 1958: 166-7; also, M. Robertson 1991: 4 and D.W. Lucas 1968 who remarked that the general tendency of the Greeks to record the inventor of every artistic innovation and others indicates their appreciation of the avant-garde in the arts. Also W.K.C. Guthrie 1969: 301-2 discussing Critias' catalogue of inventors; cf. J. Van Sickle 2000: 40-1 and 54 where he discusses the notion of the first inventor of bucolic music and how Vergil treated the motif; according to Van Sickle, "first' and 'taught' are characteristic motifs in stories of poetic and cultural origin;' also, see ch2n14.

[8] Arist.Poet.1452a-b. S. Halliwell 2002: 92-98 juxtaposes the stance of Plato and Aristotle towards poetry as a medium of gaining deeper understanding of the real object the artist is imitating. He argues that while Plato fails to trust the citizen's imaginative engagement with poetry, Aristotle offers a solution by separating imagination from reason; Aristotle (pp.163ff.) recognises the human need for emotional understanding of their world and the power of poetic fiction to enhance this understanding by offering versions against which the individual is asked to re-evaluate their emotional reaction to reality.

or Hesiod, are used as stock material that nourishes poetic inspiration for all later times.[9] Ancient Greek lyric poets, who emphatically engaged with love in all its nuances in their works, were the first to appreciate their epic heritage.[10] Apart from the heroic myths they adduce from Homer, lyric poets tend also to exploit legends favoured for their erotic content.[11] Hellenistic writers seem to continue the tradition of Greek lyric poetry since in their works love gradually gained ground as a poetic theme.[12] This tendency is further developed by Latin elegiac poets who almost exclusively celebrate in their works the joys and sorrows of love.[13]

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[9] See for example, A.R. Sharrock 1988: 406-12; J. Griffin 1977: 43-9 on the uniqueness of Homer. R. Garner 1990: 24 and *passim*; A. Adkins 1985: 21-9 (cf. Adkins 1990).

[10] D.A. Campbell 1967: 62 and 55 respectively; in poem 357 Alcaeus treated the happy marriage of Hector and Andromache, while in poem 42 he compared the love of Thetis and Peleus that led to their legendary wedding with the wedlock of Helen to Menelaus (cf. Introduction, n22). These two examples could verify that erotic mythology was already a literary source for the archaic poets. See J.M. Barringer 1995: 69-94; M.S. Cyrino 1995: 7-69; A. Adkins 1982: 292-326; E. Bickerman 1976: 229-54; A. Carson 1986: 41 and A.L. Keith 1914: 43 commented on the lyric perception of love as a violent entity that attacks humans in 'epic terms;' in other words, Greek lyric poets employed Homeric vocabulary to render their erotic images; also, see R.L. Fowler 1987: 39-50.

[11] It has been argued (A.H. Couat 1931: 70-82) that mythological elements were introduced in erotic poetry by Antimachus (end of 5th century BC) and were more widely treated later by Hellenistic writers who followed his example. However, one can readily observe that erotic connotations, already found in ancient Greek lyric poetry, were often rendered through well-known Homeric myths. For the role of Antimachus of Colophon in the formation of later poetry, see V.J. Matthews 1996: 1-15. Also for erotic scenes in epic poetry, see C. Calame 1999: 39-51; cf. H. Fraenkel 1975: 441-467 who comments on mythic themes in choral poetry.

[12] Hellenistic writers composed so-called 'objective' elegies, which dealt with the amatory adventures of heroes or gods, but they also attained very personal tones in their epigrams. N. Krevans 1993: 150-4 explored the similarities between Callimachus and Antimachus.

[13] See indicatively F.O. Copley 1956: 56ff.; R.O.A.M. Lyne 1980: 73ff.; D.F. Kennedy 1993; G. Luck 1969; H.P. Stahl 1985; J. Connolly 2000: 71-98; E. Greene 1995: 303-318 and 1999; J. Griffin 1985: 112-141; P. Toohey 1997: 198-211; R.A. Smith 1994: 247f.; R. Robert 1992: 373-438;

In lyric poetry the link between erotic myth and ritual, emphatically evident in the choral enactments of Alcman, for example, at particular religious occasions, serves as a first platform for a more systematic interaction of the two in literature. The complementary relation of erotic mythology and ritual soon translates into a common pattern that permeates ancient literature to the point that the Alexandrians who are very aware of their literary efforts often use it to shed new light to the understanding of certain myths regardless whether the erotic myth was initially part of a ritual or it could simply be read as such.[14]

One of the most versatile erotic myths during the Hellenistic years is the myth of Atalanta. The course of the myth from its first appearance in literature to Hellenistic and Roman poetry will be examined in the following pages. The myth is not simple or straightforward but has many variants, which reflect the richness of traditional concepts associated with it. Its possible symbolism and its impression on the ancient perception of love will be also examined.

THE MYTH OF ATALANTA: A REFLECTION FROM RITUAL?

The legend was initially introduced into Greek literature by Hesiod (2nd half of 8th century BC), who presented the heroine as the daughter of the Boeotian Schoeneus and as a keen foot-racer. The myth is structured on Atalanta's aversion to marriage. To this purpose, the heroine (or her father) had set as a prerequisite for her hand a foot race that her suitors had to run against her. Atalanta would normally win the race and she would persecute the defeated to their death. Her successful lover was Hippomenes, who

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A.M. Keith 1994: 27ff.; S.L. James 2003; T. Fear 2000: 217-40; L. Cahoon 1988: 293-307. E.D. Harvey 1989: 115-138 and P. Bing and R. Cohen 1991 attempt to identify the sequence of motifs and ideas from Greek lyric poetry to Roman elegy; cf. E.A. Havelock 1939 on the lyric background of Catullus.

[14] G. Nagy 1990: 223-262, ibid.: 1996: 219f. and 2004 (online); E. Stehle 1997; C. Calame 1977: 436-8; ibid.: 1995: 179ff. and 1999: 52f.; C. Bowra ²1961; B. Gentili 1988, G. Hutchinson 2001; E.A. Havelock 1963: 199f. and 1982: 19; W.G. Thalmann 1984; R. Thomas 1989: 6-8 and 1992; P.A. Miller 1994: 81-2; E.L. Bowie 1986: 13-35; W. Rösler 1980: 40f.

managed to beat her with the help of the apples, which Aphrodite had given him.

In the *Catalogue of Women*, a detailed account of Hippomenes' device has survived. Aphrodite's protégé delayed Atalanta by throwing at her the divine apples one by one:[15]

.] . [.].....αρ[
δεξιτερῆι δ' αρ...ει[
κ]αί μιν ἐπαΐσσων επ[
ἦχ' ὑποχωρήσασ'· οὐ γὰρ ἴσ[ον ἀμφοτέροισιν
ἆθλον ἔκειθ'· ἢ μέν ῥα π[οδώκης δῖ' Ἀταλάντη
ἴετ' ἀναινομένη δῶρα [χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης,
τῶι δὲ περὶ ψυχῆς πέλε[το δρόμος, ἠὲ ἁλῶναι
ἠὲ φυγεῖν· τῶι καί ῥα δολο[φρονέων προσέειπεν·
"ὦ θύγατερ Σχοινῆος, ἀμ[είλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα,
δ]έξο τάδ' ἀγλα[ὰ] δῶρα θε[ᾶς χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης,
.....πό μ[.....]ωεθο[
.....]ρων πα[
.....]ν κάββαλε
.....]εις χρυ[σ
.[.....] . [.] κηπα[
τυφ. [.....] . [.]χαμα
αὐτὰρ ὃ [.....πό]δεσσι μ[
ἣ δ' αἶψ' ὤσθ' Ἅρπυια μετ[αχρονίοισι πόδεσσιν
ἔμμαρψ'· αὐτα[ρ ὃ] χειρὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἦ[κε χαμᾶζε:

καὶ δὴ ἔχεν δύο μῆλα ποδώκης δῖ' Ατ[αλάντη·
ἐγγὺς δ' ἦν τέλεος· ὃ δὲ τὸ τρίτον ἦκε χ[αμᾶζε·
σὺν τῶι δ' ἐξέφυγεν θάνατον καὶ κῆ[ρα μέλαιναν,
ἔστη δ' ἀμπνείων καὶ [...] ...[...]...σομ.[

In the lines cited above Hesiod describes Atalanta as having "ἀμ[είλιχον ἦτορ,"[16] an adjective which in cult is profoundly

[15] Merkelbach-West 1985: fr.76; cf. I.M. Cohen 1989-90: 12-27; J. Boardman s.v. 'Atalanta,' LIMC 2, 1984: 940-50. There has been much dispute on the dates of Hesiod who according to the Parian marble lived one generation earlier than Homer, in the late 10th century BC; however, see the OCD [3]1999, s.v. 'Hesiod:' 'Hesiod's absolute date is now agreed to fall not far before or after 700 BC.'

[16] The expression "ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ" is Homeric (Hom.Il.9.572) and it was also attributed to Hades (Hom.Il.9.158). The adjective is well suited to Atalanta who was proven deadly to her suitors. However, this remark is

attached to Artemis.[17] Additionally, the devotees of Artemis are described as "ἀπομειλισσόμεναι τὴν θεάν" during the Arkteia at Brauron, a ritual festival which at some historical point every Athenian maiden should have undergone before marriage.[18] Hence,

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based on an emendation on the text by Merkelbach-West 1985: fr.76.

[17] S.G. Cole 1998: 27-43 esp.30-5 and 1984: 233-44; also K. Dowden 1989: 169-70. Paus.7.18-21 reported a legend according to which the city of Patras was punished with plague (*loimos*) and famine (*limos*) because a priestess of Artemis entertained her lover in the sanctuary of the goddess. Later sources such as Ovid attached to Atalanta and her spouse a similar offence against the Mother of the Gods which resulted to their transformation to lions (see p.42-4; cf. n74 below); cf. J.M. Redfield 1990: 115-134, esp.116 and 130-1; G. Baudy 1998: 143-67; also, see R. Parker 1983: 66 who supported that 'by banning birth, death and sexuality from sacred places, the Greeks emphasised the gulf that separates the nature of god and man;' cf. M. Dillon 2002: 193. In Euripides' Hel.10-5, 865-72, 876-91, 939, 1006-8 Theonoe was a virgin priestess who could submit herself to the gods because similar submission was not required of her by a husband. R. Parker 1983: 93 argued that there was a kind of analogy between such a woman and sacrificial animals, or sacred land, 'let go' by mortals for the use of gods (cf. Eur.Troad.41-2).

[18] Schol.Leid.Ar.Lys.645; cf. C. Sourvinou-Inwood 1971: 339-42. There have been several disputes regarding the age and the numbers of the girls who would undergo this coming of age ritual: Suda s.v. "ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίοις: ἐψηφίσαντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μὴ πρότερον συνοικίζεσθαι ἀνδρὶ παρθένον εἰ μὴ ἀρκτεύσειε τῇ θεῷ;" see P. Perlman 1983: 115-30; cf. ibid. 1989: 111-113. Moreover, see Suda s.v. "προτέλεια," described as a pre-marriage sacrifice to the Nymphs; cf. Plut.Am.narr.772b and schol.Theoc.Id.2.66 for the appeasement of Artemis by those about to marry or pregnant for the first time; also cf. Apostolius 10.96. See K. Dowden 1989: 26-31; T.C.W. Stinton 1976: 11-13; L. Kahil 1977: 86-98 and 1988: 799-813; C.S. Guettel 1984: 233-44; E. Cantarella 1987: 20-3. Apart from Brauron, girls' passage rites were held at Aulis, Mounichia and Halai, K. Dowden ibid.: 21-23, 32-4; C. Sourvinou-Inwood 1990: 1-14; R. Hamilton 1989: 449-72. C. Faraone 2003: 43-68 argued that the *Arkteia* should be understood as substitute sacrifice that could be even performed privately (and not at a *polis* level) rather than as initiation ritual; yet his analysis did not include the numerous initiation rites in which sacrifice represents a crucial step towards their completion (also, see M. Jost 2003: 146 on Arcadian mystery cults: 'at Brauron, the *Arkteia*, the rite central to the Brauronies, is called a *mysterion*'). On this argument, I rather subsribe to the views of S. Price 1999: 17 and 94 and to S. Cole 1998: 27 (cited by Faraone n4) who

it could be assumed that Hesiod addressed Atalanta as "ἀμ[είλιχον" in a nuptial context of similar character with the ritual festivities in which Artemis preceded.[19] Atalanta, as well as the girls who sought to appease the goddess, was bound to get married[20] and arouse the anger of Artemis[21] who had asked her father, Zeus, to grant her eternal virginity.[22] The abhorrence at the idea of marriage that the divine huntress represented in antiquity seems to be well

admitted the initiatory character of the ritual. Also, see J. Barringer 2002: 139-145; on page 154 she refers to the Calydonian Hunt as 'a typical initiatory hunt for Meleager, and by initiatory, I do not mean a public ritual…'

[19] J. Larson 1995: 78. The epithet *Meilichios / Meilichia* is also associated with chthonic cults. At Thespiai in Boeotia, Zeus Meilichios was paired with Meilichia, while in Thessaly Zeus Meilichios was also paired with the chthonic figure Einodia (also, see nn16 and 70; cf. ch4n17). However, as argued below (n73), Einodia has been identified with Artemis. For the Near Eastern identifications of Zeus Meilichios, see Philo of Byblos in A.I. Baumgarten's commentary 1981: 14; cf. N. Robertson 2003: 221 for the association of this cult with the tradition of the divine Mother.

[20] Of course, Artemis could fulfil her desire to remain unwed due to her divine nature, unlike Atalanta (and other human counterparts of Artemis discussed below: see nn64, 66 and 77 for Iphigeneia, nn82, 220-1 for Callisto; cf. n130) who was obliged to succumb to the norms of human society. S. Blundell 1998: 67 referred to Athena, another virginal deity who assumed the role of the 'Virgin Warrior,' 'the loyal daughter who in the ideal world of the gods could resist all pressures to marry.' J.P. Gould 1980: 38-59.

[21] Artemis was always associated with female attendants who like Atalanta would prefer roaming in the mountains and would spurn marriage. Usually for reasons confined to failed sexual transgressions heroines such as Callisto, Comaetho or Cyrene aroused the anger of the goddess who subsequently destroyed them; see Theoc.Id.27.63 where Acrotime, no longer a maiden, tries to appease Artemis: "Ἄρτεμι, μὴ νεμέσα σοῖς ῥήμασιν οὐκέτι πιστῇ;" also, see J. Larson 1995: 116-121, K. Dowden 1989: 24; L. Kahil 1981: 253-63, 1976: 126-30 and 1979: 73-87.

[22] Sapph.44a.5-11 (Campbell): "Ἀρτεμις δὲ θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον ἀπώμοσε· /νὴ τὰν σὰν κεφαλάν, αἴ, πάρθενος ἔσσομαι /ἄδμης οἰοπόλων ὀρέων κορύφαισ' ἔπι /θηρεύοισ'· ἄγι καὶ τά]δε νεῦσον ἔμαν χάριν. /ὡς εἶπ'· αὐτὰρ ἔνευ]σε θέων μακάρων πάτηρ. /πάρθενον δ' ἐλαφάβ]ολον ἀγροτέραν θέοι /ἄνθρωποί τε κάλ]εισιν ἐπωνύμιον μέγα. κήναι λυσιμέλης]Ἔρος οὐδάμα πίλναται." In the Hom.h.Ven.16-17, the goddess was admitted to have been unable to tame Artemis in love: "οὐδέ ποτ' Ἀρτέμιδα χρυσηλάκατον κελαδεινὴν /δάμναται ἐν φιλότητι φιλομμειδὴς' Ἀφροδίτη."

personified by Atalanta who was offered in marriage by her father, presumably against her own wishes,[23] in a scene with a rather strong Homeric setting:[24]

[23] In Hyg.Fab.185 (2nd century AD) Atalanta asked her father not to force her in matrimony: "Schoeneus Atalantam filiam virginem formosissimam dicitur /habuisse, quae virtute sua cursu viros superabat. Ea petiit a patre /ut se virginem servaret." Apollod.Bibl.3.9.2 mentioned that Atalanta was convinced by her father to get married. Hyginus' only innovation was that he clearly stated that Atalanta's father actually wanted his daughter to get married. Although this was efficiently implied even in Hesiod, Hyginus underlined the fact that Schoeneus conceived the games precisely because he wished Hippomenes to marry his daughter: "Cui [Hippomene] Schoeneus *ob industriam* libens filiam suam /dedit uxorem" (my italics); cf. nn52 and 58 below. See J. Barringer 1996: 19-20 for the artistic representation of this scene: on a calyx crater from Bologna dated in c. 420 BC the Dinos painter depicted Atalanta naked (also see p.22 where she wrote: 'In this way, Atalanta represents everyday reality for the Greeks; she is expressive of a girl's reluctance to marry and leave her fathers's home'). However, this view overlooks the understanding of the myth as dramatisation of reality, a trend very common in rituals and folklore wedding songs (cf. J. Barringer 2002: 163-7, where she revised and considered aspects of Atalanta's myths as derived from coming of age rituals; cf. n198).

[24] See Merkelbach-West 1985: fr.75; the scene bears much resemblance to the Odyssey, where Penelope's intention to set a competition for the suitors was officially announced at the meeting of the City Council. Also, note that Penelope like Atalanta (in most versions) set the rules for the competition of her suitors herself. The motif of deception was also present in both stories: Penelope delayed her wedding by deception (she supposedly wove a shroud for Laertes) and Hippomenes used the apples in order to delay Atalanta. A. Amory 1963: 100-21 commented on Penelope's motivation in setting the contest of the bow in a context of revenge rather than as a (re-) marriage ritual pattern. On the importance of the role of Penelope, also see J. Winkler 1990: 129-61. It is interesting that the contest for Penelope's sake ended in utter bloodshed as much as the contest announced by Atalanta. Odysseus was compared to Meleager, Atalanta's suitor in the adventure of the Calydonian Hunt (p.21) with regards to hunting as a rite of passage to maturity for Greek *ephebes*; see N. Rubin and W. Sale 1983: 137-142; G. Ferrari 2003: 27- 42 argued that first marriage does not change the social status of a woman in antiquity; cf. B. Lincoln 1991: 102 cited in Ferrari's n59; the similarities between new bride Atalanta and the twice given out Penelope could cast more light into the discussion. In addition, before doubting the existence of female status in ancient Greece, one should

]οπαζε[
]
]ασιππ[
]σσι
.....τ]ανίσφυρ[ο]ς ὤρνυτο κούρη
.....]α· πολὺς δ'ἀμφίσταθ' ὅμιλος
.....θ]άμβος δ' ἔχε πάντας ὁρῶντα[ς
.....πν]οιὴ Ζεφύροιο χιτῶνα
.....πε]ρὶ στήθεσσ' ἁπαλοῖσι
.....πολ]λὸς δ' επεγείρετο λαός
.....Σχ]οινεὺς δ' ἐγέγωνε βοήσας·
"κέκλυτέ μευ πάντες, ἠμ]ὲν νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες,
ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς] ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.
.....]ἐμὴν ἐλικώπιδα κούρην
.....]οι εἰρημένος ἔστω·
.....Ζευς δ' ἄμ]μ' ἐπιμάρτυρος ἔστω·
.....].ήσεται· εἰ δέ κεν οὗτος
νικήσηι καί οἱ δώηι Ζεὺς] κῦδος ἀρέσθαι
ἄλλοι τ' ἀθάνατοι, οἳ 'Ολύμ]πια δώματ' ἔχουσι,
.....φί]λην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν·
.....ὠκυ]πόδων σθένος ἵππων
.....κε]ιμήλια· καί νύ κε θυμῶι
.....]α ἀνιηρὸν ἄεθλον.
εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώησι πα]τὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε

The parallelism between Artemis and Atalanta, which is only implicit in the Hesiodic poetry, is further fostered by later sources and becomes more explicit in the Ovidian text as it will be argued below. In addition, pseudo-Apollodorus wrote:[25]

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examine the religious responsibilities that ancient society entrusted in the hands of married women (and not of maidens); see ch2n238 and ch5n91.

[25] See Merkelbach-West 1985: fr.72 (Ps.-Apollod.Bibl.3.[109]9.2 = p.138.6 Wagner); cf. Eur.Ph.151-53; Callim3.215-17; Ael.VH.13.1.19-20; schol.Aesch.Th.532d-f, 532i-k; schol.Hom.Il.2.764. The argument is an old one: J.A.K. Thomson 1914: 51 was willing to observe that probably Atalanta was a 'replica,' a human other-self of Artemis. J. Barringer 1996: 50ff. recognised the similarities between Atalanta and the goddess herself. On p.65 she noticed that Artemis, who reflected the dangers of transitions, was as ambiguous as Atalanta, while on page 75 she wrote that Atalanta's life was 'typical of devotees of Artemis (and of Artemis herself).' Scholars like L.R. Farnell 1921: 55-58 and P. Clement 1934: 396-409 believed that heroes often assumed the characteristics of gods. Although this study focuses on the interaction between myth and cult

τού]των δ' ἥπται
καὶ] τῆς τούτοις
οὐδὲ κ]αθηκούσης
τύχης π]ᾶν τὸ παρ–
θένων] καὶ τοῦ Διὸς
γένος] εἰ καὶ Ἀτα–
λάντη] ἡ Σχο[ι]νέως
ὥσπερ] Ἡσίοδος λέ–
γεται π]οιῆσαι πα–
ρωνύ]μ(ι)ον ἢ δού–
λη Ἀρτ]έμιδος ἐσ–
τιν]

The confirmation that Hesiod names Atalanta's husband Hippomenes comes from a Homeric scholiast, who additionally specifies that he was depicted as competing with her naked:[26]

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rather than with the problem of their time sequence, it seems that often heroes assumed divine characteristics in a quasi-historical context; see C. Calame 2003: 19-20, 83-88, and 99-103. Calame discusses the tradition of Cyrene, another devotee of Artemis who begets a son, Aristaeus, by Apollo. Calame focuses on the transformations of Cyrene from a girl to a mother and from an athlete to a sovereign; ancient poets compared the heroine to Artemis and her son was specifically conceived in the likeness of Apollo and Zeus. In poetry, the two comparisons sought to establish different links with the divine, yet both were used as widely understood points of reference. Aristaeus (Calame ibid.: 69, 78-9; cf. ch5), who in Farnell ibid.: 49-52 features as an earth spirit, poses here as a sanction to Cyrene for her rape and as her contribution to the political future of her city. This clue points to a general tendency of defining heroes according to their closeness to the divine. J. Barringer ibid.: 57 underlines the connection between the Athenian *Ephebeia*, the liminal location of the myth that corresponds to the festival and the character of the gods that precede in it; cf. D.B. Dodd 2003: 71-84.

[26] See schol.Eur.Ph.150; schol.Theoc.3.40-2b-d; schol.Ap.Rhod.1.769-773; Eust.adHom.Il.4.814.13-4; Nonn.Dion.48.180-2; Lib.Progym.33-34; Myht.Vat.1.39; schol.T.Hom.23.683b1 (vi.435 Maass); cf. schol.AD.Hom. ad loc: the *scholia* mention that during the 14th Olympian Games clothing costed Orsippus either the victory or even his very life; the incident gave reason to the rule that althletes should run naked. It also appears that in Greek mentality the primary association of nudity was with the educational and social values of the gymnasium. Culturally it represented the ideal of belonging to a particular social and age group that in the archaic period reflected young aristocrats. Of course, beauty and virtue

"νεώτερος οὖν Ἡσίοδος γυμνόν εἰσάγων
Ἱππομένη ἀγωνιζόμενον Ἀταλάντηι."

This testimony could mean that already from the archaic period a definite erotic element and perhaps an erotic symbolism existed in the myth of Atalanta. This suspicion is further corroborated by Atalanta's portrayal in ancient art: although only one vase painting has been positively identified as depicting the footrace of Atalanta and Hippomenes, artistic representations of Atalanta's wrestling against Peleus and of her adventure in the Calydonian Hunt with Meleager have confirmed Atalanta's erotic disposition and the erotic aspect of her adventures.[27] The race in which Atalanta and Hippomenes competed with each other held apparently an essential part in the mythic plot already in the Hesiodic poetry and it underlines the initiatory character of the

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were associated with it, both of which were defined through the *gymnasion*. On the meaning of *gymnos*, see M. McDonnell 1991: 183 and nn.3-4 with bibliography. Also cf. C. Calame 1999: 101-109 who commented on erotic practices in the male area of the gymnasium. The anonymous Chalcidian verses that Calame cites on page 108 refer to boys who 'possess the Graces and *noble fathers*' (my emphasis). For the possible initiatory importance of nudity, see L. Bonfante 1989: 543-70 also quoted by Calame ibid.: 108n36 and J. Barringer 1996: 70 who refers to Atalanta's frequent representations in the palaestra and the clearly erotic connotations of her adventure against Peleus; see esp.n113 on a red-figure hydria by Psiax (c. 520-510BC); Atalanta wrestles with Peleus who is depicted with Dionysian elements often associated with frustrated sexual desires. Cf. N. Marinatos 2000: 12ff. where she defines nudity with regards to the fertility goddess as a feature of her powerful sexuality. Also, see S.B. Pomeroy 1975: 142-46.

[27] For the erotic elements of the myths associated with Atalanta as rendered by ancient artists, see J. Barringer 1996: 62-74; the author noticed that most out of 15 Attic vases dated between 600-550 BC that rendered the myth of the Calydonian Hunt were associated with nuptial customs, a clue that corroborates her theory that Atalanta's mythology is to be understood in terms of initiatory rites (cf. n161). A chase between male and female initiatory groups was a typical feature of several local festivals throughout the Doric and Aeolian parts of Greece –including the Aeolian Boeotia, where the myth of Atalanta was also preserved. Often these festivals were held in honour of Dionysus, who in cult is closely associated with Artemis, during the spring month Agrionios /Agrianios, which sometimes followed directly on the month for Artemis' ceremonies. K. Dowden 1989: 84-5.

myth. Races between girls[28] were often mentioned as ordinary occupation of those who participated in coming of age rites in the context of Artemis' cult at Brauron.[29] The girls were sometimes dressed in short, rather ragged tunics, sometimes they were competing nude.[30] Later authors such as Callimachus and Ovid depicted Atalanta as dressed in a similar fashion.[31] According to

[28] Also, see G. Sissa 1990: 343-6 who discussed Hdt.4.180; in this passage the historian described an annual festival of the inhabitants of Lake Tritonis in Libya in honour of a local deity whom the Greeks called Athena. During the festival, the girls were divided into two groups and they attacked each other with sticks and stones. Those who died of their wounds were called 'pseudoparthenoi,' 'false-virgins;' cf. S. Ribichini 1978: 39-60. For athletic contest(s) as part of the wedding process, see R. Seaford 1994: 60-1. Also, see J. Barringer 1996: 50esp.nn11 and 12 with references on rites for boys and girls and their frequent overlapping (cf. n109 below). On page 49 she wrote about Atalanta: 'This devotee of Artemis is not only a female hunter but also a female ephebe, a paradox sometimes expressed visually by Atalanta's appearance in the guise of other outsiders, particularly Amazons and maenads;' cf. ibid. 2002: 127ff., 156-161, 205-6. On page 147 she argues that in the Calydonian Hunt there is actually a gender reversal for Meleager and Atalanta who step in each other's traditional roles (cf. C. Segal 1999: 301-40).

[29] Paus.5.16.2-8; see K. Dowden 1989: 161. Generally, races and sports are typical activities in the education of the age group. Girls themselves race in memory of Hippodameia at Elis or in the Attic Arkteia. There were, of course, races between the boys as well. There is evidence that coming of age rites for both girls and boys were often held in sanctuaries of close proximity from each other (e.g. Brauron and Halai); ibid. 33-4; also, see G. Arrigoni 1985: 55-201. For these rituals as preparation of young boys and girls in order to fulfil their social roles, see F. Graf 1998a: 11-32.

[30] See I. Clark 1998: 13-26, esp.20-1: The girls also participated in ritual races for Hera at Olympia as part of the process of acculturation that leads them from childhood to sexual and social maturity. These races have a close parallel with the festival of Artemis Brauronia in Attica; several vase-paintings of girls engaged in races in honour of Artemis survive: L. Kahil 1963: 5-29 and 1965: 20-33; E.D. Reeder 1995: 321-35; E. Fantham 1994: 59-64 and 85; J. Kontis 1967: 160-73. The statues are to be seen in the Brauron Museum. For the role of Hera and Artemis in ancient wedding ceremonies, see M. Detienne 1981: 65-73 and J.M. Redfield 1982: 194-201.

[31] In classical iconography, Artemis was depicted as a youthful figure

Pausanias, the ritual included isolation from the rest of the community similar to the isolation for which famous attendants of Artemis such as Callisto and Cyrene yearned and by comparison similar to the hunting isolation that Atalanta preferred.[32]

Apollodorus[33] was obviously aware of Hesiod's treatment to which he directly referred in order to note his differentiation from him regarding the name of Atalanta's successful suitor. Contrary to Hesiod, Apollodorus introduced the name of Melanion:

> "....ἤδη δὲ πολλῶν ἀπολομένων Μελανίων αὐτῆς ἐρασθεὶς ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν δρόμον, χρύσεα μῆλα κομίζων παρ' Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ διωκόμενος ταῦτα ἔρριπτεν. ἡ δὲ ἀναιρουμένη τὰ ῥιπτούμενα τὸν δρόμον ἐνικήθη. ἔγημεν οὖν αὐτὴν Μελανίων. καὶ ποτε λέγεται μεσημβριοῦντας αὐτοὺς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ τέμενος Διός, κἀκεῖ συνουσιάζοντας *εἰς*

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with a short *chiton* and a girl's hairstyle. She normally carried her bow and a quiver of arrows; like her brother Apollo, she was often accompanied by an animal; for bows as a sign of divinity, see A. Schnapp 1979: 197; cf. P. Vidal-Naquet 1986: 88 who argues that archers, like Artemis and Atalanta, were marginal figures. W. Burkert 1985: 150; see J. Barringer 1996: 55 for an ancient hydria dated c. 550 BC where Atalanta is represented as an Amazon with helmet and short *chiton*. Also ibid.: 67 for Atalanta's depiction on Attic black-figured vases with a short *chiton* or seminaked (she wears a *perizoma*). Cf. Xen.Ephes.1.2.2-7 who described a local beauty during a festival at Ephesos where the cult of Artemis was prominent; [see Strab.4.1.5 for the transmission of the cult from Ephesos to Massilia and then Rome]; according to Xenophon, Anthia was dressed in a purple, knee-length tunic and girt that reached the upper arm; she also wore a deerskin on top of it; she carried a quiver, bow, arrows and spears [like the Arcadian Atalanta], and she was escorted by hunting dogs. The Ephesians often worshipped her as Artemis.

[32] K. Dowden 1989: 31. Also, see page 37 quoting the scholiast of Pausanias. The cult of Artemis would normally take place outside the borders of the city, where the majority of her sanctuaries were located. See S.G. Cole 1998: 27-43, esp.27-9; R. Osborne 1994: 143-60; V. Turner 1967b: 93-111.

[33] Apollod.Bibl.3.9.12; also cf. 1.9.16; Apollodorus is dated around 180 BC, but his dates are highly debatable, ([3]OCD s.v. Apollodorus). Please, note that Melanion is quoted here as the transliteration of the Greek "Μελανίων;" similar in n211 where Aristophanes' text is cited. In Latin, the name becomes Milanio; cf. Xen.Cyn.1.7; schol.Eur.Ph.150; schol.Ap.Rhod.1.769.

> *λέοντας ἀλλαγῆναι. Ἡσίοδος δὲ καί τινες ἕτεροι τὴν Ἀταλάντην οὐκ Ἰάσου*[34] *ἀλλὰ Σχοινέως εἶπον*[35]*, Εὐριπίδης δὲ Μαινάλου καὶ τὸν γήμαντα αὐτὴν οὐ Μελανίωνα ἀλλ' Ἱππομένην...*"[36] (my emphasis)

Apollodorus added some new elements to the tale and his narration is very important in order to establish how ancient scholars perceived the myth of Atalanta. It could be suggested that Apollodorus tried to combine the traditional Hesiodic material with a Hellenistic innovation regarding the exposure of Atalanta by her father when she was an infant. Allegedly, the heroine was exposed in the wilderness because her father preferred a male child, a detail repeated later by pseudo-Apollodorus (Bibl.3.10.2). Some hunters came to her rescue and hence, Atalanta's inclination towards hunting could be explained by her rustic upbringing:

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[34] J.G. Fraser ²1939 (Loeb) has "θηρεύοντας" instead of "μεσημβριοῦντας." For the names attributed to Atalanta's father, see K. Dowden 1989: 121-2: 'it is an old suggestion that Iasos means 'Ionic' and one that presents some difficulty both in phonology and in application.' Apollod.Bibl.3.9.2 mentioned that Iasios, 'a man of Arcadia,' won the footrace at an Olympic Games in legendary times. Also, see Paus.5.8.4; Val.Flacc.4.353 who referred to Atalanta as "virginis Iasiae;" cf. Prop.1.1.10 [as Iasis] and Thgn.1288 [as ἁ Ἰασίου κούρην, παρθένον' Ἰασιήν"]. The Arcadian and the Boiotian versions of the story seems to have been conflated from an early date; J. Barringer 1996: 49nn2 and 3.

[35] The name Schoeneus was perhaps derived from "σχοῖνος" which means rush, reed but it also signified the basket, an implement especially sacred to girls' transition rites; see Ar.Lys.638-47: "κᾆτ' ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίοις· /κἀκανηφόρουν ποτ' οὖσα /παῖς καλὴ 'χουσ' / ἰσχάδων ὁρμαθόν." In addition, the word "σχοῖνος" is often employed in bucolic poetry (see Liddell-Scott s.v. "σχοῖνος"); cf. Th.1.53 where a young boy plaits a cricket cage with rush; see R. Hunter 1999: 84 and A.S.F. Gow 1952: 13 and 164. *Schoinos* was also a land measurement. For the association of the myth of Atalanta with rustic heroes, see pp.17-18.

[36] The only other tradition associated with the name of Hippomenes was that of an Athenian noble who enraged with his deflowered daughter shut her up in a sealed room with a mad horse that eventually devoured her. J. Larson 1995: 98. The story has survived in Aeschin.InTim.182; Ov.Ib.333, 457; Suda s.v. "Παρίππον καὶ κόρη;" J. Boardman (LIMC 5) 1990: 465-66; Callim.fr.94Pf; cf. schol.Eur.Ph.150. On Melanion, see Hellan.FGrH99 and 162; also J. Boardman (LIMC 6) 1992: 404-5.

> "...Ἰάσου δὲ καὶ Κλυμένης τῆς Μινύου Ἀταλάντη ἐγένετο. *ταύτης δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ἀρρένων παίδων ἐπιθυμῶν ἐξέθηκεν αὐτήν, ἄρκτος δὲ φοιτῶσα πολλάκις θηλὴν ἐδίδου* (my emphasis) μέχρις οὗ εὑρόντες κυνηγοὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀνέτρεφον. τελεία δὲ Ἀταλάντη γενομένη παρθένον ἑαυτὴν ἐφύλαττε, καὶ θηρεύουσα ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καθωπλισμένη διετέλει...."[37]

This attachment to the myth occurred initially in Hellenistic writers and it has an affinity with the popular comedies of Menander in which babies were often exposed or lost only to be recognised by the end of the play.[38] However, the motif was previously treated in epic and in tragedy and Apollodorus was familiar with both genres.[39] In addition, the suckling of the baby by a bear could imply again the heroine's association with the sphere of the huntress Artemis.[40] Apollodorus specifically mentioned that

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[37] The genealogy of Atalanta seems to associate her with inauspicious figures; Apollodorus named her mother Clymene, which in the masculine form [Clymenos] was a typical epithet of Hades; J. Larson 1995: 78, 87 and 180n4. This detail emphasises Atalanta's reputed cruelty (cf. n75) as well as her kinship with Artemis, the goddess that was reputed to bring death to women (nn63 and 98). Also, the name Minyas derives from the verb "μινύθω" which means to diminish, [to lessen, to weaken]. Therefore, "Μινυηθάδιος" designated a short-lived person, as indeed Atalanta and Hippomenes proved to be. Besides K. Dowden 1989: 3, 36-41 and 46-7, referred to marriage in terms of female sacrifice and death; also K. Stears 1998: 119. C. Faraone 2003: 43-68.

[38] Also cf. Long.l.3.5 where Dryas discovered Chloe while she was sucking one of his goats. See M. Huys 1995: 334 who argued that in a sense Euripides paved the way for Menander's frequent episodes that feature exposure of babies and their later recognition; cf. n43. Huys also argued that the exposure of babies might have been associated with the ritual expulsion of the *pharmakos*. Also, see pp.35-41 where Huys explains the folkloric approach of the motif according to which the recognition of the babies is insignificant and often implied in the exposure itself.

[39] Cf. Soph.Oed., Eur.Ion, Hom.h.Aesculap.3 dedicated to Asclepius. Apollodorus seems to have exploited the motif to some extent in his work: see Apollod.Bibl.3.12.5 for the exposure of Paris; also 2.7.4 and 3.9.1 for Telephus' similar fortune.

[40] Apollodorus described in every detail how Atalanta survived by suckling a bear before the hunters found her. Atalanta could be paralleled to Callisto: the latter turned into a bear under the auspices of Artemis, a

Atalanta preferred roaming armed in the wilderness and Artemis 'in her manifestations as huntress, shooter of the bow and arrow and ruler of wild things, particularly animals, is associated not only with the virgin figure but also with the female gender.'[41] Consequently, his initiative to add this detail to the heroine's adventures could reveal the tradition to which Apollodorus understood the myth to belong. The author joined the two elements of the story (i.e. the absence and then the presence of a family) rather abruptly because, although he otherwise seems quite preoccupied with rendering inner coherence to his narration, he mentioned nothing about the circumstances that led Atalanta to meet her parents:

"... ἀνευροῦσα δὲ ὕστερον
τοὺς γονέας, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ γαμεῖν αὐτὴν ἔπειθεν...."

The scenery changes suddenly and we are transferred in the Hesiodic setting where Schoeneus is depicted to have convinced his daughter to set a speed race for her suitors.[42]

Apollodorus' addition to the story of Atalanta could be compared with the similar childhood adventures of several natural deities such as Daphnis or Adonis or even initiatory cult heroes such as Melampous who were also allegedly exposed as babies.[43]

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tale that belongs to the southern Arcadia (K. Dowden 1989: 181-4). Similarly Atalanta is exposed by her father and suckled by a bear; K. Dowden ibid.: 24; F. Scanlon 1990: 103. On the relation of Artemis with Callisto, see W. Sale 1962: 122-41 and 1965: 11-35.

[41] L. Beaumont 1998: 71-95, esp.85; E.D. Reeder 1995: 123-94; also, see J.P. Vernant 1991: 195-219 who associated the importance of Artemis in sacrificial process with her role as protectress of coming of age rites and marriage where the 'initiate' is seen as the sacrificial animal (cf. n37); also, see C. Faraone 2003: 43ff. and G. Ferrari 2003: 27-42.

[42] For the tradition of winning a bride after a kind of race in Greece and other places, see K. Dowden 1989: 84, 114-5, 157 where he discussed Pindar's treatment of the second marriage of the Danaids. According to Pindar (Pyth.9.194-206), Danaos announced that the suitors had to decide by foot race which of his forty-eight daughters each of them would marry; F. Graf 1974: 116. A second marriage is possibly implied in Aeschylus' *Danaids*, A.F. Garvie 1969: 226f. The suitors of the Danaids could be compared with those of Atalanta and Hippodameia; cf. R. Scodel 2001: 307ff.

[43] According to Hyg.Fab.70, 99, 270 Atalanta herself exposed her son, Parthenopaios; cf. Apollod.3.9.2; schol.Aesch.Th.532.9-13, 533.1ff., and 535.4f. (Dindorf); Diod.Sic.4.65.4 and 7; Hecat.FGrHfr.32. See T. Gantz

Daphnis who was raised by shepherds, but is also mentioned as a hunter[44] seems to have had a similar upbringing with that of Atalanta.[45] The fact that the myth of Daphnis became very popular just during the Hellenistic years in the poetry of Theocritus, who also treated the myth of Atalanta in his *Idylls*, makes the comparison more substantial and draws attention to the erotic element in both stories.

ARTEMIS AND ATALANTA: EASTERN ASSOCIATIONS

However, while Atalanta has been associated with Artemis, the adventure of Daphnis (as well as that of Adonis) was mainly part of Aphrodite's tradition. The two goddesses were patently juxtaposed in Ovid's narration of the myth of Adonis. There, Aphrodite is described as roaming the wilderness truly in the fashion of Artemis in her frenzied passion for her short-lived beloved.[46] Atalanta, who

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1993: 337. For a tradition of Melampous' exposure as a child and his upbringing by a goat, which resembles Zeus' rustic infancy, see K. Dowden 1989: 96-115, esp.107. Note that Melampous was worshipped in Arcadia and was believed to be a mysteries initiator: M. Jost 1992: 173-84; LIMC s.v. 'Melampous' (E. Simon); Tertul.Apol.21.29. For Atalanta's association with these fertility deities, who also seem to reflect initiatory patterns, see J. Barringer 1996: 65; cf. n88 where she quotes among others A. Schnapp 1989: 82ff.; F.I. Zeitlin 1985b: 52-111 and M. Detienne 1979: 26-52.

[44] Apollodorus only mentioned that Atalanta was suckled by a bear before the hunters found her, but the bear is a major symbol of Artemis especially in Boeotia. K. Dowden 1989: 21-3; C. Sourvinou-Inwood 1988: 111-48. Also, cf. M. Walbank 1981: 276-81.

[45] D. Lyons 1997: 65: 'heroines, as women, are so constantly associated with the maternal function that the mythic material never shows them as infants in need of sustenance. The one exception, the suckling of Atalante (sic) by a bear, suggests that she is unnatural and serves to show how much she is like a male hero. She is, after all, the only woman to participate in the voyage of the Argo and the Calydonian boar hunt;' cf. P. Vidal-Naquet 1986: 106-129 and 1981b: 147-162 for male coming of age rites (*Ephebeia*) which also included separation from the community and J.M. Barringer 2002: 9: 'Hunters demonstrate the limits and norms of Greek society and sexuality;' cf. J. Winkler 1990: 20-62 and D.B. Dodd 2003: 73-6 who underlined the fact that seclusion from the community is *not* an exlusive feature of adolenscent rites.

[46] See Met.10.534-41 quoted below (pp.36 below). C. Sourvinou-Inwood 1991: 60-78 analysed a large number of artistic representations in

is directly compared with Aphrodite, although she was attributed a clearly Artemis-like spirit, seems to be trapped between the two goddesses' influential spheres.[47] Nevertheless, the heroine's wavering underlines more emphatically the integral affinity between Aphrodite and Artemis.[48] Artemis, as a mistress of wild nature, has been associated with fertility and procreation almost as much as Aphrodite.[49] Although strictly virginal herself, she takes the utmost interest in the young of all species and she is particularly venerated as the goddess of childbirth.[50] In the historical period,

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which the motif of youths pursuing running girls often had erotic connotations. For further discussion on the motif, see ch2pp.138-9, 157-8, 160-1.

[47] From this point of view, it would not be an exaggeration to compare Atalanta with Hippolytus, who was also framed between the two goddesses; for Hippolytus as victim of Aphrodite, see D.J. Schenker 1995: 1-10; F.I. Zeitlin 1996: 219-84. However, U. Wilamowitz 1927: 169-70, commenting on Aristophanes' Lys.781-96 (cited below, pp.68) compared Melanion with Hippolytus. On this issue, see R. Mitchell-Boyask 1999: 42-66.

[48] For Artemis as a divinity of wedding, see R. Rehm 1994: ch5, esp. pp.74-5; cf. Soph.Tr.214-15 where the chorus called on the unmarried girls to sing in praise of Artemis 'who holds a torch in one hand and is accompanied by the Nymphs.' Callim.h.Dian.128 argued that those on whom the goddess smiled had rich fields, healthy herds, and long life. However, the unjust on whom the goddess frowned would suffer. Plague would destroy their cattle, frost would destroy their fields and their women would either die in childbirth or, if they survived, they would give birth to infants unable to stand 'on upright ankle.'

[49] For the similarity in the functions of Aphrodite and Artemis at the level of myth (at least), see G. Nagy 1990: 250-3. For the association of Artemis with Aphrodite as evident in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, see B.S. Thornton 1997: 63-4 and 148-150. On page 64 Thornton wrote: 'the linkage of the goddesses reflects in part some of Artemis' functions that perhaps are holdovers from an earlier earth-goddess incarnation. She is a mistress of the beasts like the Aphrodite of the *Homeric Hymn*. Women in labour call upon her. Like Aphrodite she is 'queen of arrows' and she is linked to the sea in the guise of Artemis who roams the waters of the Lake and travels on the eddies of the salt sea.' See Eur.Hipp.165-9 for the goddess' arrows (cf. ll.530-4). For Artemis and animals, see Aesch.Ag.140-3.

[50] B.S. Thornton 1997: 59. In the *Homeric Hymn* the pleasure that Aphrodite took in the sexuality of wild animals reflected a version of the

Artemis whose rites were prohibited to men had her sanctuary outside the borders of the city,[51] which is precisely the area that heroines attached to her usually preferred. Atalanta is also said to have preferred the wilderness and Theognis described her exactly as abandoning her father's house and taking to the mountains in order to accomplish her ideal of avoiding marriage.[52] It is plausible then that Atalanta should be understood to belong to the wide tradition of tales associated with fertility and the relevant rites of a mainly initiatory character. Although Hesiod had already presented her with all the decency of a Homeric heroine,[53] Apollodorus' rather clumsy effort to join the aforementioned traditions indicates that the origins of Atalanta were to be found in nature. Furthermore, Hellenistic scholars enjoyed the advantage of having access to sources lost for us, which allowed them to develop a deeper understanding of the myths. The exposure of Atalanta as an infant might be a Hellenistic innovation but it could as well mean

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Earth Goddess called the Mistress of the Beasts, a type of which was worshipped in Crete (Hom.h.Ven.5.68-74). For Artemis as a kourotrophic figure, see T. Hadzisteliou-Price 1978. About Artemis and childbirth, see S.G. Cole 1998: 34; H. King 1983: 119-120. Also, see D. Lyons 1997: 152: 'that Artemis, although herself a virgin goddess, has jurisdiction over childbirth is easily explained by her role as *potnia therōn*, the mistress of animals' (see also nn72-3 and 113 below).

[51] S.G. Cole 1998: 27-31 wrote: 'Sacred space on a border defined the limits of a city's territory and protected the transitional area that divided one community from another. Official festival calendars of Greek cities regularly required women and young girls to perform important public ceremonies at remote sanctuaries. These women were especially attractive targets for harassment, whether the sanctuaries were located in mountain areas, in the countryside or where the land met the sea. The risks of unprotected ritual were a necessary feature of the worship of Artemis.' See K. Dowden 1989, J.P. Vernant 1991, and N. Loraux 1993: 58-68 and 71n175. For archaeological evidence, see N. Marinatos and R. Hägg 1993: 31.

[52] Thgn.1287-94. Aristophanes seems to have employed the very same motif in the story of Melanion, a name which Propertius (Mon.1.9) would later attribute to Atalanta's successful suitor (pp.79f.; cf. n47); However, cf. R. Seaford 1986: 50-9 (esp.n78) on the girl's reluctance to leave her father's home as a result of getting married, a notion plausibly implied in Schoeneus' effort to convince his daughter to choose a husband in the other versions of the myth (cf. n23 above).

[53] See n24 above.

that Apollodorus understood the myth to belong to the same category with the myths of other natural deities such as Daphnis and Adonis both of whom have been associated with Aphrodite despite being keen hunters,[54] an activity that would bring them closer to Artemis. Atalanta never posed as a deity, yet she has been interpreted as a possible by-form of Artemis, who in the Calydonian story had sent the boar to ravage the country because allegedly king Oeneus had omitted her harvest offering.[55] The

[54] Note that in the much later novel of Longus, Daphnis was precisely discussed as an initiate to adulthood, which was regarded as synonymous with his initiation to sexuality. This example underlines the ancient division, according to which, adulthood rites were mainly kept in honour of Artemis, while sexual awakening was traditionally attached to Aphrodite (for more on Aphrodite's relation to Daphnis, see ch2pp.140f.). C. Calame 1996: ch1 (on *eros* in lyric poetry where the author was careful to associate all the words that express sexual desire with Aphrodite). Also, see chs5 and 6 on the purpose of social education that *eros* served through the rites of Artemis particularly for young women; for Aphrodite (and Hermes) as gods of initiation, see N. Marinatos 2003: 130-151. On pages 147-8 she concluded: 'Van Gennep's model, although helpful, needs to be reviewed in the case of Greek religion. At any rate, it is not *one* rite of passage that we find in the iconographical and textual evidence [preceded by Aphrodite and Hermes] but rather a whole *series of divrse passages* through different spheres. Hunting and initiation into sexuality has been discussed here but athletics and choral performances are equally relevant. The age grade system and the *agôgê* (as far as we understand it) may prove to be the more helpful model for maturation rituals.'

[55] For a list of ancient sources treating the tale of the Calydonian Hunt, see J. Barringer 1996: 51ff., esp.nn16-19. M. Grant 1962: 393-4 believed that there were two Atalantas, the one associated with Hippomenes and another who was the subject of a lost play of Euripides (cf. M. Detienne 1979: 30-31). The play supposedly narrated how after the failures of Jason, Peirithous and others, Atalanta was the first to wound the monstrous boar of Calydon in Aetolia. The myth was treated by Ovid in Met.8.414. However, the initiatory character of both tales could perhaps justify a wider tradition associated with the heroine who was then attributed various adventures locally; cf. R. Escher, RE 2.1893 s.v. 'Atalanta;' schol.Theoc.3.42c; schol.Eur.Ph.150; schol.Ap.Rhod.1.769. The role of Artemis in the harvest process is also indicated by Catullus' 34.16-20: "tu cursu, dea menstruo /metiens iter annum /rustica agricolae bonis /tecta *frugibus exples*."

reference to the harvest offering in honour of Artemis underlines the association of the goddess with the natural world and it could explain further Atalanta's comparison with fertility deities such as Adonis. In addition, it could be argued that from the Hellenistic era onwards the contrast between Aphrodite and Artemis (and their adventures) would have been less prominent in the sense that religious syncretism during that time was highly favoured by access to Near Eastern literary or folklore material: both goddesses had been identified with several eastern fertility goddesses and the cult of Artemis at Ephesos underlines a connection between the two deities in their role as fertility generators.[56]

Hesiod had been a great master for Hellenistic poets and therefore the myth of swift Atalanta became very popular during the Hellenistic period. Callimachus who treated the story in his *Hymn to Artemis* (ll.215-224) confirms the association of the heroine with the goddess and makes their comparison even more plausible.[57] According to his account, Atalanta is the daughter of Iasios and she is involved with Meleager in the Calydonian Hunt in Arcadia.[58] The role of Artemis in the mythical design of the

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[56] For the Near Eastern associations of Artemis, see N. Marinatos 2000: ch1. The cult of the Taurian Artemis and her parallelism with the Phoenician Anat, also a virginal goddess, underline Artemis' often neglected associations with the East. Furthermore, in this sense the association of Atalanta with deities such as Adonis whose eastern origins were undisputed would seem more reasonable; see S. O' Bryhim 2000: 23-35 with bibliography (cf. ch2n145).

[57] K. Dowden 1989: 73-80; Artemis was often associated with female groups such as the Erechtheids, the Minyads, the Thespiads, the Danaids, and the Proitids; normally these women refused marriage and in punishment they roamed the mountains inflicted by divine madness. These legends, which probably reflected local customs, were often interpreted as allegories for initiatory groups. It seems that the myth of Atalanta could be plausibly explained within this tradition; to this direction, the accounts of the myth by Callimachus and Theocritus discussed above and in p.54f. respectively, could offer additional evidence. For the interpretation of myth as allegory already since antiquity, see C. Calame 2003: 18-19 and 38-40.

[58] For another account of the Calydonian Hunt, see Hom.Il.9.524-99. Also, see J.M. Barringer 2002: 167-171 where in discussing the myth of the Calydonian Hunt, she argued that Atalanta should perhaps be viewed as a mythological reflection of the reluctance of Greek women to fulfil

Calydonian Hunt has already been mentioned. In other accounts of the same version of the story, an erotic relationship between Atalanta and Meleager is convincingly implied.[59] Callimachus does not mention anything about the foot race or the apples on which Hesiod had put emphasis. In addition, his treatment of this variant of the story follows the preference of Hellenistic writers for less popular mythological versions:

> "ἦνησας δ' ἔ τι πάγχυ ποδορρώρην ᾽Αταλάντην
> κούρην ᾽Ιασίοιο συοκτόνον᾽Αρκασίδαο,
> καί ἑ κυνηλασίην τε καὶ εὐστοχίην ἐδίδαξας.
> οὔ μιν ἐπίκλητοι Καλυδωνίου ἀγρευτῆρες
> μέμφονται κάπροιο· τὰ γὰρ σημήια νίκης
> ᾽Αρκαδίην εἰσῆλθεν, ἔχει δ' ἔτι θηρὸς ὀδόντας·
> οὐδὲ μὲν᾽Υλαῖόν τε καὶ ἄφρονα᾽Ροῖκον ἔολπα
> οὐδὲ περ ἐχθαίροντας ἐν᾽Αϊδι μωμήσασθαι
> τοξότιν· οὐ γάρ σφιν λαγόνες συνεπιψεύσονται,
> τάων Μαιναλίη νᾶεν φόνῳ ἀκρώρεια."

Callimachus also refers to the Centaurs Hylaeus and Roecus,[60]

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their expected social role as wives and mothers. The argument is to my view unconvincing (cf. n23 above).

[59] Eur.TrGFfrr.515-539 and 632. For Callimachus' version of the tale of Atalanta, see h.Dian.215-224 (Pfeiffer). See N. Rubin and W. Sale 1984: 211-23 who argued that the story is pre-Homeric and that Meleager's romantic involvement with Atalanta was part of this early tradition; cf. G. Arrigoni 1977: 21. Others like G. Most 1983: 207 and S. Woodford (LIMC 6) 1992: 414-35 argued that it was Euripides who first associated Meleager and Atalanta romantically.

[60] For the Centaurs as an antipode of civilisation, see Thgn.541-542: "δειμαίνω μὴ τήνδε πόλιν Πολυπαίδη ὕβρις /ἥ περ Κενταύρους ὠμοφάγους ὀλέσῃ." Also, see W. Burkert 1985: 209 and 232; P.E. Easterling and J.V. Muir (edd.) 1985: 78, 82 and 179-80. The Centaurs were closely associated with violent marriage attempts through the incident with the Lapiths; cf. Hom.Il.1.263; 2.742; Od.21.295; Hes.[Sc.]178ff.; cf. Nessus' attempt to violate Deianira in DioChrys.60; Soph.Tr.*passim*. The battle against the Centaurs represented in the Acropolis held an important role in the Greek religion; R. Rehm 1994: 38; R. Osborne 1998: 39-40; P. DuBois 1982: ch1 examined the Centaurs as the opposite of humans (therefore, beasts). The author argued that this polarity along with the differences of male /female and Greek /barbarian were compared by the Greeks to be found identical. Hence, the Centaurs were believed to be hostile to marriage because of their bestial and unnatural character. These polarities underlined the importance of marriage to the foundation of the Greek

who had supposedly tried to rape the heroine.[61] Atalanta killed them both with her bow. In the so-called Arcadian version of the myth, the character of Atalanta as a hunter is more prominent than her erotic adventures. This version of the story seems to promote and further reveal the association of the character of Atalanta with the tradition of Artemis.[62] According to Callimachus, Atalanta received, as a reward for her success in the Calydonian Hunt, the teeth of the boar. As such, Atalanta bears a striking closeness with the negative aspect of Artemis[63] and of other kourotrophic

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culture. For more on the Centaurs, also see nn226-7 below.

[61] Rape as a form of marriage was greatly associated with Artemis; in many of her sanctuaries several stories reported rapes of her priestesses; see Diod.Sic.16.26.6; Paus.8.5.11-12. Also K. Dowden 1989: 132 and C. Sourvinou-Inwood 1988: 99-143; cf. the myth of Theseus abducting Helen from a sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia (Plut.Thes.31); also, the Dioscuri raped the Leukippides (Apollod.Bibl.3.11.2): in vase-paintings of the incident, the cult image of a goddess was sometimes depicted nearby. S. Wide 1973: 329 quoted by J. Larson 1995: 65n38; W. Burkert 1985: 150; F.I. Zeitlin 1986: 122-51 and 1982: 129-30; A. Stewart 1995: 74-90; cf. W. Sale 1975: 265-84. See M.R. Lefkowitz 1995: 32-8 and 1933: 17-38. For Helen's role in the Spartan coming of age rites, see B. Zweig 1999: 158ff.

[62] For hunting as part of initiation rites, see J. Barringer 1996: 50ff. and 2002: 146-171. In Hom.Od.6.102-9 Nausicaa was compared to Artemis, the arrow-showering goddess ("ἰοχέαιρα," ll.102) who roams the mountains, such as her favourite Taygetos or Erymanthos, and who delights in boars and swift running hinds. Artemis is escorted by the Nymphs, daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus ("κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο, /ἀγρονόμοι παίζουσι," ll.105-6), who are also depicted as ranging in the wilds, a sight that makes Leto rejoice. In addition, cf. Eur.Hipp.201-25 where Queen Phaedra wished to go hunting in the wilderness like Artemis. The imagery was explicitly erotic and could sustain further the romantic character of the myth of Atalanta.

[63] N. Loraux 1995: 30-1 discussed the twofold personality of Artemis: 'motherhood is regarded as the feminine war which is waged under the redoubtable protection of Artemis, whose rejection of marriage readily associates her with the universe of warfare, in which she sometimes appears next to Ares. However, Artemis is also the *Lokhia*, the midwife…Her protection is of fearsome nature where giving birth is less glory than defilement;' Callimachus in his *Hymn to Artemis* (ll.122-128) mentioned that in the cities of the wicked men, women die in childbirth as if struck by a sudden blow. Artemis brings death to women in

goddesses who resemble her. Artemis is a goddess who very often demanded bloodshed[64] and she has been long ago identified with Hecate;[65] so was her most famous protégé, Iphigeneia.[66] It is perhaps of particular significance that the confirmation of this detail comes from the *Catalogue of Women*, where the myth of Atalanta was also originally treated.[67] Hecate of Greece,[68] Ishtar,

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Hom.Il.21.483, Od.20.61-5; cf.n47. Paus.3.18.15 and 8.46.1 testified that the teeth of the boar killed in the Calydonian Hunt were kept in the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea; E. Bevan 1986: 76-77 confirmed that many boar tusks were found in the temple where Atalanta might have had an altar.

64 For example, Iphigeneia in Aesch.Ag.184f. Also cf. Hdt.1.65 and Eur.IT *passim* for the cult of Artemis Tauropolos; see H. King 1983: 109-27. For Iphigeneia as a double of Artemis, see D. Lyons 1997: 141-149, esp.144: '…Iphigeneia's new life (after her miraculous saviour) includes, in different versions, priesthood, death, burial in Artemis' sanctuary, posthumous marriage, apotheosis, the assumption of Artemis' role in childbirth and some connection with the Underworld.' Also, see H.J. Lloyd-Jones 1983: 87-102 and J. Larson 1995: 101-9.

65 L.R. Farnell 1896: 2.506. Pausanias (2.22.7) mentioned that Helen dedicated a temple to Eileithyia, beyond or next to which there was, according to him, a temple of Hecate. Also, see Callim.fr.461 (Pfeiffer). Callimachus narrated the story of the Ephesian woman who was transformed into a dog because she refused hospitality to Artemis. However, later the goddess took pity on her and, placing adornment around her neck called her Hecate. Unsurprisingly, the dog was sacred to Hecate [Eur.fr.968 (Nauck) and Paus.3.14.9]. For 'Artemis Hecate' in the precinct of Hecate, see Aesch.Suppl.676; Eur.Phoen.109; IG i2 310.192-4; LSCG 18 B II. The identification of Artemis with Hecate is also depicted in Latin elegiac poetry: Catullus in 34.13-16 addressed Artemis as Trivia, the Roman equivalent of Hecate: "tu Lucina dolentibus /Iuno dicta puerperis, /tu potents *Trivia*, et notho's /dicta Lumine Luna."

66 Some scholars interpreted Iphigeneia as the personification of Artemis' cruel side. Dissenting from this view were A. Brelich 1969: 275 and H.J. Lloyd-Jones 1983: 96. For the initiatory character of Iphigeneia's myth, see B. Goff 1999: 109-125. For Hecate as a kourotrophic deity, see Hes.Th.411ff. and D. Lyons 1997: 152: '…whether she becomes Einodeia or Hecate or Orsilochia, Iphigeneia becomes an aspect of Artemis.' Note that Hecate was believed to be a triple goddess and Artemis was regarded as one of her manifestations; cf. Ov.Her.79: "per triplicis vultus arcanaque sacra Dianae."

67 Paus.1.43.1 (= Hes.fr.23b Merkelbach-West): "οἶδα δὲ Ἡσίοδον ποιήσαντα ἐν *Καταλόγωι Γυναικῶν* Ἰφιγένειαν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν, γνώμηι δὲ

Isis and Artemis[69] have been identified as darker aspects of the divine female that often extends her authority in the realm of the underworld and the dead.[70] Gorgon of the pre-Hellenic age was also regarded as a nature goddess who belonged to the darker sphere of natural powers. Her traditional depiction with a belt of boar teeth around her waist[71] recalls Atalanta's prize in the

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᾽Αρτέμιδος᾽Εκάτην εἶναι." The main version of the tale came from Proclus' summary of the Cypria of Stasinos, 104.14f (Allen). Artemis was also known as Einodeia and for Hecate's connection with Einodeia, see T. Kraus 1960: 78-83 and 87. For Hecate as a goddess of transitions, see S.I. Johnston 1990: ch2; Hecate was regarded as the 'key-holder priestess' that was present in birth as well as in death. She was the goddess that was assigned to lead Persephone's way from the Underworld back to Heaven. See C.M. Edwards 1986: 307-18.

[68] For the interpretation of Hecate as the feminine equivalent of Apollo's epithet Hécatos, see G. Nagy 1990: 76. Nagy remarked that both Hecate (as negative aspect of the divine) and Hesiod's prodigal brother are named Perses (h.Apoll.1 and Th.409). On Hecate's portrayal in the *Theogony*, see D. Boedeker 1983: 79-93 and J.S. Clay 1984: 27-38. For the associations of Hecate with witchcraft, see M.W. Dickie 2001: 35-6 and C. Faraone 1999: 46-7 and 140-146; cf. n171.

[69] For cult associations of Artemis with the Near East, see Hdt.1.105; Paus.1.14.7; K. Dowden 1989: 196. For Artemis' association with the eastern Aphrodite, see M.P. Nilsson ²1950: 432-50; also M.A. Dandamaev and V.G. Luconin ²1994: 269-70, 328, 357: Anahita, an ancient Iranian goddess whose cult was reinforced by Artaxerxes II had been identified with Artemis. C. Penglase 1994: 74, 128 and 242 argued that although the mythology of Artemis has strong Mesopotamian parallels, one cannot argue for the Mesopotamian origins of the goddess. For the Spartan Orthia of Anatolian origins, see G. Thomson 1978: 271ff. (note that Hecate was also believed to have eastern origins; S.I. Johnston 1990: 162-70 on Hecate in the Chaldean Oracles and W. Berg 1974: 128-40); also cf. n97.

[70] E. Neumann ²1963: 80ff.; cf. Hom.Il.9.158, where Agamemnon suggested that Achilles' failure to be moved by the offer of gifts could possibly make him hated in the way Hades was hated for being *ameilichos*, 'implacable,' an epithet discussed in relation to Artemis. Note that "μείλιγμα" in the plural signifies propitiation offered to the dead (cf. nn16, 19 and 153).

[71] Hes.Th.270; cf. The Hesiodic *Shield* whereupon contrasted scenes of peace and war were hammered. There the demons of death (Fear 146, Gorgon 235, Fates 160 and 249, Snakes 164) were imagined as having horrible teeth which they would often gnash inspiring fear to their mortal

Calydonian Hunt.[72] Gorgon's association with Artemis is confirmed by the latter's magnificent temple at Kerkyra built a few years after 600 BC.[73] The temple is wholly built of stone and its pediments show the formidable Gorgon Medusa, flanked by her children Pegasus and Chrysaor as well as by a pair of vast lion-panthers.[74] Atalanta's relation with the traits of these goddesses of the destructive nature is underlined in the cruelty she showed towards her unsuccessful suitors[75]. Furthermore, in art Atalanta is

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victims. The Gorgons were three monstrous sisters, the children of Phorcys and Ceto, and the most terrible of them was the Medusa. They were ugly (however, in the Hellenistic years Medusa is depicted in art as beautiful; Verr.4.124). When Perseus beheaded the monster a lot of blood ran and it is said that Asclepius used the blood of one of her veins to revive people and of another to harm them (Apollod.Bibl.3.10.3). A hope of regeneration lies in this tradition and even at the moment of her death Gorgon-Medusa gave birth to Pegasus and Chrysaor (the beheading of Medusa is parallel to Daphnis' adventure in Sositheus' play discussed in App.In20).

[72] W. Burkert 1985: 151 argued that as part of their transition to adulthood over which Artemis precedes, girls 'may wear grotesque masks such as those discovered in the Ortheia sanctuary at Sparta; the girls, like their goddess, may assume the aspect of a Gorgon: in this way their exceptional status is played out even more drastically.' For *potnia therôn* as Gorgon, see GGR Pl.30.2; B. Goldman 1961-3: 1-22; J. Ferguson 1970: 14; cf. N. Marinatos 2000: ch3 and J.P. Vernant 1991: 111-141.

[73] J.D.P. Bolton 1962: 6 commented on the image of a winged Artemis represented along with lions, boars and other creatures on a silver mirror of the second quarter of the 6th century BC; ibid. 89: winged Artemis was found in Greek Art as *potnia therôn* long before the date of the mirror; cf. Callim.fr.31B (Trypanis). See M.P. Nilsson 1956: 19, 28; also M.S. Thompson 1909: 286ff. In addition, the association of Artemis with lions is yet another indication of her association with eastern goddesses such as Cybele who was almost exclusively accompanied by lions. However, Cybele was typically identified with Aphrodite rather than Artemis and therefore, once more Artemis and Aphrodite seem to come closer.

[74] J.N. Coldstream in Easterling and Muir 1985: 73-4. For the birth of Pegasus and Chrysaor from the head of the dying Gorgon, see Hes.Th.280; Paus.2.21.5. In Ovid Atalanta and her lover are transformed into lions (Met.10.686-704; see p.42-4 below).

[75] For the ritual meaning of the decapitation of the suitors and the similar sacrifices to the Underworld deities, see K. Dowden 1989: 159.

traditionally depicted as a Scythian archer, as an Amazon or less frequently as a Thracian maenad, all mythical figures of the east that were often associated in myth and had a reputation for their wild nature and their marginal existence in the fridges of civilised life. Maenads were famous for their hunting skills and Amazons were often believed to be devotees of Artemis. The typical clothing of both groups consisted usually of wild animal skins and is very close to Artemis' attire. In addition, both were famous for their cruelty and man-hate attitude and Amazons were seen as the equivalent of Greek initiatory groups. Similar tales are associated with coming of age rites in honour of Artemis and with the myths in which these rites are reflected.[76] Hyginus, a mythographer of the second century AD writes:[77]

The Danaids slaughtered their spouses on the wedding night and Hippodameia's suitors were savagely beheaded. Generally, beheading was the way the Greeks sacrificed to chthonic deities. Also, according to Strab.11.2.10, Artemis Apaturos was reputed to have killed her lover after the sexual act. Obviously this form of Artemis is not virginal and can be compared to the Syrian Derceto (Diod.Sic.2.4.3). For Atalanta's representation as an archer, an Amazon and even as a maenad, see J. Barringer 1996: 56, 59-61; esp.66 where the author supports with archaeological artefacts the conception of Atalanta as an Amazon; also, see ibid. 2002: 143, 152-3, 157-8. R. Just 1989: 243-259; W. Tyrrell 1984: 55ff.; cf. K. Dowden 1997: 97-128; for Amazons' confusion with the Scythians and Thracians, see Str.11.51; J.H. Blok 1995: 270f., 407, 417, H. Shapiro 1983: 105ff. and L. Hardwick 1990: 28ff. For the Amazons' hunting skills, see Hdt.4.114.4 and 4.116.2. Paus.3.25.3 presented Amazon's as followers of Artemis. Also, see F. Hartog 1988: 216-24 commented on the comparison of Greek *ephebes* to Scythians (see J. Barringer ibid: 61).

[76] Apollod.Bibl.2.1.5 and Paus.2.21.1 and 19.6 reported that the Danaids cut off the heads of their suitors in the manner of Atalanta according to Hyginus. Hypermestra was the only Danaid who did not kill her husband (either because he had left her a virgin or because she loved him). Danaos had her imprisoned for this and he later persecuted her. However, she won and dedicated for her saviour the temple of Artemis Peitho as well as a *xoanon* of Aphrodite *Nikephoros* in the temple of Apollo *Lyceios*; K. Dowden 1989: 155-6.

[77] Hyg.Fab.98; cf. Amm.Marcel.22.8.34 (Rolfe) recording human sacrifices that Iphigeneia offered in honour of Artemis after her transportation in the Tauric peninsula: "Deos enim hostibus litantes humanis et immolantes advenas Dianae, quae apud eos dicitur Orsiloche, caesorum capita fani parietibus

> "Ut ille inermis fugeret, haec cum telo insequeretur; quem intra finem termini consecuta fuisset, interficeret, cuius caput in stadio figeret. Plerosque cum superasset et occidisset, novissime ab Hippomene Megarei et Meropes filio victa est."

Callimachus also describes the heroine as living in a cave located on a mountaintop.[78] Caves are places where it is usual to find initiatory cult such as the caves at Brauron, Eleusis and the cave of Cheiron.[79] It is plausible then that the myth of Atalanta was weaved around such wilderness rites or it draws from motifs attached to these rites, since time spent in a cave represents the wild counterpart of the civilised precinct and it is therefore the perfect location for a transition ceremony. Both at Brauron and Eleusis, girls would undergo rites of passage in order to make the transition from maidenhood to adulthood similarly to Atalanta whose story is sealed with the heroine's marriage to her successful suitor. As mentioned (n32), these rites would take place in sanctuaries located outside the borders of the city, where the girls could prepare themselves for their complete incorporation to the civic corpus. In addition, the mountain poses as the original place of worshipping the primal fertility deities as it 'combines the symbols of earth, cave, bulk and height.'[80] The mountain was 'the

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praefigebant, velut fortium perpetua monumenta facinorum."

[78] The Proitids who were cured by Artemis (Eur.Bacch.11.95-105) had reportedly spent thirteen months roaming in the wilderness, like many devotees of Artemis and like Atalanta herself. Bacchylides related his myth with two different rituals, one at Tiryns (of Hera, typical of the Argolid), and the other at Lousoi (of Artemis, typical of Arcadia). Bacchylides also mentioned that before their release at Lousoi the Proitids were in a cave in the Aroanian Mountains. K. Dowden 1989: 91-4 (cf. nn126, 282 and 302). Also, see R. Seaford 1988: 118-36.

[79] For the caves at Brauron, see J. Larson 1995: 170n71; for conjugal episodes in caves, see ibid.186n77. For the mother and son motif in a cave, which has its origin in the cult of the divine female, see her pp.90-1. Finally, for Nymph-cults in caves, see pp.19 and 126. Also, see W. Burkert 1985: 24-6 and J. Larson 2001: 100-121 and 226ff.

[80] According to both Greek and Near Eastern mythology, the Goddess Earth gave birth to the mountains. M.L. West 1990: 289. J. Fonterose 1959: 47esp.n5 identified Melaina with Gaia who, according to mythology, hid her son, Cronus, from his father. However, Melainis was a cult adjective attributed to Aphrodite; Paus.2.2.4; 8.6.5; 9.27.5.

immobile, sedentary symbol that visibly rules over the land.'[81] Aelian who also treats the Arcadian version of the story gives an extensive description of the cave in which Atalanta lived:[82]

> "Τί γὰρ ἡμᾶς λυπεῖ καὶ ἄντρον Ἀταλάντης ἀκοῦσαι, ὡς τὸ τῆς Καλυψοῦς τὸ ἐν Ὁμήρῳ; καὶ ἦν ἐν κοίλῃ τῇ φαράγγι σπήλαιον μέγα καὶ βαθὺ πάνυ, κατὰ πρόσωπον δὲ βαθεῖ κρημνῷ ὠχύρωτο. κιττοὶ δὲ αὐτὸ περιεῖρπον, καὶ ἐνεπλέκοντο οἱ κιττοὶ μαλακῶς <τοῖς> δένδροις καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἀνεῖρπον. κρόκοι τε ἦσαν περὶ τόν τόπον ἐν μαλακῇ φυόμενοι καὶ βαθείᾳ τῇ πόᾳ...."

Artemis was obviously at home in the mountains;[83] furthermore, Aelian compares Atalanta with Calypso, a Nymph

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[81] See E. Neumann ²1963: 80-4; for the identification of the mountain with the Underworld in Near Eastern stories, see C. Penglase 1994: 25, 36, 40 and 89; the author associated the Damu myths with the *Hymn to Apollo*, where the birth of the god was described. He interpreted the myth of Apollo as one of the goddess-and-consort strand in which the god normally suffered death and resurrection. The region of the netherworld from which the god rose was symbolised by the mountain. Also, T. Jacobsen 1975: 86 and W.L. Moran 1970: 102-3. See M.J. Vermaseren 1977: 13-16 who argued that primitive populations worshipped Cybele as a mountain which was regarded as the goddess' eathly shape.

[82] Cf. Paus.8.35.8, where he described the tomb of Callisto as a high mound of earth, with many trees of varieties that would bear no fruit and many cultivated ones. At the top of the mount, there was a shrine of Artemis Calliste. For the identification of Artemis with Callisto, see K. Dowden 1989: 184.

[83] J.P. Vernant ²1985: 30 also cited by J.M. Redfield 1990: 129n13; the goddess was at home in the mountains and marshes like Dionysus with whom she often shared her cult; e.g. to Artemis Limnatis corresponded Dionysus Limnaios. Although Artemis was associated with rites of passage, Dionysus was not. Artemis was connected with animals, while Dionysus appeared to have been often perceived as an animal. See J.G. Fraser ²1939: 160, 291; N. Robertson 2003: 232; contra see D. Obbink 1993: 65-89. However, Dionysus was the founder of the Bacchic rites which promised a better lot after death and shared a lot with the Orphic mysteries; S. Cole 2003: 194-217; F. Graf 1993: 239-258; ibid. 2000: 59-77; cf. ibid. 2004: 241-262; N. Robertson again: 218-240 cites fragments from early cosmologies in which Dionysus is devoured and although he does not explicitly comments on it, he seems to acknowledge the correspondence between the fate of baby Dionysus and his cult; cf. App.IVn4 (see also ch3n205 and p.264-5).

whose name means 'she who conceals.'[84] The cult of the divine female as the one who conceals life in her body both as a woman and as earth creates an analogue with the Nymph who promised immortality to Odysseus.[85] In addition, Calypso as a Nymph should be regarded as a representation of the forces of the natural world over which Artemis prevails.[86]

Aelian seems to follow the version of Apollodorus because he also refers to the exposure of the heroine as a baby[87] and her suckling by a bear.[88] In addition, he makes it very clear that the

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[84] Calypso offered immortality to Odysseus as often eastern deities do, e.g. M.S. Cyrino 1995: 21-2; P. Vidal-Naquet 1981a: 88-9. For Calypso as a hypostasis of Aphrodite herself, in her aspect as Melainis, 'the black one,' see G. Nagy 1990: 242n68 quoting H. Güntert 1909: 189. For Calypso's name, see L. Slatkin 1991: 43; generally, see G. Crane 1988; cf. C. Faraone 1999: 86n182.

[85] About the comparison of goddess and Earth, see C. Penglase 1994: 80-4; for Gaia and Demeter, see Eur.Bacch.274. Socrates (Pl.Cra.406B) derived the name of the virgin goddess Artemis from "ἄροτον μισεῖν," she who hates ploughing (i.e., sexual intercourse). According to Plato, woman imitates the Earth and at all events the comparison of motherhood with the ploughed soil was very ancient and widespread; for marital sex likened to ploughing, see Soph.Oed.Tyr.270-1, 1211-12, 1257, 1485, 1497-8; Eur.Troad.135, Ph.18. In Aesch.Niob.frr.99.5-9, Europe described Zeus' extramarital 'ploughing' that led to their joint ownership of children. Also, P. DuBois 1988: 72-3. For the marriage formula of 'sowing legitimate children,' see J.C. Kamerbeek 1978 on Ant.569; K. Ormand 1999; IG 14.1615; and Men.Dysk.842-3, Mis.444-6, Pk.1013-4, Sam.726-7, fr.682 (Körte and Thierfelde 1959); Fab.Incert.29-30 and fr.dubious 4-5 (Sandbach 1972).

[86] For Artemis as lady of wild things from an early date, see n22; for Artemis as leader of the Nymphs, see K. Dowden 1989: 102; J. Larson 1995: 33. Also, see Soph.Tr.214-5 where the chorus called on the unmarried girls to sing in praise of Artemis quoted above n47; J.P. Vernant 1991: 'in the case of Artemis the wilderness is symbolised by the nature of the goddess and by the location of her sanctuary.'

[87] Aelian VH13.1: "Λόγος οὗτος Ἀρκαδικὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰασίωνος Ἀταλάντης. ταύτην ὁ πατὴρ γενομένην ἐξέθηκεν· ἔλεγε γὰρ οὐ θυγατέρων ἀλλ' ἀρρένων δεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἐκθεῖναι λαβὼν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ Παρθένιον ὄρος ἔθηκε πηγῆς πλησίον καὶ ἦν ἐνταῦθα ὕπαντρος πέτρα καὶ ἐπέκειτο συνηρεφὴς δρυμών." Aelian refers to Mt Parthenion where Propertius (1.1.11) also located the heroine's adventure.

[88] Aelian (VH13.1) continues: "καὶ τοῦ μὲν βρέφους κατεψήφιστο θάνατος, οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης προὐδόθη· ὀλίγῳ γὰρ ὕστερον ὑπὸ κυνηγετῶν ἀφῃρημένη

heroine was looking for peace at the highest peak of the mountain where many primitive altars dedicated to fertility goddesses have been found.[89]

> "ταύτην οἱ κυνηγέται παρεφύλαττον οἱ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιβουλεύσαντες τῷ θηρίῳ ἐς τὰ ἔκγονα αὐτῆς, καὶ αὐτὰ ἕκαστα τῶν δρωμένων κατασκεψάμενοι, ἀπελθούσης κατὰ συνήθειαν κατά τε ἄγραν καὶ νομὴν τῆς ἄρκτου, τὴν Ἀταλάντην ὑφείλοντο, καλουμένην τοῦτο οὐδέπω· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔθεντο αὐτῇ τὸ ὄνομα. καὶ ἐτρέγετο ὑπ' αὐτοῖς [ἐν] ὀρείῳ τῇ τροφῇ. κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ αὐτῇ τὰ τοῦ σώματος μετὰ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀνέτρεχε καὶ ἥρα παρθενίας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁμιλίας ἔφευγε καὶ ἐρημίαν ἐπόθει, *καταλαβοῦσα τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν Ἀρκαδικῶν τὸ ὑψηλότατον* (my emphasis), ἔνθα ἦν καὶ αὐλῶν κατάρρυτος καὶ μεγάλαι δρῦς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πεῦκαι καὶ βαθεῖα ἡ ἐκ τούτων σκιά."

The Greeks used to worship the fertility goddess as '*Meter*' or '*Meter oreie*,' which means mother of the Mountain,[90] or according

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τὰ ἑαυτῆς βρέφη ἄρκτος ἦκε, σφριγώντων αὐτῇ τῶν μαζῶν καὶ βαρυνομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ γάλακτος. εἶτα κατά τινα θείαν πομπὴν ἡσθεῖσα τῷ βρέφει ἐθήλασεν αὐτό, καὶ ἅμα τὸ θηρίον ἐκουφίσθη τῆς ὀδύνης καὶ ὥρεξε τροφὴν τῷ βρέφει. καὶ οὖν καὶ αὖθις ἐπαντλοῦσα τοῦ γάλακτος καὶ ἐποχετεύουσα ἐπεὶ τῶν ἑαυτῆς μήτηρ οὐκ ἔμεινε, τῆς μηδὲν οἱ προσηκούσης τροφὸς ἐγίνετο."

[89] In Eur.Hipp.141-69 the chorus were trying to speculate which of the gods had afflicted Phaedra: they mentioned that it must have been Pan or Hecate, the Corybantes or the Mountain Mother, or Dictynna; all were possible because the queen's strange behaviour seemed associated with the wilds. Archaeological evidence confirmed the preference of the primordial goddesses for hilltop altars: a Cretan seal shows the goddess standing on a mountain while a youth worships her; see M.P. Nilsson, GGR i2 (Tafel 18, nr.1). Also W. Burkert 1985: 26-8. In Hes.Th.129 the Earth brought forth the mountains, which were described as haunts of the gods; e.g. Eur.Bacch.951 (the Nymphs), Hel.1301ff. (Rhea who was curiously identified with Demeter); also cf. Aphrodite and Anchises mating on a mountain peak (Hom.h.Ven.5.61-90 Aphrodite travels to Mt Ida; in ll.155-84 Anchises invites the goddess to his bed). Paris' judgement is also placed on Mt Ida (Hom.Il.24.27-30; Eur.Troad.357-59, 676-78; Andr.274-92).

[90] The divine Mother was not surrounded with any mythology of her own. The Greeks transferred the myth of Demeter onto her (cf. Eur.Troad.1323-7 Demeter made her way to Mt Ida rather than to Eleusis as in the *Hymn to Demeter*, and there she cast her blight on the earth).

to the name of the particular mountain.[91] Pindar composed for the Meter cult in Thebes and according to legend, introduced the cult locally himself.[92] Generally, the Greek fertility goddess is identified with Aphrodite whose affiliation with Near Eastern deities has been long ago argued.[93] Aphrodite is often equated with the Phrygian Cybele,[94] a goddess addressed in cult as 'matar,' mother.[95] Aelian's reference to the music of pipes which filled the scenery of the wilderness where Atalanta used to wander enhances the

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When Demeter became the Mother of Zeus as well, then the siring of Persephone was transformed into an act of incest. See Melanipp.PMG764; Eur.Hel.1301-68; also W. Burkert 1985: 178 and J. Chadwick 1976: 95.

[91] For instance, 'Meter Dindymene,' 'Meter Sipylene,' 'Meter Idaia' etc; see Al.Polyhistor in FGrH273F12. Hdt.4.76 gave evidence about the festival of the Mother in Cyzicus from where the cult spread. There have been found many votive reliefs showing the goddess frontally enthroned in a *naiskos*. See M.J. Rein 1996: 223-39. Votive niches containing images of a similar type were also carved in rock faces. The cult was mainly private and was sustained and carried abroad by itinerant mendicant priests, *metagyrtai*, who were themselves also called *kybeboi*. For Cybele's priests as magicians, see M.W. Dickie 2001: 65-6, 98, 234 and 311.

[92] Aristomach.FGrH383F13; Pind.frr.80, 95; Dith.2; Pyth.3.77f. The divine Mother was celebrated as mother of all gods and all men, and doubtless mother of the animals and of all life as well; generally, the Mother does not fit easily into the genealogical system of Greek mythology. Homer and Hesiod name Rheie as the mother of certain gods. However, see N. Robertson 1996: 241 argued: 'that the Mother was always a principal deity in Greek cities, and had a function as practical and important as the other principal deities.'

[93] It is worth noting that in contrast to the Greek Aphrodite the Roman Venus was a domesticated goddess of love propagating socially acceptable (marital) desires; see E. D'Ambra 1996: 219-232.

[94] For Aphrodite as identified with Cybele, see for example, Charon in FGrH262F5. For Aphrodite and Astarte, see Hdt.1.105; Paus.1.14.7; cf. W. Burkert 1985: 152-6.

[95] W. Burkert 1979: 103-4, esp.n5, for Cybele standing between lions. According to the inscriptions, Cybele was often referred to as 'Mother.' Another image of the goddess, enthroned, attended by two male musicians comes from a doorway in Boğazköy. Also, see F. Naumann-Steckner 1996: 167-92. Catullus in 35.16-18 offers evidence of Roman poetry in honour of Cybele who was addressed as "Magna Mater:" "ignosco tibi, Sapphica puella /Musa doctior: est enim venuste /Magna Caecilio incohata Mater."

allusion to the orgiastic cult traditionally associated with the divine Mother.[96] In the *Homeric Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*, we read that

> "ἦ κροτάλων τυμπάνων τ' ἰαχὴ σύν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν
> εὔαδεν, ἠδὲ λύκων κλαγγὴ χαροπῶν τε λεόντων,
> οὔρεά τ' ἠχήεντα καὶ ὑλήεντες ἔναυλοι."[97]

Lions, another important symbol of the fertility goddess, as the Mistress of wild animals, are often employed in the myth of Atalanta.[98] Meter was often celebrated with wild rousing music

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[96] J. Travlos 1971: 352-6; towards the end of the 5th century BC, a statue by Agorakritos showing Meter with tympanum and lion was set up in the old Bouleuterion in the Agora in Athens. Also, see Hom.h.14.2-4. However, Artemis association with mystery cults especially in Arcadia seems to date earlier than that; see M. Jost 2003: 146 about Artemis' cult in Arcadia: 'In Arcadia proper, Artemis is associated with Despoina in the cult and probably the Mysteries of the *megaron* at Lycosoura.' The cult is very close to the Eleusinian mysteries of Demeter and Persephone with whom Despoina was in all probability identified (Jost ibid.: 155-164). Boiotia where the myth of Atalanta was also popular had also its tradition of mystery cults; see P. Bonnechere 2003: 179-182 (see ch3nn89 and 92).

[97] E. Neumann ²1963 argued that the worship of the divine mother often included orgiastic dance; cf. P. Pachis 1996: 193-222 who commented on the resistance that the cult of the goddess faced due to its orgiastic character. The archaic goddess of Boeotia stood in the centre of the ring of dancing women. Moreover, on the headdress of the Cyprian goddess, adorned with heads of Hathor and floral rosettes, fauns and women were engaged in an orgiastic round dance. It seems that Artemis was quite popular in the periphery of Boeotia since the Mycenaean times. The cult of Artemis at Amarynthus in Euboea /Boeotia was observed during the Mycenaean Bronze Age while in the classical times Amarynthus had a famous temple of Artemis (cf. nn27 and 44). See J. Chadwick 1976: 99.

[98] Artemis is a lion to women in Hom.Il.21.470-83 (cf. nn63, 86 and 113). There was a statue from Crete where the goddess stood on a mountain and two lions accompanied her. E. Neumann ²1963: 273-6; a similar type of goddess appeared in Phrygia with Attis between two lions. She was worshipped in Lydia, Lycia, Thrace, Syria, and Phoinicia. At a later period she stood on a lion in Sparta; held lions in the character of Capuan winged Artemis; strangled them as Gorgon and as Cybele (Diana of Ephesus had castrated priests just like Cybele). Thousand of year later as Fortuna she sat in a chariot drawn by lions. For the Mesopotamian Inanna and lions, see G. Farber-Flügge 1973: 97ff. (cf. n69 and ch4n67). Atalanta herself has been depicted in art as wearing only a *perizoma*, a kind of apron decorated with the figure of a wild animal; J. Barringer 1996: 68.

which could lead even to ecstasy and therefore her power extended over the Corybantic society of men.[99] Her advent is accompanied by the shrill sound of the pipes, the dull thudding of drums and the ringing of small brass cymbals. In mythical imagination the wild beasts of prey, leopards, and lions especially, join in her procession.[100] The confirmation that the virginal Artemis is associated with this sphere of orgiastic dance comes from the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*:[101]

> "καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἅδε τόξα καὶ οὔρεσι θῆρας ἐναίρειν,
> φόρμιγγές τε χοροί τε διαπύρσιοί τ' ὀλολυγαὶ
> ἄλσεα τε σκιόεντα δικαίων τε πτόλις ἀνδρῶν."[102]

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[99] For Aphrodite and her orgiastic cult, see Hom.h.Ven.5.68-74: "Ἴδην δ' ἵκανεν πολυπίδακα, μῆτερα θηρῶν, βῆ δ' ἰθὺς σταθμοῖο δι' οὔρεος· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν /σαίνοντες πολιοί τε λύκοι χαροποί τε λέοντες /ἄρκτοι παρδάλιές τε θοαὶ προκάδων ἀκόρητοι /ἤϊσαν· ἡ δ' ὁρόωσα μετὰ φρεσὶ τέρπετο θυμὸν /καὶ τοῖς ἐν στήθεσσι βάλ' ἵμερον, οἱ δ' ἅμα πάντες /σύνδυο κοιμήσαντο κατὰ σκιόεντας ἐναύλους." In line 68 Aphrodite is referred to as "μῆτερα θηρῶν." However, in the Orph.h.54.13 Aphrodite was addressed as goddess of marriage, a notion attested by Diomedes in Hom.Il.5.429 who stated that Aphrodite's purview was the 'desirable works of marriage;' cf. Pind.Pyth.9.13; Hom.Il.22.470; according to Sapph.fr.112c, Andromache's bridal veil was a present from Aphrodite herself; see C. Faraone 1999: 13 and 37 for Andromache being accused as a witch. Also, see N. Van Der Ben 1986: 8; cf. Circe in Hom.Od.10.210-20 where the famous witch of antiquity was depicted similarly to Aphrodite as taming wild animals; cf. C. Segal 1968a: 419-42. Also, see C. Faraone ibid.: 113, 129; cf. nn257-8.

[100] Since Pindar's time at least, the retinue of Mother Cybele was seen as one with the Dionysian throng. The abandonment of ordered existence, the procession to the mountain, and the ecstatic dancing underline and establish further the Dionysian connection; W. Burkert 1985: 178-9. The association of Artemis with the precinct of the fertility goddess was also underlined by the cult of the Thracian goddess Bendis who was officially introduced in Athens during the Peloponnesian War in fulfilment of a vow. She was portrayed as a kind of Artemis, with hunting boots, torch, and pointed Thracian cap.

[101] Hom.h.Ven.5.18-20; it could be argued that since the description of Artemis was included in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, the association of the two goddesses might have already been made in antiquity.

[102] Cf. H.J. Lloyd-Jones 1983: 91: 'as in myth Artemis has her entourage of Nymphs…so in cult she is honoured by young girls' who would dance around the cult image of the goddess.

THE RECEPTION OF MYTH IN LATIN LITERATURE: OVID

Ovid, who treated the myth of Atalanta twice in the Metamorphoses, seems to have been aware of the possible associations of the myth with the precinct of Artemis and the fertility sphere in which she preceded. Interestingly the poet treated the Boeotian version of the story in association with Venus and Adonis.[103] Venus fell in love with Adonis, the child who was enclosed in the tree-trunk, when she was wounded by accident with one of her son's arrows. Ovid (Met.10.534-41) clearly parallels Venus (Aphrodite) with Diana (Artemis) because he wrote:[104]

> "Hunc tenet, huic comes est,[105] adsuetam semper in umbra
> indulgere sibi formamque augere colendo,
> per iuga, per silvas dumosaque saxa vagatur
> fine genus vestem ritu succinta Dianae
> hortaturque canes tutaeque animalia praedae
> aut pronos lepores aut celsum in cornua cervum
> aut agitat dammas: a fortibus abstinet apris
> raptores lupos armatosque unguibus ursos
> vitat et armenti saturatos caede leones."

This hunting image seems to suit not only Diana (Artemis) but also Atalanta who, according to the Arcadian version of the story, was the only woman to participate in the Calydonian hunt.[106]

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[103] In the exempla of Ov.Her.4.93-100, Phaedra cited the love affairs of Cephalus, Adonis, and Meleager in her attempt to woo Hippolytus. However, they all ended in disaster. For the parallelism of the Venus-Adonis myth with the Near Eastern goddess and consort strand, see C. Penglase 1994: 178-9.

[104] Venus once disguised as a huntress and wore Diana's high boots: Servius Aen.1.337; cf. Serv.Aen.3.113 and Lib.Progym.33-34. W. Clausen 1994: 225. As far as the names of the goddesses are concerned, the pattern followed is to refer to them with their Greek names when an author writes in Greek and to use their Latin names when the author writes in Latin. However, because the comparison attempted here involves both Greek and Latin poets both names are indicated.

[105] See Ov.Met.10.553-9 (quoted in ch2p.178); also cf. ch2n200 where the beauty of Adonis and of the king in the *Song of Solomon* are discussed as rendered in similar terms.

[106] See n62 above for the comparison of Nausicaa with Artemis. The goddess was there depicted in the company of the Nymphs, and although all the maidens were beautiful, her godhead excelled among them. Attention should be drawn to the reference to the hunting of boars and swift hinds, a comparison slightly strong for shy Nausicaa. However, this

However, although Ovid employs a direct likening of Venus (Aphrodite) to Diana (Artemis), he is careful to distinguish the influence areas of Venus and Diana by adding that Venus would hunt safely and she would keep away from wild animals such as sturdy wild *boars*, thieving wolves, *bears* armed with claws or *lions* [my emphasis] (Ov.Met.10.537-541). Venus appears to hate all wild animals because of Atalanta, who thus, seems to be more attached to Diana.[107]

> "Forsitan audieris aliquam certamine cursus
> veloces superasse viros: non fabula rumor
> ille fuit (superabat enim), nec dicere posses,
> laude pedum formaene bono praestantior esset.
> Scianti deus huic de coniuge 'coniuge' dixit
> 'nil opus est, Atalanta, tibi! Fuge coniugis usum!
> nec tamen effugies teque ipsa viva carebis'.
> territa sorte dei per opacas innuba silvas
> vivit et instantem turbam violenta procorum
> condicione fugat 'nec sum potienda, nisi' inquit
> 'victa prius cursu. Pedibus contendite mecum:
> praemia veloci coniux thalamique dabuntur,
> mors pretium tardis. Ea lex certaminis esto!.'"

Ovid's choice to include the story in the adventures of Venus indicates that he also understood it to belong to the tradition of the Divine Mother whom he clearly names in association with the punishment of Atalanta and Hippomenes (see below, p.42-4). Venus praises Atalanta's speed but also her beauty underlying the resemblance of the heroine with the goddess herself.[108] Venus later will also say describing the figure of Atalanta:

> "ut faciem et posito corpus velamine vidit,
> quale meum, vel quale tuum, si femina fias."[109]

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would be an indication that the poet employs a typical metaphor for young, unmarried women who were under the protection of Artemis.

[107] Ov.Met.10.560-680; it is not perhaps an exaggeration to say that Ovid presented Atalanta as a female counterpart of Hippolytus, trapped between the two goddesses, Artemis and Aphrodite. Also, see C. Segal 1986a: 165-221 and 1986b: 268-93; cf. B.M.W. Knox 1982: 309ff.

[108] Cf. ch2p.162 where in the *Song of Solomon* the girl is addressed as 'the fairest among the women in the city.'

[109] Ov.Met.10.578-9. For the similarities in female and male bodies before puberty, see K. Dowden 1989: 53-5, 65-7, 102, 176f.; also P. Vidal-Naquet 1981b: 156-7. Various stories of initiatory transvestism assist the

However, Ovid added a new element to the story: already from the first lines of her speech, Venus mentions Apollo's prophecy that forced Atalanta to avoid getting married.[110] Thus, Atalanta frightened by Apollo's oracle imposed inhuman terms on her suitors.[111]

Ovid presented Atalanta under a different light compared to the other versions of the story. She is no longer the independent spirit who prefers the wilderness to matrimony. Here, Atalanta, totally willing to obey the gods, is presented as a tender woman who anticipates becoming a bride.[112] As the rest of the narration shows, Ovid casts plenty of light to her female side and his heroine is a rosy figure that could ideally play a leading role in a Hellenistic novel:[113]

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argument: Theseus being laughed at because of his girlish features, Achilles dressed as a girl among the daughters of Lycomedes in Scyros etc; cf. Plut.De mul.virt.245E; the custom was observed since the Minoan times; see D. Leitao 1995: 130-63 and 1999: 247-77 (cf. n28); J.N. Bremmer 1999: 183-200. E.J. Ament 1993: 20 remarked that heroes like Heracles, Theseus and Achilles that were associated with transvestism were also linked to famous Amazons.

[110] W.S. Anderson 1972: 10.565-6: "Nil opus est, Atalanta, tibi! Fuge coniugis usum! /nec tamen effugies teque ipsa viva carebis." Ovid, who was clearly influenced by the Hellenistic poets, possibly followed Callimachus in employing an oracle as the reason of the heroine's anti-social attitude. The former had narrated the story of *Acontius and Cydippe* in which an oracle enforced the union of the two youths and forbade Cydippe's marriage to another man. See Ov.Her.20 and 21. Cf. M. Grant 1962: 392.

[111] K. Dowden 1989: 23-4; in all the mythic variants of Artemis' association with a female protégé, it was the death of an animal that aroused the goddess' anger. Usually a prophet or an oracle revealed that a maiden should be sacrificed. Fortunately, in the end, an animal was substituted for the girl. This is another clue that oracles and prophecies were frequent devices in the mythic tradition of Artemis and therefore, Ovid was not unwise in inserting an oracle in the myth of Atalanta.

[112] Ovid has employed the Euripidian technique of describing in detail the psychological shifts of the characters, which allowed them more spiritual depth than the conventional treatments of the story.

[113] In Hom.Il.21.470-514 Artemis was not a conspicuous divinity but was rather described as an immature, childish almost goddess. M. Grant 1962: 126 supported that the cult of Artemis as mistress of animals was imported to Athens from Crete where the religion of the *potnia therôn*, often flanked by lions, was popular; the goddess appeared as such on an

"illa quidem inmitis, sed (tanta potentia formae est)
venit ad hanc legem temeraria turba procorum.
Sederat Hippomenes cursus spectator iniqui
et 'petitur cuiquam per tanta pericula coniunx?'
dixerat ac nimios iuvenum damnarat amores;
ut faciem et posito corpus velamine vidit,
quale meum, vel quale tuum, si femina fias,
obstipuit tollensque manus 'ignoscite,' dixit
'quos modo culpavi! Nondum mihi praemia nota,
quae peteretis, erant' laudando concipit ignes
et, ne quis iuvenum currat velocius, optat
invidiamque timet. 'sed cur certaminis huius
intemptata mihi fortuna relinquitur?' inquit
'audentes deus ipse iuvat.'"

In the above lines (Met.10.573-586), Ovid introduces Hippomenes to the audience. He is depicted as a quite practical young man who sees no point in sacrificing his life for a woman; until the very moment he lays his eyes to Atalanta and falls in love with her.[114] Atalanta later will also say pitying his youth (Met.10.632): "A! miser Hippomene, nollem tibi visa fuissem!"[115] The motif of falling in love through the eyes of the beloved is very old

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Athenian vase of c. 800 BC, while her name was found on an inscription from Mycenae, a temple that had plausibly a strong association with Cnossus (note that in both sites lions were very important for the cult of the goddess). Based on this evidence Grant explained the rather inglorious role of the goddess in the Iliad as well as the perception of the Greeks that Artemis was the goddess of a 'conquered race,' i.e. of women (see my Introduction n10).

[114] Cf. The second *Proem* to *Daphnis and Chloe*: "πάντως γὰρ οὐδεὶς Ἔρωτα ἔφυγεν ἢ φεύξεται, μέχρι ἂν κάλλος ᾖ καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ βλέπωσιν. ἡμῖν δὲ ὁ θεὸς παράσχοι σωφρονοῦσι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων γράφειν;" cf. Hom.h.Ven.5.59 where the goddess falls in love with Anchises as soon as she set eyes on him: "τὸν δὴ ἔπειτα ἰδοῦσα φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη /ἠράσατ', ἐκπάγλως δὲ κατὰ φρένας ἵμερος εἷλεν."

[115] For the motif of the "miser amator" in Latin elegy, see P. Fedeli 1980. R. Parker 1983: 221 argued that in later antiquity (and probably in earlier times) love was regarded as a condition which the unfortunate suitor might have sought to discard by purification; Tib.1.2.59, Nemes.Ecl.4.62-7; cf. Ov.Rem.260 with regards to the ill luck of those who had lain with the Great Goddess; also see the story of Anchises which was modelled on the story of Inanna in C. Penglase 1994: 170-6, 239; N. Van Der Ben 1986: 20. For Near Eastern Parallels of the story (Ishtar and Gilgamesh), see S.N. Kramer 1969: 104-6.

in literature and deeply rooted in Hellenistic and Latin elegiac poetry.[116] It is famously employed in the first elegy of Propertius who also employed the myth of Atalanta in his works: "Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis." Ovid who seems to follow this tradition does not omit to mention that Atalanta was inexperienced in love as Propertius appears in his first elegy: "contactum nullis ante cupidinibus."[117] In addition, Atalanta commenting on Hippomenes persistence to compete with her says (Met.10.629-30):

> "…utinam desistere velles!
> aut, quoniam es demens, utinam velocior esses!"

The perception of love as madness is very ancient and, as it will be argued, Ovid seems to follow Propertius and his Hellenistic patterns in this detail as well.[118]

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[116] M.L. West 1966: 409: 'Love coming from or through the eyes is a commonplace.' Also M.S. Cyrino 1995: 65. W.S. Barrett 1964: 258 on Eur.Hipp.525-6.

[117] This detail also agrees with the possibility that the story of Atalanta may be included in the nuptial tradition of Artemis who, as mentioned, was depicted in the Iliad as a young and immature goddess (cf. n113). Also cf. Ov.Am.3.2.27-33 where Ovid treats again the motif of falling in love through the eyes of the beloved in association with the myth of Atalanta specifically: "invida vestis eras, quae tem bona crura tegebas; /quoque magis spectes-invida vestis eras! /talia Milanion Atalantes crura fugacis /optavit manibus sustinuisse suis. /talia pinguntur succintae crura Dianae /cum sequitur fortes, fortior ipsa, feras. /his ego non visi arsi; quid fiet ab ipsis?" In the lines quoted Ovid confirms the comparison of Atalanta with Diana and he even parallels his situation to that of Milanion; it is worth noting that in this capacity he states that he is 'burning' with passion for his mistress. The comparison of the heroine with Aphrodite is further consolidated because although Atalanta (and the poet's mistress) is described as other Artemis, Ovid offers a prayer to Aphrodite to grant him his desire and he even assures his beloved that she will be greater than Venus herself: "pace loquar Veneris, tu dea maior eris" (ll.60-2).

[118] Phaedra was described as literally mad, astounded out of her mind, a word frequently used to describe someone out of control because of fear. She raved in fantasies of hunting and horseback riding, all patently sexual. The nurse begged her to stop 'hurling words riding on madness' and questioned the fantasies she cries out while 'deranged.' When Phaedra came back to her senses she simply said: 'ἐμάνην, ἔπεσον δαίμονος αἴσῃ.' Eur.Hipp.241-2; cf. ll.38, 141-44, 203-31, 214, 232. However, Aphrodite also described her falling for Anchises as madness; Hom.h.Ven.5.57 where desire was said to have completely seized the goddess' mind and ll.254-5 where the goddess confessed that she had been astray from her

As mentioned, Atalanta is compared to Venus. Furthermore, the beauty of Hippomenes is paralleled to that of Adonis who is repeatedly addressed in the text as a young boy. Atalanta says (Met.10.631): "A! quam virgineus puerili in ore est!"[119] This statement explains why Venus compares Atalanta's beauty with that of Adonis, were he a woman. Hence, it seems the parallelism between the divine couple and Atalanta and Hippomenes is substantial.[120]

Hippomenes prays to Venus for help and she, moved by his passion, grants him her divine help. Ovid also mentions the three golden apples, which Venus brought for him from a sacred garden located in Cyprus.[121] However, Ovid is more preoccupied with the description of the anxiety felt by the two lovers until the victory of Hippomenes that allowed them to marry. Ovid's treatment of the story offers more ground to the assumption that the myth could be possibly understood in the context of pubic or pre-nuptial education. Hesiod,[122] whose *Catalogue of Women* deals with divine erotic adventures, narrated apart from the story of Atalanta, the tale of the Proitids in Tiryns (Argos). He mentioned that the seer Melampous had to be summoned in order to save the daughters of the king from madness in exchange for a share of the Argive

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wits to lay in love with a mortal.

[119] Cf. Ov.Met.10.614-5: "nec forma tangor (poteram tamen hac quoque tangi), /sed quod adhuc puer est: non me movet ipse, sed aetas." There were several tales about handsome boys who would be appointed priests in a local temple for a period before puberty similar to maiden priestesses of Aphrodite and Artemis: Paus.2.33.2, 2.10.4, 7.19.2, 7.26.5, 9.10.4, 7.24.4, 10.34.8, and 8.47.3. See B. Cohen 2000: 98-131. Also, see Dowden 1989: 130-1.

[120] Daphnis' girlish beauty is also praised in the novel of Longus (also, see n104 above and ch2nn114, 190 and 200).

[121] M. Grant 1962: 393; according to Ov.Met.10.644-5, the apples came from a golden apple-tree located in Aphrodite's temple at Tamasus in Cyprus; cf. Ov.Am.3.2.55-57: "nos tibi, blanda Venus, puerisque potentibus arcu /plaudimus; inceptis adnue, diva, meis /daque novae mentem dominae! Patiatur amari!" In these lines Ovid, who at the beginning of the poem compared himself to Milanion, prays to Aphrodite in the way of Hippomenes in the Metamorphoses. It is worth observing that his new beloved is presented as 'mistress of his mind' which complies with Atalanta's understanding of Hippomenes as mad in the Metamorphoses. Attention should be also drawn to Venus' address as "blanda" which contains a hint to the goddess' magical qualities (cf. n175).

[122] Hes.fr.133 Merkelbach-West; also K. Dowden 1989: 74-105.

kingdom. Their madness, which is comparable with the madness of young Hippomenes in Ovid, should be interpreted in a nuptial context.[123] In Bacchylides it is Hera who maddens the Proitids, in Hesiod, it is Dionysus, both being important deities in the conjugal and sexual precincts respectively. This detail could explain better the disagreement about the origin of the apples that Aphrodite gave to Hippomenes, which according to Philetas came from Dionysus' wreath.[124]

After their union, Atalanta and Hippomenes indulged so much into each other's company that they forgot to show any gratitude towards the goddess who was accordingly enraged with them.[125] Venus did not hesitate to punish the ungrateful couple (Met.10.686-704):[126]

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[123] For madness in association with female puberty and Artemis, see Hippoc.Virg.22.526-8 (Kühn). K. Dowden 1989: 89. Hippomenes passionate character was perhaps anticipated in the etymology of his name: Callimachus used the image of a chariot overturned by its horses to signify the impact of *Eros* on the soul. He advised a friend to hold back the 'maddened horses' from running (Callim.Iamb.fr.195T; cf. Eur.Hipp.1219-41). Furthermore, in these stories of pubescent madness the presence of a seer in order to cure the maidens already implies some kind of supernatural affliction, such as magic; for the Proitids, see C. Faraone 1999: 90-93; cf. p.8 for Phaedra's turn to magic for resolving her erotic magic (see n118).

[124] See below (pp.55-6f.) for Philetas' version and its possible implications regarding the understanding of the myth of Atalanta in antiquity; cf. schol.Theoc.2.120b.

[125] The fact that Ovid included Atalanta's story among the myths of lascivious women and presented her as responsible for ingratitude towards Aphrodite could be indicative of his innovative perception of the heroine. This new element has not been clearly stated in any previous source.

[126] Vergil included Atalanta among heroines such as Pasiphaë, who had experienced an exceptional, abnormal passion. See *Eclogue* 6.60-1 (cited along with the story of the Proitids ll.48-51) and 8.37-41. In *Eclogue* 8, Vergil who imitated Theocritus' Id.2.82 and Id.3.42, described love as an "error:" the word that came to denote mistake initially meant wandering, meander, maze; cf. Greek "πλάνη." Furthermore, Vergil did not leave any doubt about his meaning by combining "error" with "aufero" which means to lead astray, to wander. Vergil's phrase could be translated as 'by a delusion I was led astray.' It also seems that in understanding Atalanta as lascivious, Vergil agrees with Ovid (see previous note). In addition, cf.

"Templa, deum Matri quae quondam clarus Echion
fecerat ex voto, nemorosis abdita silvis,
transibant, et iter longum requiescere suasit.
Illic concuitus intempestiva cupido
occupat Hippomenen a numine concita nostro.
Luminis exigui fuerat prope templa recessus
speluncae similis, nativo pumice tectus,
religione sacer prisca, quo multa *sacerdos* (see n127)
lignea contulerat veterum simulacra deorum:
hunc init et vetito temerat sacraria probro.
Sacra retorserunt oculos, *turritaque* Mater.[127]
An Stygia sontes dubitavit mergeret unda;
poena levis visa est. ergo modo levia fulvae
colla iubae velant, digiti curvantur in ungues,
ex umeris armi fiunt, in pectora totum
pondus abit, summae cauda verruntur harenae.
Iram vultus habet, pro verbis mumura reddunt,
pro thalamis celebrant silvas aliisque timendi
dente premunt domito Cybeleïa frena leones."

In the lines quoted above, Venus explains to Adonis how the two lovers violated the sanctuary of the Mother of the gods because she infused erotic desire to Hippomenes.[128] Ovid has Venus by her divine authority to certify that the story of Atalanta and Hippomenes should be associated with the Mother of the Gods whom he names Cybele. Actually, the two lovers are transformed into the very lions that drag her chariot.[129]

M.W. Dickie 2001: 225 referring to itinerant magicians as *planetai* or *planoi* which obviously relates to their way of living but also alludes to the misleading of their victims. In line 693 Ovid refers to the "sacerdos" of the Mother, a word used in Apuleius Met.2.28-30 to denote an Egyptian magician which was both a prophet and a priest. See M.W. Dickie ibid.: 229. It seems possible that the priest of an eastern goddess would also possess magical powers or so it was believed (cf. ch5n231).

[127] These lines confirm the religious blending that took place from the Hellenistic period onwards. Ovid depicted Cybele with a mural crown, a notorious feature of Isis, the Egyptian fertility goddess, whom Herodotus (2.171) identified with Demeter. Isis' cult in which the "sistrum" prevailed, was much related with the orgiastic Mother cult discussed above (p.34f.); S.K. Heyob 1975: 29-34 (esp.nn97-101) and *passim*. Also, see the previous note on the association of "sacerdos" with Egyptian magicians in Apuleius.

[128] See V. Emeljanow 1969: 67-76.

[129] M. Detienne 1979: 46 interpreted the heroine's transformation as

Apollodorus who also mentioned the lovers' transformation into lions was probably aware of this connection which he tried to imply in his version. Attention should be also drawn to the description of the sacred cave of the Mother of the gods, which is similar to the description of Atalanta's cave included in the version of Aelian. However, in Greek tradition, it is Artemis whose relation to female heroines is never fortunate,[130] and not Aphrodite who is associated with lions as *potnia therōn.*[131]

Venus, the Roman equivalent of the Greek Aphrodite, has been long identified with Cybele and other eastern variations of the fertility goddess such as Ishtar and Inanna.[132] However, despite this clue, Ovid seems to associate the traits of the goddess of procreation with Diana (Artemis) and Atalanta rather than with Venus whom he specifically distinguishes as the goddess of soft beauty and tamed nature. Atalanta, although compared with Venus at first, seems to join the wild side of the divine in the end as one

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expressive of her initial aversion to marriage; cf. Hyginus' shorter version: "Hanc cum in patriam duceret, oblitus beneficio /Veneris se vicisse, grates ei non egit. Irata Venere in monte Par- /nasso cum sacrificaret Iovi Victori, cupiditate incensus cum ea in /fano concubuit, quos Iuppiter ob id factum in leonem et leam /convertit, quibus di concubitum Veneris denegant;" also, see Non.Dion.12.87-89.

[130] See D. Lyons 1997: 98 about Callisto and Comaetho; cf. S.B. Pomeroy 1975: 68-70.

[131] However, Aphrodite like Circe of the Odyssey was also the Lady of the Beasts (Hom.Od.10.210-219): "εὗρον δ' ἐν βήσσῃσι τετυγμένα δώματα Κίρκης /ξεστοῖσιν λάεσσι, περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ· /ἀμφὶ δέ μιν λύκοι ἦσαν ὀρέστεροι ἠδὲ λέοντες, /τοὺς αὐτὴ κατέθελξεν, ἐπεὶ κακὰ φάρμακ' ἔδωκεν. /οὐδ' οἵ γ' ὠρμήθησαν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' ἄρα τοί γε /οὐρῇσιν μακρῇσι περισσαίνοντες ἀνέσταν. /ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα κύνες δαίτηθεν ἰόντα /σαίνωσ', αἰεὶ γάρ τε φέρει μειλίγματα θυμοῦ, /ὣς τοὺς ἀμφὶ λύκοι κρατερώνυχες ἠδὲ λέοντες /σαῖνον· τοὶ δ' ἔδεισαν, ἐπεὶ ἴδον αἰνὰ πέλωρα;" also N. Marinatos 2000: 30-44 (cf. n113).

[132] See Nonn.Dion.12.87-9 who presented Artemis as punishing Atalanta and transforming her into a lion. C. Penglase 1994: 3n1; an example of religious and even cultic influence rather than just mythological influence was found in the case of the goddess Aphrodite. The general view of classicists is that many aspects of the goddess that the Greeks worshipped in historical times appear to have come ultimately from the major Mesopotamian goddess Ishtar. G.S. Kirk 1974: 258. W. Burkert 1985: 152ff. and 1992: 97-9; cf. Tib.1.7.17-22: "quid referam ut volitet crebras intacta per urbes /alba Palestino sancta columba Syro, /utque maris vastum prospectet turribus aequor /prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros, /qualis est, arentes cum findit Sirius agros, /fertilis aestiva Nilus abundet aqua?"

of Cybele's lions.[133] In addition, a few lines further Ovid presents Venus as establishing for Adonis a cult similar to the annual lamentation that Cybele had established for Attis (Met.10.719-728):[134]

> "agnovit longe gemitum morientis et albas
> flexit aves illuc, utque aethere vidit ab alto
> exanimem inque suo iactantem sanguine corpus,
> desiluit pariterque sinum pariterque capillos
> rupit et indignis percussit pectora palmis
> questaque cum fatis, 'at non tamen omnia vestri
> iuris erunt, dixit; luctus monimenta manebunt
> semper, Adoni, mei, repetitaque mortis imago
> annua plangoris peraget simulamina nostri.
> At cruor in florem mutabitur."[135]

Ovid was presumably aware of the similarities between Cybele and Venus because the story of Attis, Cybele's consort, is also treated in the Metamorphoses. The similarities in the annual

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[133] Hyg.Fab.185 repeated the story (2nd century AD). He said that, although the couple deserved to be punished, they were not denied the privilege to mate. Also Servius ad Aen.397: "… unde irata dea in leones eos convertit, et suo currui subiugavit, et praecepit /ne secum umquam leones coirent. Nam et Plinius in Naturali Historia dicit leonem /cum pardalide [libenter], et pardum cum leaena concumbere."

[134] Adonis was actually killed by a boar, an animal that symbolised the wild side of the goddess. C. Penglase 1994: 178 discusses Artemis as the killer of Adonis. See ibid.: 32-40 for the ritual search and wailing in honour of Damu and for the so-called 'fertility drama' in which the story of Adonis and Aphrodite should be also understood to belong. Isis also constituted rites for her dead husband and son that were widely imitated in the Greco-Roman world: Hdt.2.61; Diod.Sic.1.14. Also S.K. Heyob 1975: 38-44, 53-5. For Attis, see M.J. Vermaseren 1977: 88-95; cf. Hdt.1.34-45; Catull.63.

[135] Aphrodite wept for Adonis in Ovid in similar terms to the girls described in Sappho as mourning for the dead Adonis. Sappho in poem 140 was inspired by the death of a lovely youth, Adonis. As usual, she and her companions consulted Aphrodite on what they should do: "καταθνάσκει, Κυθέρη', ἄβρος Ἄδωνις· τί κε /θεῖμεν; /καττύπτεσθε, κόραι, καὶ κατερείκεσθε κίθωνας." The motif of Adonis' death was also found in the poems of Dioscorides Anth.Pal.5.53 and 193, which from a point of view continued the episode found in Sappho. Here Adonis was described as already dead; women mourned for him. Aristonoe, in the first epigram, and Cleio, in the second one, were so charming in their sorrow that they captured the poet's heart; he wished similar honour at his own death.

lamentation decreed for Attis and Adonis are widely accepted by ancient and modern scholars alike.[136] It could be argued that here Ovid tries to present the two sides of the fertility world, the beautified and the wild one. An indication of this attempt is Atalanta's connection with both sides of this world, the one represented by Venus (Aphrodite) and the one represented by Diana (Artemis).[137]

THE APPLES OF LOVE

However, as mentioned, it seems to be Venus' intervention that grants Hippomenes his desire and allows him to win Atalanta: Venus hands to her protégé three golden apples from the garden of the Hesperides that secure his victory. Aphrodite as a goddess of fertility rules over nature and she is a symbol of the natural forces. The propagation of all fruits and animals depends on her.[138] Hence, fruits were regarded throughout antiquity as the most appropriate wedding presents.[139] Therefore, it is not surprising that

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[136] For the eastern parallels to the birth of Adonis, see pseudo-Apollod.Bibl.3.183-5 and C. Penglase 1994: 178-9. For the Phoenician origins of Adonis, also see W. Burkert 1979: 105-11 and 1985: 3 and 12; E. Will 1975: 93-105; O. Murray 1980: 85-6.

[137] The similarities of Atalanta with deadly female deities such as the Gorgon have been already discussed above, pp.26-8; cf. N. Marinatos 2000: 48-65. It is interesting that Isis was identified with Aphrodite as well as with Artemis; see S.K. Heyob 1975: 43, 48-51, 66 for Isis and Venus; 67, 70-3 for Isis as Artemis; cf. R. MacMullen 1981: 90; the author also discusses Apul.Met.11.2 where the hero addresses his saviour goddess as Artemis or Persephone. MacMullen remarks that Proserpina is often called *polyonymous* just like Cybele and Isis (cf. ch2n243).

[138] For the perception of the fertility goddess as a symbol of fruit-birth, see E. Neumann ²1963: 55-74; for the identification of Artemis with Leto, see D. Lyons 1997: 135 esp.n2; cf. Hom.h.Apoll.118: "μείδησε δὲ γαῖ' ὑπέρνερθεν·;" according to C. Penglase 1994: 83-4, Leto is likened to Earth: 'The motif of the Earth's mouth agape as she smiles is a highly poetic representation of the open interior of the earth goddess, directly beneath the open womb of Leto, and it is at this point that Apollo leaps forth like the young Cretan Zeus leaping forth from the earth on the mountain –in fact, the same word is used ("ἔθορε," line 119; cf. ch3n192)- and like Zeus' birth from the cave within Earth on Mt Aigaios (ll.482-4).'

[139] Apples, pomegranates and other fruits with sexual connotations were offered to Artemis as well; S.G. Cole 1998: 34-5 referred to a relief

Hippomenes, as a suitor of the heroine, offered Atalanta apples in order to win her over.[140]

Apples were used in Greek wedding rituals from the very early years and according to Pherecydes, Ge caused apple trees to spring up at the wedding of Zeus and Hera as a gift to the new couple.[141] Most writers agree that the fruits of that tree were golden and that the Hesperides guarded them in a garden placed in the West. It is also generally accepted that the apples, which Aphrodite gave to Hippomenes, came from that tree.[142] Stesichorus again described quinces and flowers as being thrown at the wedding chariot of Menelaos and Helen.[143] Later sources such as Strabo and Plutarch cast more light on the actual ceremonies that took place in ancient societies and in which apples had a significant role.[144] Strabo wrote

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from a sanctuary of Artemis at Echinos, a border town between Malis and Achaia Phthiotis, in northern Greece. The relief depicted the dedication of clothes to the goddess after giving birth, a practice confirmed by the scholia on Callim.h.Zeus 77. See H.P. Foley 2001: 63-4 for the epic notion of wedding presents.

[140] Apples played an important role in ancient wedding ritual as several sources testify; e.g. the romance of *Acontius and Cydippe* as well as that of *Daphnis and Chloe* discussed below (see pp.60-1f. and nn158-9); cf. Sapph.105a (Campbell) comparing the bride to an apple: "οἷον τὸ γλυκύμαλον ἐρεύθεται ἄκρῳ ἐπ' ὔσδῳ, ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ, λελάθοντο δὲ μαλοδρόπηες·"

[141] FGrH3F17; also Dumuzi and Inanna were described as copulating in the apple garden; C. Penglase 1994: 31. Also, see M.J. Edwards 1992: 181-203 on the role of apples in the bridal imagery in Sappho and Catullus.

[142] See Myth.Vat.139; schol.Theoc.3.40-1; Eust.adHom.Il.4.331.9-10; schol.Theoc.3.40-2b. It is not accidental perhaps that Atlas, who was mentioned as the father of the Hesperides, derived his name from the same root as Atalanta, namely from the verb "τλάω," which means to endure or to dare. (Notice that "ἀτάλαντος, –ον" means equal in weight, equivalent or equal to). The same adjective could also mean 'in the likeness of the gods:' see Hes.Th.91 and Hom.Il.9.155, 12.312. Also, see M. Detienne 1979: 41-44 for a version according to which Aphrodite took the apples from a pomegranate tree, a clue which explains further the appropriatness of comparing the tale of Atalanta to that of Persephone.

[143] PMG187: "πολλὰ μὲν Κυδώνια μᾶλα ποτερρίπτουν ποτὶ δίφρον ἄνακτι, /πολλὰ δὲ μύρσινα φύλλα /καὶ ῥοδίνους στεφάνους ἴων τε κορωνίδας οὔλας."

[144] Strabo 15.3.17; Plut.Mor.138d and 279f. See A. Avagianou 1991: 12 who compared divine and human weddings and C. Faraone 1999: 70n128

that a girl on her wedding day was allowed to eat only apples and camel marrow. Plutarch also in his *Moralia* stated that, according to the law about the marriage of the Athenian "ἐπίκληροι," a bride was supposed to eat a quince so that her speech to her husband would be sweet from the very start,[145] and then be shut up in the bridal chamber with the bridegroom.[146] It becomes obvious that the consumption of apples was a customary prerequisite for Greek weddings and in addition, it was often associated with Artemis as a protectress *par excellence* of marriage.[147] In the myth of Atalanta as well as in Stesichorus' description of the wedding procession of Helen, apples were actually thrown to the bride and one can find in the peculiar Athenian saying "μήλῳ βάλλειν"[148] the survival of a

for more bibliography.

[145] See Solon frr71b and 127 (Ruschenbusch); cf. Plut.Praec.conj.138d; J. Trumpf 1960: 14-22; R. Rehm 1994: 17; bride and groom were seated near the hearth where dried fruit, nuts, sweetmeats and /or seeds were poured over their heads in the "καταχύσματα," a rite to guarantee the future prosperity and fertility of the union, performed not long after the couple withdrew to bed. See Pl.Tht.160e; also N. Richardson 1974: 231-2 and J.P. Gould 1980: 38-59. For this custom in Pindar, see A. Carson 1982: 123-8. Also, see A.R. Littlewood 1968: 147-81 and C. Calame 1999: 160n15. For the Athenian "ἐπίκληροι," see H.P. Foley 2001: 68-70.

[146] The law also defined that the husband of an heiress should sleep with her thrice a month as a mark of affection to a chaste wife even if they did not have any children. Thus, the law would in a way encourage sexual intimacy between the couple. See H.P. Foley 2001: 74. Diog.Laert.8.1.21 recorded that Pythagoras, in a trip to Hades, reported seeing souls of men being tortured because they did not have sex with their wives. As Plato in the *Laws* put it, marital sexual exclusiveness, if it could be universally achieved, would ensure that husbands were 'loving and close to their own wives;' Pl.Leg.839b; cf. Eur.fr.823N; 1062N, Hec.828-32; Theoc.Id.18.51-2; Xen.Symp.8.3.

[147] R. Rehm 1994: 12-13; offerings and sacrifices from brides to be were made to other divinities: Aphrodite, Hera, Athena, the Eumenides, Ouranos and Gaia (the primal couple), the Tritopatores, but particularly to Artemis. For a discussion of the evidence, see J.H. Oakley and R.H. Sinos 1993: 92ff.; B. Zaidman and S. Pantel 1992: 186-88; K. Dowden 1989: 2-3, 123; H. King 1983: 114-5, 120-22; J.M. Redfield 1982: 190-1; W. Burkert 1977: 120-1n.29 and 1972: 62-3; W.S. Barrett 1964: 4n3 and 192-4.

[148] Ar.Nub.997; Diogen.Cent.VI.63 (Leutsch and Schneidwin). Diogenes' explanation leaves no doubt as to the explanation of the

custom in a metaphorical expression which probably meant to become sexually excited. It seems that the presence of fruits in numerous ancient literary examples had its parallels to ancient fertility rites such as the throwing of nuts or the dedication of "πανσπερμία" at agricultural festivals.[149]

> *Fruit signified abundance and fertility specifically in the context of agriculture, for fruit grows in the orchards created and nurtured with technological skill.*[150]

It has been argued that apples and the other fruits, which contain many small pips, were used in weddings as symbols for fecundity but actually, they seem more to be designed to produce sexual desire to the female.[151]

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phrase: "ἐπὶ τῶν εἰς ἔρωτα ἐπαγομένων τινάς." Aristophanes presented for the first time possibly in literature a girl hitting a boy with an apple, and not the other way round; cf. the motif as mentioned in the story of *Daphnis and Chloe* (see nn140 and 151). C. Faraone 1999: 72.

[149] W. Burkert 1979: 52-4 discussed the first-fruit offerings. The Greeks considered the offerings of *aparchai* as the simplest and most basic form of uncorrupted piety as Eumaeus in Hom.Od.14.414-53 confirmed. For the same notion, see also Theophr.ad Porph.Abst.2.5, 20, 27; Pl.Leg.782c; Arist.Eth.Nic.1160a.25-7. It should be remarked that the Calydonian Hunt was based on an omission of such an offering to Artemis (cf. p.21 and n55); cf. H.J. Lloyd-Jones 1983: 59 and Soph.El.563ff.

[150] B.S. Thornton 1997: 143; in the end of Aristophanes' *Pax* Trygaios married Opora (ll.1358-9). Their wedding song celebrated the return of peace in terms of the fertility of the fields and sexual exuberance, both contained by the cultural orders of marriage and agriculture: rich harvests, granaries full of grain and wine, plenty of figs (sexual fruit *par excellence*), and wives who bear off-spring. The Greek text linked eating, agriculture and sex, as when the chorus asked: 'what shall we do with her (Opora)? We shall gather /strip her' ("τρυγήσομεν αὐτήν"). Opora also stood for sexual ripeness: e.g. Pind.Isth.2.4.5, Ar.fr.582K, Chaerem.fr.12N. Ar.Pax 706-8, 1319-28, 1336-9. For sex and agriculture, see also *Pax* 1182-1215 and the ending of the Birds (see also ch5n74 on agriculture and sex).

[151] Girls' breasts were often compared to apples, as when Daphnis explored Acrotime's breasts and said: "μᾶλα τεὰ πράτιστα τάδε χνοάοντα διδάξω;" Theoc.Id.27.50; *Idyll* 27 offers an interesting setting in which Daphnis is successful in initiating young Acrotime to the pleasures of love; the girl, a devotee of Artemis, was reluctant at first. To her efforts to resist Daphnis replied (Id.27.20): "οὐ φεύγεις τὸν Ἔρωτα, τὸν οὐ φύγε παρθένος ἄλλη." Also, see Canthar.fr.60K; Crates fr.40K; Ar.Ach.1199;

Hesiod's description of Atalanta's allurement is very important in order to understand the frequent appearance of "μῆλα" as love tokens in elegy, amatory epigrams and romances,[152] and to realise that apples and other fruits -usually quinces or pomegranates- originally played the role of engagement or wedding gifts.[153] Hesiod referred twice to golden Aphrodite and described her gifts as "ἀγλαά," -that is, splendid, bright-, a quality which resembles the shine of gold.[154] Later writers, like Apollodorus and Catullus, clearly stated in their account of the myth that the apples were golden, most probably with the intention to allude to the erotic character of the myth.

Catullus,[155] who wrote one generation before Propertius, in his version of the myth mentioned the apples, obviously influenced by his Hellenistic models. He also implied that Atalanta consented to her matrimony thanks to the power of the golden apples:

> "…tam gratum est mihi quam ferunt puellae
> pernici aureolum fuisse malum,

Pl.Leg.837b, where love was described as 'hungering after its bloom, as it were that of a ripening peach' (Bury).

[152] C. Faraone 1990: 219-20 and 230-8 for apples as means of sympathetic magic; A.P. Burnett 1983 connected the apple /quince with the apples of Atalanta and of the Hesperides and with the apple of virginity in Sappho 105V. The 'apple of discord' makes an ironically fitting gift for Strife to give at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. Other explanations for apples at weddings involve their (purported) resemblance to female breasts; also, see R.D. Griffith 1989: 58 and D.E. Gerber 1978: 203-4.

[153] Another word for the wedding gifts was "τὰ μειλίχια" which possibly echoed the role of Artemis in the prenuptial ceremonies (cf. nn16, 19 and 70). "Μείλιχος" was also the new name that Eurypylos gave to the local river at Patras where the most beautiful maiden and youths were sacrificed, after putting an end to the custom. These clues along with the names attributed to Atalanta's successful wooer encourage the possibility that the tale should be included in the tradition of coming of age rites: for Hippomenes, see n123 and for Meleager /Melanion, see n208.

[154] The association of gold and Aphrodite is very old; Hom.h.Ven.1-3 (Athanassakis, 1976): "Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε ἔργα πολυχρύσου ᾽Αφροδίτης /Κύπριδος, ἥ τε θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἵμερον ὥρσε /καὶ τ᾽ ἐδαμάσσατο φῦλα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων." Aphrodite was already described as 'golden' in Homer: Il.2.64; Od.8.338, 342 etc. Also, see B.S. Thornton 1997: 52.

[155] See poem 2b (J. Michie 1969).

quod zonam solvit diu ligatam."[156]

The golden quality of the apples employed in correspondence to the divine quality of golden Aphrodite, which is almost exclusively attributed to the goddess in ancient mythology, can be easily understood.[157] However, at the same time, the thought that since golden Aphrodite is the goddess of love, in the same way her golden gifts could cause love is intriguing. In Hesiod, the foot race is set as a prerequisite for the marriage and so the apples that Hippomenes threw at Atalanta should be regarded as wedding presents.[158] Stesichorus, who writes in the first half of the sixth century BC and is, therefore, closer to Hesiod, must have

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[156] As Eileithyia, protector of childbirth, Artemis was often invoked by women in labour as *Lysizonos* (e.g. Theoc.Id.17.60-1; Eur.Hipp.166-9; Soran.Gyn.2.6.1); after childbirth the girdle could be dedicated to the goddess (e.g. Anth.Pal.6.200, 202, 272). See H. King 1983: 122ff. for the reflection of the zone or girdle on the stages of a Greek woman's life. The phrase *luein ten zonen*, to release the girdle, was also used for defloration (Anth.Pal.7.164, 324; Eur.Alc.177); in Theoc.Id.27.55-6 Acrotime complains to Daphnis: "φεῦ φεῦ καὶ τὰν μίτραν ἀπέσχισας· εἰ τί δ' ἔλυσας;" while Daphnis decides to dedicate the maiden's girdle to Aphrodite: "τᾷ Παφίᾳ πράττιστον ἐγὼ τόδε δῶρον ὀπάσσω." Also, see G. Kaibel 1958: 319.3, 684.3; C. Daremberg 1887: 142 and L.R. Farnell 1896: 444; D. Lyons 1997: 152. See A.S.F. Gow 1952: 336 on Id.17.60: Ap.Rhod.1.288 wrote: "λύουσι γὰρ τὰς ζώνας αἱ πρώτως τίκτουσαι καὶ ἀνατιθέασιν Ἀρτέμιδι· ὅθεν καὶ Λυσιζώνου Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις." For loosing the girdle in this sense, see Pind.0l.6.39; Callim.Hec.1.21, 4.209 and 222; Opp.Cyn.3.56.

[157] In Hom.h.Ven.5.61-5 and 161-3 the goddess dressed in beautiful clothes and adorned herself with golden jewels and necklaces. The shining of the gold clearly aroused Anchises' desire (ll.86ff.); see C. Penglase 1994: 169-176 for Near Eastern parallels of the scene; for the association of the myth with Ishtar and Cybele, see ibid.: 173, esp.n33 quoting S. Ferri 1960: 294ff. and W. Burkert 1985: 154. For the comparison of this scene with the Inanna-Dumuzi tale, see S.N. Kramer 1969: 59, 63-5, 73-7. Also R. Mondi 1990: esp.147-8; cf. Ov.3.2.44 where he refers to the "aurea pompa," the golden procession of Venus (yet, cf. Callim.h.Dian.110-112 where the shine of gold is repeatedly attached to Artemis).

[158] See nn140, 148 and 151; cf. Long.3.34 where Daphnis offered a rare apple to Chloe. His reward was a kiss that the hero thought to be much better than a 'golden apple.' At 1.23 Longus referred to erotic apples while at 1.24 the couple was described as throwing apples at each other and Daphnis compared Chloe to the fairest apple.

mentioned Atalanta in two of his works,[159] the *Suotherai* and the *Athla epi Peliai*, since the heroine was testified to have participated in both of these myths. In the *Athla epi Peliai* Stesichorus definitely mentioned the wedding presents, which every suitor offered to Atalanta because, Athenaeus, a writer of the second century AD, comments on Stesichorus' work:[160]

> "πεμμάτων δὲ πρῶτόν φησιν μνημονεῦσαι Πανύασσιν Σέλευκος, ἐν οἷς περὶ τῆς παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἀνθρωποθυσίας διηγεῖται, πολλὰ μὲν ἐπιθεῖναι λέγων πέμματα, 'πολλὰς δὲ νοσσάδας ὄρνις' (fr.26 Kinkel), προτέρου Στησιχόρου ἢ Ἰβύκου ἐν τοῖς Ἄθλοις ἐπιγραφομένοις εἰρηκότος φέρεσθαι τῇ παρθένῳ δῶρα
>
> a) σασαμίδας χόνδρον τε καὶ ἐγκρίδας ἄλλα τε πέμματα καὶ μέλι χλωρόν."[161]

Stesichorus' testimony makes it clear that indeed wedding gifts were offered to Atalanta, who is referred to as "παρθένος" and even that choice fruits were obviously considered as suitable wedding gifts.[162] Athenaeus enumerates among the presents various

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[159] Stesich.2(2-3 B.et.D.) and Ath.Deipn.(om.E)4.172Dseq. Athenaeus, who was quite careful in his citations, made sure that the text on which he commented belonged to Stesichorus. He wrote: "ὅτι δὲ τὸ ποίημα τοῦτο Στησιχόρου ἐστὶν ἱκανώτατος μάρτυς /Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητής, ὃ περὶ τοῦ Μελεάγρου τὸν λόγον ποιούμενός /φησιν (Σιμ.fr.59 infra)…ὁ γὰρ Στησίχορος οὕτως εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ /προκειμένωι ᾄσματι τοῖς Ἄθλοις /θρῴσκων μὲν γὰρ Ἀμφιάραος, ἄκοντι δὲ νίκασεν Μελέαγρος." On the debate regarding the assignment of Stesichorus' fragments to his known works, see J. Barringer 1996: 52n16 with bibliography. Also, consult Barringer ibid: 68 on the correspondence between Stesichorus' poetry and artistic representations of Atalanta's wrestling at the *Funeral Games for Pelias*.

[160] Ath.Deipn.bk4.172d-e (Kaibel); cf. Nonn.Dion.48.180-2 and 12.87-9.

[161] An Athenian bride would be fed wedding cakes made of sesame and honey: Plut.Mor.138D, 279F and Sol.20.4. For the wedding cakes, see R. Flacelière 1965: 64. Note that honey sealed Aristaeus' marriage to Autonoe on mythological level (see ch5n1). For vases as wedding gifts, see A. Stewart 1983: 58-69 and J. Barringer 1996: 63-4 and nn75-77 for more bibliography (cf. n27 above); also, ibid. 2002: 176f. Atalanta and the Calydonian Hunt were often the subject-matter of such vases.

[162] K. Dowden 1989: 2-3; *parthenos* in Greek does not necessarily signify a virgin, but rather an unmarried girl. Also, see G. Sissa 1984:

"χόνδρους," that is grains. This habit seems to have had its origins in ancient fertility rites.[163] In addition, Atalanta is clearly described to refuse 'the presents of golden Aphrodite' by the use of "ἀναίνομαι," a verb which expresses rejection strongly.[164] The parallelism between golden Aphrodite and the 'shining' /'glowing' apples which would probably carry her erotic qualities is already obvious in Hesiod. Therefore, by refusing the presents of Aphrodite, Atalanta is said to refuse love.

Furthermore, it appears that the fertility tradition in which the myth of Atalanta belongs had been appreciated from a very early date. Consequently, the role of the apples, which Ovid also mentioned in detail in his story, should be interpreted in that light. Apollodorus, cited above (p.16f.),[165] wrote that Atalanta fell in love with Hippomenes as soon as she glanced at the divine apples that he threw at her. However, in doing so, Apollodorus in fact quoted Theocritus and it is not an exaggeration to assume that Apollodorus might have had a copy of Theocritus in front of him when he was writing his rather uncritical summary of the myth.

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esp.1125-30; H. King 1983: 113; N. Loraux 1981: 241n183. Although Soran.Gyn.1.29.6 clearly applied it to girls before menarche, the term can be applied to older unmarried women: PG2.127.

[163] Note that Adonis was believed to be the representation of the growing grain; Euseb.Praep.Evang.3.11.12; Damu who belonged to the goddess-consort strand and was identified with Dumuzi and Adonis according to Apollod.Bibl.3.14.4, was also responsible for the fertility of vegetables; see T. Jacobsen 1976: 63; S.N. Kramer 1969: 159. In addition, in one of the episodes Dumuzi and Inanna were described as coupling at an apple tree; as a result, Inanna gave birth to vegetables and grain; see S.N. Kramer 1979: 93-4.

[164] In Eur.Hel.364-6, the heroine lamented for her sexual beauty, the 'gifts of Aphrodite,' which bore much blood, much weeping, grief upon grief, tears upon tears; also, see Cypr.6E-W; Pin.Ol.7.11; Hes.Th.910-11; Hom.Od.18.192-3. Equally, Atalanta's cruelty towards her suitors has been sufficiently attested in literature. In addition, it seems that the erotic element of the tale became more explicit from the ancient years already.

[165] Apollonius Rhodius also treated the tale in his erotic epic, the *Argonautica*. The schol.Ap.Rhod.769-73 (Wendel) argued that Atalanta had participated in the Argonautic expedition as the only woman among its crew; cf. Diod.Sic.4.41.2; 4.48.5 who also mentioned Atalanta's participation in the Argonautic expedition as well as that she was injured and cured by Medea's magical filters.

Theocritus' version of the story is very important because it goes back to Hesiod, whom all Hellenistic scholars regarded as their great master. Theocritus wrote (Id.3.40-2):[166]

> Ἱππομένης, ὅκα δὴ τὰν παρθένον ἤθελε γᾶμαι,
> μᾶλ' ἐν χερσὶν ἐλὼν δρόμον ἄνυεν· ἁ δ' Ἀταλάντα
> ὡς ἴδεν, ὡς ἐμάνη, ὡς ἐς βαθὺν ἄλατ' ἔρωτα."

Theocritus described the effect of the apples on Atalanta in dramatic terms by repeating three times the same syntax, "ὡς ἴδεν, ὡς ἐμάνη, ὡς ἐς βαθὺν ἄλατ' ἔρωτα." He chose very strong verbs like "μαίνομαι" and "ἄλλομαι"[167] which underline the quick and radical change in the heroine's feelings for Hippomenes.[168] It is accepted that in his brief account of the story Theocritus preserved Philetas' treatment, which also goes back to Hesiod.[169] Philetas who included in his treatment of the myth the foot race and the golden apples clearly stated that it was the view of the apples that made

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[166] Hyginus also dedicated more lines compared to other writers in describing Atalanta's reaction at the view of the golden apples. She was depicted as being amazed by their glimpse and as staring at them with a girlish curiosity: "hic enim a Venere /mala tria insignis formae acceperat, /edoctus quis usus ineis esset. Illa enim /dum colligit et ammiratur aurum, declinavit et iuveni victoriam /tradidit."

[167] For Theocritus' use of the verb "ἄλλομαι" and its possible confusion with the verb "ἀλάομαι" to create images of acute love-sickness, see pp.75f. The argument that Propertius was aware of Theocritus' imagery but opted to change the idea of 'leaping in love' with the idea of 'wandering in love' in his first elegy of the *Monobiblos*, is put forward.

[168] Cf. Alcaios fr.283.3-6: "κ' Αλένας ἐν στηθ[ε]σιν [ἐ]πτ[όαισε /θῦμον ᾽Αργείας, Τροΐω δ' [ύ]π' ἄνδρος /ἐκμανεῖσα ξ[εν]ναπάτα ᾽πὶ π[όντον /ἔσπετο ναῒ." M.S. Cyrino 1995: 98; this was the first use of the verb "ἐκμαίνω" as denoting erotic madness. The verb was very common in later poetry, especially tragedy, where it was employed to portray a severe and powerful feeling of *eros* that had the capacity to control the lover's mind. Cf. Soph.Tr.1141-2: "Νέσσος πάλαι Κένταυρος ἐξέπεισέ νιν /τοιῶιδε φίλτρωι τὸν σὸν ἐκμῆναι πόθον." C. Faraone 1999: 110-119; cf. M.W. Dickie 2001: 109.

[169] Note that in *Idyll* 3, Theocritus referred to the story of Melampous just after the story of Atalanta (ll.43). He also mentioned the story of Adonis and Aphrodite thus giving Ovid a model. See R. Parker 1983: 209 who talked about Melampous and other wandering healers of antiquity stressing their associations with music and Apollo; Hom.Od.15.245; Hes.fr.261; Apollod.Bibl.1.9.11. They also had Dionysian connections; see Hdt.2.49; Paus.1.43.5; cf. W. Burkert 1983a: 190f.

Atalanta fall in love.[170] Since both Philetas and Theocritus followed Hesiod, it would not be unreasonable to assume that Hesiod also, regarded the apples as responsible for infusing love to the heroine. Philetas' verses have been quoted by a scholiast of Theocritus who wrote:[171]

> "μᾶλα μὲν ἐν κόλποισι Διωνύσοιο· τὰ ἐράσμια
> καὶ ἔρωτος ποιητικά, καθὸ τὰ ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης
> διδόμενα τῷ Ἱππομένει μῆλα ἐκ τῶν Διονύσου,
> ταῦτα δὲ εἰς ἔρωτα τὴν Ἀταλάντην ἐκίνησεν, ὥς
> φησιν ὁ Φιλήτας·
> τά οἵ ποτε Κύπρις ἑλοῦσα μῆλα Διωνύσου δῶκεν
> ἀπὸ κροτάφων."

Philetas as well as Theocritus exercised great influence on Latin elegiac poetry; Propertius in particular, who often mentioned Philetas in his poems (Prop.2.34.31; 3.1.1), seems to have been quite familiar with the work of both poets. As it will be argued below (pp.74-5), this clue is a strong indication that Propertius, although he did not directly refer to the foot race or the golden apples, was familiar with the Boeotian version of the story, to which he possibly alluded in his text. Philetas' suggestion that Aphrodite took the apples from Dionysus underlines the association of the myth with fertility and the dark powers that normally accompany fertility deities, as explained above (p.42).[172]

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[170] The *Hymn to Aphrodite* was probably one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the *Homeric Hymns*, and its central myth appears to have been of great antiquity, since it was referred to by both Homer (Il.2.819-21) and Hesiod (Th.1008-10). According to the myth, Aphrodite was struck with love for Anchises as soon as she saw him. See C. Penglase 1994: 169. For the early date of the myth, see E.J. Bickerman 1976: 229; also, see T.W. Allen, W.R. Halliday, E.E. Sikes (edd) 1963: 350-1.

[171] Schol.Theoc.2.120b; cf. Non.Dion.12.87-9. There were three groups of commentators on Theocritus: Theon who wrote in the Augustan period, Asclepiades of Myrlea who wrote during the 1st century BC and Munatius, Theaetetus and Amarantus who wrote around the 2nd century AD. Prose writers such as Lucian, Longus, Alciphron and Aristaenetus also took an interest in Theocritus in the 2nd century AD onwards.

[172] Hecate, for instance, was thoroughly associated with magic; see C.E. Arnold 1989: 24-9 who examined Ephesus, the city in which Artemis' cult was particularly prominent, in New Testament times. He connected the cult of the Ephesian Artemis with Hellenistic magic, by

Furthermore, it should be assumed that the Latin poets were probably familiar with this natural dimension of the myth, as it will be emphasised in the following pages. Both Philetas and Theocritus already implied that the apples had a magical effect on Atalanta and it could be suggested that the magical power of love was a commonplace in Hellenistic poetry, later inherited by Latin elegiac poets.[173] However, it seems that this motif was far from a Hellenistic innovation since Aphrodite was frequently described already in Homer as exercising her magical powers among the other epic gods.[174] In the story of Atalanta, Aphrodite mediated so that Hippomenes obtained the golden apples and generally, during antiquity the goddess has been particularly related to magical objects.[175] Hence, she is depicted in epic as lending her magical girdle[176] -"κεστὸς"- to her sister Hera. The latter pretended that she wanted to give it to her parents, Oceanus and Tethys, in order to soften their quarrel and to light up the old flame between them.[177]

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citing PGM4.2288 to show that Artemis-Hecate delivered people from peril involving spirits (cf. ch5n88); also, see H.S. Versnel 2002: 114 (esp.n26 for more bibliography). However, as remarked above, Artemis was identified with Hecate since ancient times (see nn65-69). Furthermore, Dionysus was often worshipped along with Artemis as in Patras as well as with Demeter, the major fertility goddess in archaic Greece (W. Burkert 1985: 222-225).

[173] Cf. Prop.2.34.67-70: "tu canis umbrosi subter pineta Galaesi /Thyrsin et attritis Daphnin harundinibus, /utque decem possint corrumpere mala puellas /missus et impressis haedus ab uberibus." These lines confirm the close affiliation of Propertius with Theocritus and the bucolic genre but they also indicate the adoption of apples as love inflicting instruments in Latin poetry.

[174] Propertius on Homer: 1.7.3: 9.11; 2.1.21: 34.45; 3.1.33.

[175] In Hom.Od.18.192-4 Athena anointed Penelope with Aphrodite's 'balm,' the magical ointment bestowing sexual loveliness that 'loosened the knees' of the suitors.

[176] C. Bonner 1949: 1-6; F.E. Brenk 1977: 17-20; W. Burkert 1985: 154. M.S. Cyrino 1995: 42n28; cf. Hom.Od.6.227-37 and 23.153ff. where Athena attributed to Odysseus erotic charm for his encounters with Nausicaa and Penelope respectively. The episode is also discussed by C. Faraone 1999: 100-101; cf. pp.101-102 for a similar recipe from Ashur dating to 1000 BC. This incantation is aimed at a man angry with his wife and calls on Ishtar. Also, see p.46 where Faraone referred to the late 2nd century AD Christian writer Sextus Julius Africanus who wrote on *Kestoi* in 24 books that included magical and medical recipes and observations.

[177] In Hom.Il.2.198-217 and 14.215-7 Zeus admitted that he

Hera actually used it to seduce her husband, Zeus:[178]

> "δὸς νῦν μοι φιλότητα καὶ ἵμερον, ᾧ τε σὺ πάντας
> δαμνᾷ ἀθανάτους ἠδὲ θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους.
> εἶμι γὰρ ὀψομένη πολυφόρβου πείρατα γαίης,
> Ὠκεανόν τε, θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν,
> οἵ με σφοῖσι δόμοισιν ἐὶ τρέφον ἠδ' ἀτίταλον,
> δεξάμενοι Ῥείας, ὅτε τε Κρόνον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
> γαίης νέρθε καθεῖσε καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης·
> τοὺς εἶμ' ὀψομένη, καί σφ' ἄκριτα νείκεα λύσω·
> ἤδη γὰρ δηρὸν χρόνον ἀλλήλων ἀπέχονται
> εὐνῆς καὶ φιλότητος, ἐπεὶ χόλος ἔμπεσε θυμῷ.
> εἰ κείνω γ' ἐπέεσσι παραιπεπιθοῦσα φίλον κῆρ
> εἰς εὐνην ἀνέσαιμι ὁμωθῆναι φιλότητι,
> αἰεί κέ σφι φίλη τε καὶ αἰδοίη καλεοίμην."

A cuneiform tablet from Ashur dating to around 1000 BC contains a Neo-Assyrian magical spell, which seems to be designed for a situation quite similar to that of Oceanus and Tethys.[179] Aphrodite was also described as infusing erotic desire to Helen for Paris when she became disappointed by her lover's cowardice.[180] In

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succumbed to the magic of Aphrodite's embroidered girdle: "ἔνθα δέ οἱ θελκτήρια πάντα τέτυκτο· /ἔνθ' ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἵμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστὺς /πάρφασις, ἥ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων."

[178] L. Golden 1989: 5-6. Hera wanted to draw the attention of Zeus from the battlefield of Troy so that the Greeks would take priority over the Trojans. The loosening of hair or girdle occurred often in magic; cf. Phaedra's wish to loosen her hair in Euripides' play, a movement that the chorus interpreted as a sign of madness or divine affliction (see n123; cf. nn62, 89, 118). M.S. Cyrino 1995: 13-15 for the erotic meaning of "δαμάζω," cf. *Eros* the subduer in Prop.1.1 and Mel.Anth.Pal.12.101. See also M.S. Cyrino ibid.: 29 for the erotic use of "θέλγω;" cf. the use of "θέλγω" in the tale of Deianira; also cf. n83 for "θέλγω" employed to describe Calypso's effort to keep Odysseus with her (Hom.Od.1.56-7). P. Pucci 1987: 191-203 discussed the use of the verb in Homer associating it with beguilement and its destructive effects. Also, see C. Faraone 1994: 115-36 on the magical potion that Deianira applied to adulterous Heracles and ibid.1999: 97-8.

[179] It has also been argued that Hera's tale about the anger of Tethys and Oceanus was itself modelled on the Near Eastern myth of Tiamat and Apsu preserved in the Babylonian epic *Enuma Elish*, where the couple appeared as the parents of the gods. See W. Burkert 1985: 108 and 132; C. Penglase 1994: 4.

[180] See Hom.Il.3.401-46; the encounter of Paris with Helen that takes

Hesiod also, Aphrodite is asked to provide Pandora with sexual attractiveness:[181]

"καὶ χάριν ἀμφιχέαι κεφαλῇ χρυσέην Ἀφροδίτην
καὶ πόθον ἀργαλέον καὶ γυιβόρους μελεδώνας·"[182]

The goddess' commands are carried out by Peitho and the Charites, who both as personifications themselves and as qualities of a mistress were often praised in Hellenistic epigrams and Roman elegy.

As mentioned, the apples in Atalanta's myth are golden, a quality often combined with magic in Greek mythology, as in the tale of Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece.[183] It is worth noting that in myth Medea, who is renowned as a keen witch, showed memorable cruelty towards her young brother, Apsyrtus, whose dismembered limbs she scattered into the sea in order to delay her pursuers.[184] This detail brings to mind the apples, which

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place during this episode has been paralleled directly with the lovemaking of Hera and Zeus in book 14, where Hera charmed Zeus with Aphrodite's girdle: M.S. Cyrino 1995: 9-16.

[181] A.S. Brown 1997: 26-47; For Aphrodite as a goddess of sexual reproduction and her Near Eastern origins, see C. Penglase 1994: 160-5 and 173. For her role in the creation of Pandora, see ibid.: 200. Also, see C. Leduc 1992: 233-95 who explained the role of Pandora as the first bride focusing on the custom of gift offering to the brides during antiquity, a motif also employed in Stesichorus' version of the myth of Atalanta.

[182] Hes.Op.65-66 (West). Also, see C. Faraone 1999: 98-99 and 100 who clearly interprets the scene as yet another example of Aphrodite exercising her magical powers. Since Pandora was the first woman and since magic was inherent in her creation, the reputation of women for expertise in magic during antiquity becomes more transparent; see M.W. Dickie 2001: 79, 175; cf. ch2n119.

[183] Cf. the quest for the golden apples of the Hesperides that, according to Vergil (Ec.6.61; see ch3n118), Atalanta lusted for. In more recent tales (c. 1450 AD, anonymous Arabian tales), the story of Aladdin and the magic lamp -whether it is mentioned as golden or not- seems to reflect the belief about magical objects. The magic lamp is able to make true three wishes of its holder in the same way in which the apples fulfil Hippomenes' wish to win the race and marry Atalanta.

[184] Dismemberment recalls fertility rites such as the death of Dionysus at the hands of the Titans (cf. ch3n205). For Medea as a renowned witch in antiquity but also as the victim of erotic witchcraft that Jason practised against her under the auspices of Aphrodite, see C. Faraone 1999: 56-7,

Hippomenes threw at Atalanta in order to delay her. It also matches Atalanta's remarkable cruelty towards her unsuccessful suitors whom she did not hesitate to slaughter. In addition, Euripides describes Medea as a woman totally taken by love,[185] a clue that also brings her closer to Atalanta's depiction in Theocritus. The temperament of both heroines was possibly reflected in the character of the dangerous elegiac mistress whose rigid love causes serious distress to Propertius and the other Latin elegiac poets. Tibullus' poetry offers important clues for the comparison of Aphrodite with Medea and Circe in Latin elegy:[186]

"quidquid habet Circe, quidquid Medea veneni,
quidquid et herbarum Thessala terra gerit.
Et quod, ubi indomitis gregibus Venus adflat amores,
Hippomanes cupidae stillat ab inguine equae,
Si modo me placido videat Nemesis mea vultu,
Milles alias herbas misceat illa, bibam."

Up to this point, it has been argued that magical qualities were often attributed to Aphrodite in ancient Greek literature and that often magical objects were described as golden. Furthermore, it seems that apples, which are usually found in poetry as a love

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62-9, 85-6 and 90-2; cf. E. Spentzou 2002 for Medea as a dangerous Muse that comes to regulate the poetics of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*. The association of the tale of Atalanta with that of Medea did not escape the attention of ancient artists such as the Underworld painter who represented both tales on a volute crater of c. 340 BC; see J. Barringer 1996: 66.

[185] Cf. Atalanta's remark in Ovid that Hippomenes was totally mad (p.41). Love was often characterised as madness in antiquity and the motif was extensively treated in lyric poetry: M.S. Cyrino 1995 *passim*.

[186] Tib.2.4.55-60; the hippomanes (l.58) of Tibullus' poem derives from the same linguistic root as Hippomenes, the lover of Atalanta; cf. Tib.1.2.51: "sola tenere malas Medeae dicitur herbas, /sola feros *Hecatae* perdomuisse canes" where the poet describes the amazing powers of a renowned witch over nature. Medea appears several times in the poetry of Propertius; see 2.24.45; 3.19.17; 4.5.41; 2.4.7; 2.1.54; 2.21.11; 2.34.8; 3.11.9. It is worth noting that Medea appears in Latin poetry in the double capacity of a victim and a victimiser, always in the service of Love. For Medea in Ovid, see Her.6.75, 127-8, 151; 12.5, 25, 182; 17.229, 233; Am.2.14.29; cf. S. Hinds 1993: 9-47; S. Casali 1995: 199-205 and F. Bessone 1995: 575-8. For Circe in Latin elegy, see Prop.3.12.27; 2.32.4; Verg.Ec.8.70; Aen.3.386; Aen.7.20, 191, 282; Tib.2.4.55; 3.7.61.

token,[187] were also suitable for magical spells. Hence, apples play a significant role in a version of the story of *Acontius and Cydippe* in which remarkably Artemis seems to step once more in the shoes of Aphrodite.[188]

The two young people met at a public feast during which Acontius managed to pass an apple to Cydippe. He had engraved on it an oath: 'I pray by Artemis that Acontius shall be my husband.' The girl took the apple, and as was the habit of that time, she read it aloud.[189] At the same time, she unwillingly took the oath and the goddess demanded its fulfilment. So when Cydippe's

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[187] A.R. Littlewood 1968: 147-181; also E.S. McCartney 1952: 70-81; cf. nn139 and 151. In addition, as observed, the several cultic parallels between the Greek world and the Near East seem to confirm the influence that the Greeks accepted regarding the traits of their goddesses which included their ability to practice or promote witchcraft. For the long tradition that claimed Mesopotamian /eastern expertise in magic, see M.W. Dickie 2001: 41-2 and C. Faraone 1999: 45-46 where he refers to Bolus of Mendes, a Hellenised Egyptian of the 2nd century BC who compiled under the name of Democritus a treatise on sympathetic and antipathetic magic. His works were widely excerpted by Pliny and others and they seem to have used native Egyptian and Mesopotamian writings; Faraone accepts that the 5th and 4th century BC Greek handbooks of magic from Upper Egypt as well as the 10th and 9th century BC cuneiform tablets from Assyria were preserved accurately through the centuries down to the 1st century BC and AD; cf. H.S. Versnel 2002: 105-110.

[188] Callim.frr.67-75; Ov.Her.20; In addition, as pointed out above (p.18f.), both Aphrodite and Artemis retained some remarkable features of their respective or relevant Near Eastern deities. Aphrodite, especially through her adventure with Adonis, had been identified with Cybele and Ishtar, while Artemis was associated with these goddesses through her kourotrophic qualities, her preference for the wilderness and her traditional role as *potnia therôn*.

[189] A.H. Couat 1931: 151; Callim.fr.75.24-27 (Trypanis). C. Faraone 1999: 53-55 and 65-66 quotes examples of self-consecration by taking an oath (already found in the Iliad and with Semitic parallels). It is worth noting that the character of this kind of consecration survived in the so-called curse spells commonly found in the Hellenistic years. These spells are aimed mostly at women and the violence that the victim is expected to suffer before giving in to the desires of the lover could be paralleled with the radical reactions of Cydippe to her parents attempts to marry her to someone else.

parents arranged to have their daughter married to someone else, the girl fell seriously ill and the wedding was postponed. The same scenario was repeated three times until her father decided to take advice from the oracle of Delphi, which revealed that her husband should be Acontius.[190]

In the myth of Atalanta, the heroine totally opposed to the idea of getting married. As our sources reveal, it was the apples which infused to her love for Hippomenes, and, as Apollodorus and Musaeus argue,[191] she lost the race or she allowed Hippomenes to win her because she was in love with him; thus, by losing the race she publicly consented to be his wife.[192] In addition, as the story of the Calydonian Hunt confirmed, Artemis was supposed to receive crop offerings as a deity of marriage. The association of Artemis with magic through her identification with Hecate has

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[190] Hence, Ovid had at least one model of an erotic story where an oracle played a significant role. For the importance of oracles in association with marriage in the *Trachiniai*, see C. Segal 1992: 63-92. The play has offered interesting parallels throughout this chapter; cf. C. Faraone 1994: 115-36.

[191] In art Atalanta poses as a victim of erotic magic on a white-ground lekythos by Douris dated c. 500-490 BC. Atalanta is pursued by an *Eros* who holds a wreath in his hand, but initially held a whip, an instrument often used in magic (cf. n296); see C. Faraone 1993: 1-19. For the story of *Hero and Leander* as told by Musaeus, see M. Grant 1962: 425-428; cf. Tzetz.Chil.12.937 (cf. ch4n65 and ch5n245). The work should be dated in the 5th or 6th century BC. Note that Hero was a priestess of Aphrodite and *Eros* and that the two youths met and fell in love at a festival of Adonis. For the similarity between Hero's searching for Leander and Aphrodite's searching for Adonis, see ch4n73.

[192] In schol.Ar.Lys.785, Atalanta is described as less determined to avoid Melanion than she has often been assumed. The association of the legends regarding female groups of initiatory character with the myth of Atalanta has already been argued. Aeschylus added to the story of the Danaids fruit-metaphors that enhanced the nuptial context of the tale and asserted its suspected connection with the adventures of Atalanta from the perspective of constituting fertility in the city-state. In Aesch.Supp.998-1005 (Murray), Danaos said for his daughters: "τέρειν' ὀπώρα δ' εὐφύλακτος οὐδαμῶς· /θῆρες δὲ κηραίνουσι καὶ βροτοί—τί μήν;—καὶ κνώδαλα πτεροῦντα καὶ πεδοστιβῆ. /καρπώματα στάζοντα κηρύσσει Κύπρις /κάλωρα κωλύουσαν θωσμένειν ἔρῳ, /καὶ περθένων χλιδαῖσιν εὐμόρφοις ἔπι /πᾶς τις παρελθὼν ὄμματος θελκτήριον /τόξευμ' ἔπεμψεν, ἱμέρου νικώμενος;" cf. Ar.fr.582K.

already been argued. The magical effect of apples as a means of causing love seems also to have been a common motif throughout Greek literature.

A magical papyrus found[193] in Berlin provides further information with regards to the use of apples as aphrodisiacs:

> "ἐξαγωγὴ ἐπωδῶν ἐκ τῆς εὑρεθείσης ἐν Ηλίου{ς} πόλει ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ βύβλωι τῇ καλουμένῃ Ἑρμοῦ ἐν τῷ ἀδύτωι Αἰγυπτίοις γράμμασιν καὶ διερμηνευθέντων Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐπὶ μήλο[ις] ἐπωδή· τρίς·
>
> ~ βα[λ]ῶ μή[λ]οις…[±4] δώσω τόδε φάρμακ[ον] καίριον αἳ εἰ βρωτὸν θνητὸν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν ἥ ἄν δῶ μήλῳ τε βάλω μήλῳ τε πατάξω πάντα ὑπερθεμένη μαίνοιτο ἐπ᾽ ἐμῆι φιλότητι ἤτε ἐν χειρὶ λάβο[ι]…φάγοι……ἢ ἐν κόλπωι κάθηται μὴ παύσαιτο φιλεῖν με· Κυπρογένεια τέλει
>
> ~ τελέαν ἐπαοιδήν·"

The papyrus is dated to the Augustan period and one must assume that 'the claim of a specific Egyptian hieratic source is probably tendentious and part of a long tradition of assigning mysterious eastern origins for magical spells in order to increase their value.'[194] It has even been argued that this incantation may be

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[193] W. Brashear 1979: 261-69. A comparison of the Neo-Assyrian *egalkura* spells (use of knotted cords) and the Greek amulet recipes showed many similarities. Most of them asked for beauty, sex appeal and grace and they could be compared to the Iliad where Hera said: give me "φιλότητα καὶ ἵμερον" (Hom.Il.14.198), with which you overwhelm mortal men and all the immortals. The incantation cited above was discussed by C. Faraone 1999: 74 particularly in association with the apples Hippomenes offered to Atalanta. Faraone also analyses in detail the motif of falling madly in love as an indication of been enchanted (pp.55-95, esp.92 where he provides a chart of female initiatory groups that have suffered madness; cf. nn.57, 78, 123, 126, 282, 302). Faraone associates the motif of running frenzied away from home with the *agoge* spells but does not discuss it as a literary /generic convention that alludes to erotic madness /enchantment.

[194] C.A. Faraone 1990: 234. For Egypt as the land of magic *par excellence*, see M.W. Dickie 2001: 114, 203-4.

a lost section of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* itself,[195] or at least from another Greek poem, especially since it appears to have been originally hexametric. The spells on this papyrus are possibly of Hellenistic date and the fact that this incantation may come from a literary source increases the possibilities that this type of magical spell existed at a much earlier period and perhaps even beyond the borders of the Greek world. A Near Eastern text,[196] dated to the ninth century BC, provided us with an interesting parallel according to which a strong incantation to help someone seduce a woman should be spelled three times on an apple or pomegranate and then he should secure that the woman would suck its juices. In the incantation, which preceded the apple spell, Inanna, the Sumerian equivalent of the Assyrian Ishtar, who is often equated with Aphrodite, was invoked as the goddess who loves apples and pomegranates.[197]

The mention of the pomegranate as an alternative fruit in the Assyrian spell could also help us to understand at a deeper level the myth of Hades and Persephone, especially as it could offer an interesting parallel to the myth of Atalanta. In the *Homeric Hymn to*

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[195] P. Walcot 1966: 11-32.

[196] J. Winkler 1990: 216-45. It is interesting that mandrake apples were used as aphrodisiacs but they were also believed to excite madness. In the Bible Gen.30.14 Rachel asked her sister Leah to give her some mandrakes so that she would become pregnant: "In the days of the wheat harvest Reuben went and found mandrakes in the field and brought them to his mother Leah. Then Rachel said to Leah, 'Please, give me some of your son's mandrakes.' But she said to her, 'Is it a small matter that you have taken away my husband? Would you take away my son's mandrakes also?' Rachel said, 'Then he [Jacob] may lie with you tonight for your son's mandrakes.'" Aretaeus 3.6.1: "ἐκμαίνει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐδεστῶν μετεξέτερα, ἢ μανδραγόρη, ἢ ὑοσκύαμος, ἀλλ' οὐ τί κω μανίη τάδε κεκλίσκεται."

[197] C. Faraone 1999: 75; cf. M. Detienne 1979: 42. Note that in Punic religion the pomegranate or "mala punica" was sacred in association with Astarte /Aphrodite; see D. Harden 21963: 140. The story of Persephone has been interpreted in the light of Mesopotamian myths about the mother goddess searching of her child. For the parallelism of Persephone with the eastern queens of the Underworld such as Ereshkigal or Gestinanna, see C. Penglase 1994: 154-8. Also M. Arthur 1977: 7-47. See A. Cohen 1996: 117-35 who understood rape as a metaphor for getting married. Also, see Eur.Ion 887-96 where Apollo took Creusa ('by her white wrists,' ll.891). Creusa's rape was modelled on that of Persephone. See R. Rehm 1985: 351-55 and N. Loraux: 1990: 201-3.

Demeter,[198] Hades gave her a pomegranate seed to eat and thereafter she had to remain with him as his wife. One could suspect that this action symbolised the efforts of Hades to provoke Persephone sexually, especially as this episode was supposed to take place just before Hades allowed Persephone to return to her mother. It was a way of reassuring that she would come back longing for him. Hades was said to have secretly consecrated[199] the seed and Persephone was described as tasting it without any further comment, although she later told her mother that she was forced to eat it.[200] The two relevant extracts are cited below:[201]

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[198] Hom.h.Dem.371-374 and 411-413 (N. Richardson 1974). For the wedding ceremony as a quasi-initiation rite, that includes the death and symbolic rebirth of the bride in her new status, see ch5nn109 and 114; cf. G. Ferrari 2003: 27-28 where she sets out her argument that Greek weddings have not the irreversible character that death has and therefore the comparison of wedding with death is a false assymetry. It is my view that her argument is very literal and does not take into account the figurative colouring of the comparison in the sense that a young girl dies with regards to her paternal household (also see n23).

[199] J.L. Myres 1938: 51-2. Also C. Bonner 1939: 3-4.

[200] For the analogy between a wedding and an act of female seduction, see Plut.Lyc.15.4-6 referring to Spartan wedding customs: "ἐγάμουν δὲ δι' ἁρπαγῆς…τὴν δ' ἁρπασθεῖσαν ἡ νυμφεύτρια καλουμένη παραλαβοῦσα… κατέκλινεν ἐπὶ στιβάδα μόνην ἄνευ φωτός." Moreover, the suffering that the bride had to undergo before the wedding, especially the darkness in the room she was locked up, could be paralleled which the darkness of the Underworld. For this analogy in Latin literature, see G. Williams 1958: 21. Also, see K. Philippides 1995: 272-284.

[201] For the aspects of Persephone's dread power which lie behind Hades' statement of her power on earth and in the lower spheres of the cosmos, see N. Richardson 1974 ad Hom.h.Dem.360-8; also, cf. Hom.h.Dem.270ff. and n67 above for the association of Persephone with Hecate. A. Suter 2002: 77-142 and 212-243 interpreted the myth as a *hieros gamos* which serves as a means of sympathetic magic to secure vegetal fertility. On p.214 she wrote: 'The Hymn incorporates the *Kourotrophos* myth into the *hieros gamos* myth and turns the latter into an abduction myth, using the Hesiodic story of Hades' 'snatching' of Persephone.' Although, some of her arguments are overstreched, Suter is right in speculating that the myth probably combines motifs from more than one ritual performances associated with Persephone and her mother. Certainly in Arcadia the indigenour mysteries combined elements of the Eleusinian cult with that of the Divine Mother (and specifically with Artemis who

"Ὣς φάτο· γήθησεν δὲ περίφρων Περσεφόνεια,
καρπαλίμως δ' ἀνόρουσ' ὑπὸ χάρματος· αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' αὐτὸς
ῥοιῆς κόκκον ἔδωκε φαγεῖν μελιηδέα λάθρῃ
ἀμφὶ ἑ νωμήσας, ἵνα μὴ μένοι ἤματα πάντα
αὖθι παρ' αἰδοίη Δημήτερι κυανοπέπλῳ."

As already commented, Persephone, when asked by her mother, gave her own explanation of the incident:[202]

"αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἀνόρουσ' ὑπὸ χάρματος, αὐτὰρ ὁ λάθρῃ
ἔμβαλέ μοι ῥοιῆς κόκκον, μελιηδέ' ἐδωδήν,
ἄκουσαν δὲ βίῃ με προσηνάγκασε πάσασθαι."

One should pay attention to the parallelism of the phrase "μελιηδέ' ἐδωδήν," said about the pomegranate, and Hesiod's expression "γυιβόρους μελεδώνας," said about Pandora's sexual attractiveness, which could confirm that the pomegranate was used as an aphrodisiac.[203] In addition, the text implies that Persephone actually allowed Hades to give her the pomegranate seed just as Musaeus and Apollodorus suggested that Atalanta allowed Hippomenes to beat her.[204] Hence, the myth of Persephone, although it is referred to as the rape or the abduction of the goddess, could be interpreted as a proper wedding ceremony for

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was represented at the right of Demeter at the cult group of Lycosura) as M. Jost 2003: 143-168 (esp.163) argued. In addition, in the Orphic myth Persephone features as a Mother figure (N. Robertson 2003: 218ff.) and the influence of Orphism in Eleusis dates to the 5th century BC (Jost again: 154-5 citing Paus.1.37.4).

[202] Demeter had good reason to abhor the pomegranate because of its use to trap Persephone, but she herself was the apple-bringer; Syll.1122.6 (Ditterberger); Paus.1.44.3; Hom.h.Dem.372. For the connection of Hecate, goddess of the Underworld, with Demeter, see Claud.De rapt.Proserp.1.1ff. and G. Mylonas 1960: 193-200.

[203] See n181 for Pandora's magical powers.

[204] For the poppies as the plant of the Cretan Great Goddess during the Stone Age, see L. Lewin 1998: 32-41. The efficacy of the poppy as a magical potion of forgetfulness was recorded by Homer (L. Lewis ibid.: 29). In Sparta Telemachus was introduced to this *nepenthes*. Helen of Troy poured him the potion and Egypt was claimed as the land of its origin: Hom.Od.4.220ff. Helen was given this drug by Polydamma, the daughter of Thon, an Egyptian; cf. Verg.Aen.4.486: The magical efficacy of the poppy was a secret of the woman; thus the priestess put the dragon guarding the temple of the Hesperides to sleep with opium (L. Lewis ibid.: 31).

which the bride's concession is desired.[205]

In Lucian as well, one of his courtesans (Dial.Meret.12.1) described a way in which a man can manifest his sexual interest to a woman:

> "τέλος δὲ τοῦ μήλου ἀποδακών, ὁπότε τὸν Δίφιλον εἶδες ἀσχολούμενον –ἐλάλει γὰρ Θράσωνι– προκύψας πως εὐστόχως προσηκόντισας ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ λαθεῖν γε πειρώμενος ἐμέ· ἡ δὲ φιλήσασα μεταξὺ τῶν μαστῶν ὑπὸ τῷ ἀποδέσμῳ παρεβύσατο."

In addition, an epigram attributed to Plato says (Anth.Pal.5.79.1-2):

> "Τῷ μήλῳ βάλλω σε· σὺ δ' εἰ μὲν ἑκοῦσα φιλεῖς με, δεξαμένη, τῆς σῆς παρθενίης μετάδος·"

Up to this point, the symbolic use of the apples in the myth of Atalanta has been elucidated by numerous examples found in Greek and Near Eastern literary passages. It seems very possible that the Greeks borrowed these customs from the more sophisticated (at that time) eastern societies, although we are not able to define exactly when this happened.[206]

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[205] As mentioned above (see n61), Artemis was particularly associated with rape and according to a version Orion had tried to rape the goddess herself. (However, cf. Hom.Od.5.121-4 where Orion was punished for having an affair with Eos). Yet, the same term applied to the abduction of Helen, although it was generally accepted that she had conceded to follow Paris. However, Helen was promised to Paris without the heroine's consent and devised in due time by Aphrodite. The theme of Callisto was employed by feminist scholars like K. Wall 1988 *passim*, who wished to establish based on the ancient mythic tradition the notion of the 'rape of femininity' in patriarchal societies. No doubt in antiquity women were thought as capable of doing best specific tasks restricted in the household area; yet it seems that such interpretations do not do any justice to the metaphoric substance of the myth and of Greek religion.

[206] W. Burkert 1987b: 10-40 and 1983b: 51-6 has argued very persuasively that the 8th century BC was characterised by significant cultural borrowing from the Near East, particularly in the area of religious and magical ritual. Burkert supported the notion that the Homeric works crystallised efficiently the eastern influence in Greek culture and literature. Sappho's poems, especially, later certified the cultural influence that the Near East was still exercising on Lesbian society; see P. Dubois 1995: 176-194 (cf. n135); cf. the argument that the succession myth in the *Theogony* was borrowed from the Near East; M. West 1997: 288-90, W.

Hence, as suspected, it seems that Hellenistic writers had in mind the erotic symbolism of Atalanta's myth and they were very familiar with various erotic incantations. Propertius, who was thoroughly familiar with the Hellenistic sources at least, was probably well informed of those spells that give to love a magical character. Consequently, it might be assumed that the image of the elegiac lover who was presented in Propertius as bewitched by his mistress could have possibly been inspired by similar incantations.[207]

ATALANTA AND THE ELEGIAC LOVER

Propertius offered us a third account of the myth, which was treated in his introductory poem of the *Monobiblos*. His version seems to combine various traditions about the myth. The poet tried his best in this programmatic elegy to acknowledge his patterns and to explain the nature of his poetry as well as the nature of the elegiac love. The fact that he chose the myth of Atalanta for doing so gives to the myth additional interest. According to Propertius, Atalanta was the daughter of Iasos. She was wooed and won by Milanio but not in a foot race. Milanio was a character already found in drama and apparently, his name carried well-known qualities, which Propertius wished to transfer to Atalanta's suitor.[208]

Burkert 1992a: 203-4, and C. Penglase 1994: 5-6.

[207] A clue about the awareness of Latin authors of mysterious eastern cults in general, especially that of Isis, is derived from their own work: see for example, Tib.1.7.28; Ov.Met.9.693 (satiric ref.); Tert.Adv.Marc.1.13.5; Lact.Div.Inst.1.21; Juv.Sat.8.26-30 (satiric ref.); Firm.Mat.Err.prof.rel.2.6: 2.9: 27.1-2; Arn.Nat.1.36; Serv.Aen.6.154; Prud.C.Symm.1.624-31; Paul.Nol.Carm.19.110-30 etc. The authors referred mostly to the rites constituted by Isis who was also reputed as a keen sorceress and healer. Many incantations, especially by pregnant women, were addressed to her; see S.K. Heyob 1975: 51n61 quoting W. Drexler 1882-1921: 2.502. In addition, Isis was believed to have created a magical creature, which would bite the Sun until he would reveal his secret name; W. Beyerlin 1975: 5.

[208] The black colour as the first element in the name of heroes had a rich context of initiatory associations. The Athenian *ephebes* wore black and the hero of mythology, marginalised by his trickery and alien origins was one Melanthos. P. Vidal-Naquet 1986: 97-99, 139-140; O.W. Reinmuth 1952: 34ff. J. Barringer 1996: esp.57ff. understood Atalanta as

His choice could cast additional light on the perception of the myth as far as its erotic content is concerned.

Milanio (Melanion) was recorded in ancient literature as a renowned hunter and a misogynist.[209] Although Aristophanes in his treatment of the character did not mention Atalanta, the features of the hero leave no doubt that he referred to the same Milanio who fell in love with Atalanta in Propertius.[210] The chorus sing:

"μῦθον βούλομαι λέξαι τιν' ὑμῖν, ὅν ποτ' ἤκουσ'
αὐτὸς ἔτι παῖς ὤν.
οὕτως ἦν νεανίσκος Μελανίων τις, ὃς φεύγων
γάμον ἀφίκετ' ἐς ἐρημίαν,
κἀν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ᾤκει
κᾆτ' ἐλαγοθήρει
πλεξάμενος ἄρκυς
καὶ κύνα τιν' εἶχεν
κοὐκέτι κατῆλθε πάλιν οἴκαδ' ὑπὸ μίσους.
οὕτω τὰς γυναῖκας ἐβδελύχθη 'κεῖνος, ἡμεῖς δ'
οὐδὲν ἧττον τοῦ Μελανίωνος, οἱ σώφρονες."

Milanio, who belongs to the same group of heroes as Hippolytus, is associated with the Calydonian Hunt and his name is

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the female equivalent of the Athenian *ephebe*, who would typically undergo the *ephebeia*. Note that Melanion (Milanio in Latin) also won Atalanta's hand in race, by trickery. Paus.7.19 reported the romance of Melanippos and Comaitho in association with Artemis Triclaria. K. Dowden 1989: 113.

[209] See Ar.Lys.781-796 (Hall and Geldart). For the relation of Aristophanes with women in general, see L.K. Taaffe 1993: 139: 'Aristophanes' portrayal of females, whether abstract concepts in female form, real citizen women, young girls, market women, or foreigners, depends on traditional stereotypes for inspiration. In ancient Greek thought and literature, the feminine is a theatrical phenomenon: women are shifty, transient, insubstantial, deceptive, and imitative.' From this point of view, Melanion could be paralleled with Hippolytus (cf. n46) who was also described as a lonely hunter (Opp.Cyn.2.25). As for Daphnis, who was often compared to the latter and their possible differences, see ch2pp.119f.

[210] Note that Hippomenes in Ovid's version of the myth was also described as a very sensible and rational young lad who had the misfortune to cast his eyes onto Atalanta. Although Ovid did not mention anything about Hippomenes' avoidance of the female, his radical change to frenzy, and risky daring was strongly underlined in the text; cf. Ant.Lib.34.5.

often confused with that of Meleager. The character of Meleager as depicted in Euripides' homonymous drama matched perfectly Milanio's description in Aristophanes.[211] Hunting, as mentioned, played a very important role in the story of Atalanta and Propertius did not omit to depict Milanio as hunting on thick-wooded mountain slopes. In addition, the association of hunting with erotic adventures was widely employed by Euripides,[212] while it seems that amatory fowling originated in comedy.[213] The same motif was traced in Callimachus,[214] in Theocritus[215] and in several epigrams of Meleager.[216] It seems to have been equally popular in Latin elegy and all elegiac poets employed it.[217] It might be suggested that Propertius, who used both Callimachus and the epigrammatist Meleager as sources for his first elegy, chose to name his hero Milanio for two reasons: firstly because Milanio was as inexperienced in love as the poet himself (ll.1-2) and secondly because Milanio was 'captured by Love' in the same way that the poet was 'captured' by Cynthia's eyes.[218] The only positive conclusion that could be drawn up to this point is that the vision or

[211] The name of the hero should be Melanion in Aristophanes (cf. nn33 and 47). Euripides has expanded significantly in his plays the psychography of initiatory characters such as Meleager and Heracles. For the corresponding tradition of the two heroes, see C. Segal 1990: 7-24.

[212] Eur.Cycl.70ff.; Bacch.459 and 688.

[213] Ar.fr.666 (Kock); Amphis fr.23K; Cratinus fr.216K; Nicophron fr.4K; Men.fr.312K; Eub.fr.84K.

[214] Anth.Pal.12.101; for Propertius' indebtedness to Meleager, see P. Fedeli 1980 and E. Schulz-Vanheyden 1969.

[215] Theoc.Epigr.3.3.

[216] Anth.Pal.12.92; 12.125; 12.132; 5.96.

[217] Prop.2.32; 3.8; Tib.1.6; 1.9 and Ov.Am.1.8; 2.9; Ars.Am.1.89, 253, 263, 265, 270; 3.554, 591.

[218] The employment of amatory hunting by Propertius and his Hellenistic models alludes to the initiatory local customs all over Greece in which a battle between men and women was enacted. L. Cahoon 1988: 293ff. for Ovid's comparison of love with war. The festivals during which these hunts used to take place were mostly in honour of Dionysus. This could explain further Philetas' version about the origin of the apples given to Hippomenes. Many of these customs go back to an Aeolian Boeotia, which has also preserved the myth of Atalanta. The latter competes with her suitors and in some versions attacks the losers with no mercy. K. Dowden 1989: 82-5.

the eyes of the mistress seem to paralyse the logic of the lover almost instantly.[219]

It is beyond doubt that Ovid in his similar depiction of Atalanta, treated above (p.41), followed Propertius. The parallelism between the expression "cepit ocellis" and the fact that Milanio has been a keen hunter should not be disregarded. Ovid imitated Propertius not only in his treatment of the Boeotian Atalanta but also in the *Ars Amatoria* (2.185-92) where he narrated the story of the Arcadian Atalanta. The comparison of love with hunting is there elucidated even more. He wrote:[220]

"Quid fuit asperius Nonacrina Atalanta?
Succubuit meritis trux tamen illa viri.
Saepe suos casus nec mitia facta puellae
flesse sub arboribus Milaniona ferunt;
saepe tulit iusso fallacia retia collo,
saepe fera torvos cuspide fixit apros:
sensit et Hylaei contentum saucius arcum:
sed tamen hoc arcu notior alter erat."[221]

According to the above description, it seems that Milanio cannot be considered as an "adulescens delicatus" as Fedeli and Bailey put it.[222] He was compared with the elegiac lover in order to be found different from the latter's weak character. Milanio was a

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[219] Cf. Atalanta's reaction as soon as she glanced at Hippomenes in Theocritus: "ὡς ἴδεν, ὡς ἐμάνη:" 'as soon as she glanced at him, she went out of her mind' [my translation]. For Vergil's understanding of the phrase, see n125.

[220] Ovid agreed with Hyginus as far as the cruel character of Atalanta was concerned (Hyg.Fab.185): "Itaque cum a pluribus in coniugium /peteretur, pater eius simultatem constituit, qui eam ducere vellet /prius in certamine cursus cum ea contenderet, termino constituto, /ut ille inermis fugeret, haec cum telo insequeretur; quem intra /finem termini consecuta fuisset, interficeret, cuius caput in stadio /figeret. Plerosque cum superasset et occidisset, novissime ab /Hippomene Megarei et Meropes filio victa est."

[221] Callisto was also described as Nonacrina in Ov.Met.2.49; also Araithos in FGrH316F2. See K. Dowden 1989: 184. It has been suggested that the adjective did not mean anything more than 'Arcadian.' Nonacris was a northeastern area in Arcadia where the River Styx was located. It seems that this epithet associates Atalanta even more with the tradition of Callisto and Artemis. However, see Evander in Ov.Fast.5.97 described as "Nonacrius heros." Callisto was also mentioned as "virgo Tegeaea" in Ov.Fast.2.167; Ars.Am.2.55. Tegea is also in Arcadia, only in the southeastern direction.

[222] P. Fedeli 1980: 75-83 repeated the comments of D.R.S. Bailey 1956: 3-12.

hero who did not avoid displaying bravery for the sake of love, although tradition had it that he was initially indifferent (if not hostile as in Aristophanes) to any notion of falling in love. In the same sense Atalanta, who was also depicted as a renowned huntress, did not avoid marriage, although she had tried to do so.[223] It seems that Propertius paralleled himself with Milanio in order to underline the hero's exceptional character and his adamantine will, which was nevertheless bent. Milanio did not manage to resist love and so the reader could easily imagine that the elegiac lover, with a weak nature by definition, would be devastated by the fierce persistence of his emotions.[224] The frenzy of the passion that obviously afflicted Milanio and the elegiac lover was clearly outlined in Ovid's comparison of the hero with the Centaurs.[225] It could be suggested that the encounter with a Centaur represented the emotional excess experienced by a lover.[226] This excess, as the story of Deianira corroborated, was often associated with magical powers.[227] In line 538 of the *Trachiniai*, Sophocles had Deianira to

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[223] E. Kearns 1998: 96-110, esp.102: The heroine's destiny, often tragic, always different from the expected norm, sets her apart from the ordinary and differentiates her from the merely human. Heroines of this type were significantly different from both goddesses and women.

[224] For the notion of losing one's courage after making love with a goddess, cf. the weakness of Anchises after sleeping with Aphrodite in A. Giacomelli 1980: 1-19. Anchises begged Aphrodite not to leave him 'feeble,' a word Homer used of the dead in Hades (Hom.h.Ven.5.288, 218-38; Hom.Od.10.521). Also, see R. Mondi 1990: 147 for a comparison of Anchises with Attis. The deification of the elegiac mistress on behalf of her lover in Latin elegy is a well-documented motif. See T.D. Papanghelis 1989: 54-61 (cf. App.In2).

[225] A comparison which the reader ought perhaps to understand in Propertius' "feras;" Milanio was described as having faced the shaggy creatures while roaming the mountains in his passion.

[226] In Soph.Tr.1096 the word used for Centaurs, which operate outside the framework of civilisation, is "ἄνομον." Centaur Nessus tried to rape Deianira (to be saved by Heracles) similar to Roecus and Hylaeus who attempted to rape Atalanta. In Tr.1095 Deianira described her association with the Centaur as "ἄμεικτον." Nevertheless, she accepted to keep the erotic filter that Nessus entrusted her. See M. Ryzman 1991: 385-98, esp.390-2; cf. E. Carawan 2000: 189-237.

[227] The similarity between the traditions of Meleager and Heracles has already been examined (cf. S.H. Lindheim 1998: 43-66); note that the

admit that jealousy and love blinded her mind when she heard that Heracles was about to marry a new wife; the young bride whom she had generously accepted in her home became a "λωβητὸν ἐμπόλημα τῆς ἐμῆς φρενός," a 'loathsome burden' to her mind [my translation].[228] In other words, Deianira was distraught because of love. Furthermore, when Nessus gave Deianira the magical erotic potion that would allow her to secure Heracles' affection, he described precisely the effect that the potion would have on his logic:[229]

"ἔσται *φρενός* σοι τοῦτο *κηλητήριον*

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name 'Deianira' means man slaughterer (B.S. Thornton 1997: 96) and that the rape attempt was followed by her wedding to Heracles. Milanio in Ovid (and possibly Propertius) was wounded by Hylaeus before he managed to win Atalanta's hand. In addition, both Atalanta and Artemis were skilful in archery and Atalanta was depicted by Callimachus as fighting off the lustful centaurs with her arrows (Heracles had killed Centaur Nessus with an arrow). However, note that Medea, another famous witch in antiquity, used, according to Euripides, poisoned arrows. The chorus prayed to Aphrodite to keep her inescapable golden arrows, which are annointed with desire, away from them. *Eros* shot an arrow to Medea's heart and erotic arrows were praised by Meleager. Aesch.Supp.1003-05; also Pr.649; Med.632-4; IA548-51; Tr.577ff., 672ff., 749ff. Also, see Pind.Pyth.4.213; Anacr.fr.445C, Hipp.530-4; cf. B.S. Thornton 1997: 30-1. F. Graf 1997a: 21-43 argued that Medea was most certainly associated with initiation rites; cf. F. Graf 2003a: 18 and contra S.I. Johnston 1997: 44-82 (esp.50f.).

[228] It might be suspected that these words withheld a great deal of self-irony on behalf of Deianira who initially thought that she could suppress her feelings to a level of absolute tolerance. C. Faraone 1999: 110 and 1994: 115ff.; also, Heracles who was strongly associated with the powers of nature was often subjected to Near Eastern influence. T. Mettinger 2001: ch3 and C. Penglase 1994: 49ff. (Heracles and Ninurta). From this point of view, his example would be a valuable contribution to this discussion in which the magical character of love is debated always in association with Near Eastern cultural input.

[229] Soph.Tr.575-77 (Jebb). The idea about the magical effect of love on its victims seems to have been particularly old as Ibycus' verses (287 Campbell) attest: "Ἔρος αὖτέ με κυανέοισιν ὑπὸ /βλεφάροις τακέρ' ὄμμασι δερκόμενος *κηλήμασι* παντοδαποῖς ἐς ἄπειρα δίκτυα Κύπριδος ἐσβάλλει" [my emphasis]; cf. the use of the word "κήλημα," potion or poison in the Trachiniai and Ibycus. C. Faraone 1999: 20 mentioned a number of early Greek lyric poems that seem to allude to erotic magic (cf. n267).

τῆς Ἡρακλείας, ὥστε μήτιν' εἰσιδὼν
στέρξει γυναῖκα κεῖνος ἀντὶ σοῦ πλέον."

At this point the emotional journey of the "σώφρων" Melanion (Milanio), as depicted in Aristophanes, to the outrageous stage of his irrational self who used to wander, very much in the style of the Callimachean Centaurs, under the weeping trees in the *Ars Amatoria*, becomes clear. In addition, this notion of the wandering lover seems to be enriched with a spell of magic. As already pointed out, the Hellenistic scholars were probably aware of the various Near Eastern incantations, as well as of Greek spells made to sound like them, that were sought by the enamoured.[230] Still, it seems that the influence of these incantations should include the Latin elegiac poems.

Propertius, whose Hellenistic models have been long ago identified (Mel.Anth.Pal.12.101), implied that Milanio undertook dangerous adventures in the name of love by writing: "ibat et hirsutas ille videre[231] feras."[232] In addition, it has been proved that Propertius had in mind both the Arcadian and Boeotian versions of Atalanta's myth and wished to allude to both of them. As regards the Arcadian version of the story, he seems to have followed the

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[230] See Theoc.Id.2 and Verg.Ec.8. For the magical incantations in Vergil's work, see C. Faraone 1999: 153-4 and 1989: 294-300. Also, see Prop.2.4.7 where the poet admits that he has become the victim of every charlatan in town. In lines 51-56 Propertius writes: "seu mihi sunt tangenda novercae pocula Phaedrae, /pocula privingo non nocitura suo, /seu mihi Circaeo pereundumst gramine, sive /Colchis Iolciacis urat aena focis. /una meos quoniam praedatast femina sensus, /ex hac ducentur funera nostra domo."

[231] It has been argued that Propertius had Greek models regarding the use of "videre" with the meaning to 'face up to' and so the function of his structure becomes more comprehensible because the poet did not ignore the heroic character of Milanio. On the contrary, Milanio was presented as a courageous lover and by comparison, his example could explain why the elegiac lover's resistance to love was doomed to be futile. In addition, there are plenty of Homeric and Hesiodic expressions as well as an example from Callimachus to encourage this use of the verb "ὁράω" in Greek literature. See F. Cairns 1986: 31-2.

[232] We might assume that the hairy beasts described above could be the Centaurs, known for roaming forestry mountaintops, for their lust and their association with the myth of Atalanta; cf. n226 above. Also, compare the adventures of Milanio with those of Heracles; the latter had undertaken the task of taming several wild animals or monsters and he was a keen lover. See App.In21.

Callimachean passage with which his poem shares a number of significant features.[233]

However, despite the fact that Propertius emphasised the Arcadian origin of his heroine (as did Callimachus), he used in his text the word "feras" which was an effort to render in Latin the Greek word "φῆρας." The variant "φὴρ" for "θὴρ" is Homeric and Aeolic, and so it appears both in Thessalian and in Boeotian.[234] Since one of the Atalantas was Boeotian, Propertius must have had in mind another Greek source which would have narrated the myth of Atalanta the foot-racer, and to which he also wished to allude. Thus, he would acknowledge in his poetry the Boeotian version of the story as well. However, as already discussed, Propertius was extremely familiar with the works of Theocritus and Philetas who treated the Boeotian version of the story. Therefore, it would be plausible to argue that Propertius drew on their works for this particular detail.

Furthermore, in Theocritus' verses, cited above (p.54), Atalanta was described as being seized by frenzy as soon as she glanced at the apples and as being 'plunged' in deep love.[235] In

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[233] F. Cairns 1986: 33-37 compared the versions of Theocritus and Propertius in detail: a) "ποδορρώρην" (ll.215) /"velocem" (ll.15), b) geographical references such as: "Ἀρκασίδαο" (ll.216), "Ἀρκαδίην" (ll.220), "Μαιναλίη" (ll.224) /"Partheniis" (ll.11), "Arcadiis" (ll.14), c) "Ἰασίοιο" (ll.216) /"Iasidos" (ll.10), d) "θηρὸς" (Calydonian boar, ll.220) /"feras" (Centaur Hylaeus, ll.12) e) "ἄφρονα" (ll.221) /"amens" (11) f) "ἀκρώρεια" (ll.224) /"rupibus" (ll.14). It could be perhaps argued that Propertius' claim to be the "Romanus Callimachus" (elegy 3.1) was also treated in his first and programmatic elegy but in a more subtle way compared to the clear voiced confidence in book 3 of his elegies.

[234] Hom.Il.1.260-8: "…οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι, /οἷον Πειρίθοον τε Δρύαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν, /Καινέα τ' Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον /[Θησέα τ' Αἰγείδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν]. /κάρτιστοι δὴ κεῖνοι ἐπιχθονίων τράφεν ἀνδρῶν· /κάρτιστοι μέν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο, /φηρσὶν ὀρεσκῴοισι, καὶ ἐκπάγλως ἀπόλεσσαν." Frequently the last sentence is translated as Centaurs (see A.O. Lovejoy and G. Boas 1997); the fact that Ovid described Milanio as getting wounded by a Centaur enhances the possibility.

[235] A.S.F. Gow 1952: 1.33. For the metaphorical use of the verb, see Eur.Tr.67: "τί δ' ὧδε πηδᾷς ἄλλοτ' εἰς ἄλλους τρόπους," the 2nd aorist of this verb, condemned by Cobet (V.L. 206, N.L. 454) occurs at 5.16, 8.89 (see Gow ibid.: 2.73). The 1st aorist was found only in spurious poems

Latin elegy, the motif of erotic insanity was already associated with Milanio as treated by Ovid in the *Ars Amatoria*, which, of course, was modelled on the Propertian portrait of Milanio. It is worth discussing this verse in Theocritus as it is possible that he has conveyed certain images of erotic frenzy to the Latin elegiac poets. Most scholars regard that the verb used here is "ἅλλομαι" which means leap, jump.[236] It seems that in antiquity there was a poetic tradition, which associated leaping with sexual relief and the state of unconsciousness.[237] In the third *Idyll*, Theocritus included the story of Atalanta among mythological examples that seem to involve ritual wandering in isolated areas rather than leaping.[238]

(19.4, 23.60). However, it might be suggested that Gow and other scholars such as J.M. Edmonds (Loeb, 1912) missed the erotic tradition behind this verb which G. Nagy 1990 spotted. In addition, the two verbs sound very close in the past tense: the imperfect tense of "ἀλάομαι," is formed as "ἠλώμην," which in the third person should be "ἤλατο," while the third person of the second aorist of "ἅλλομαι" should be "ἅλετο." It might be argued that "ἤλατο" is closer to Theocritus' Doric "ἅλατ'" than "ἅλετο" is, yet all versions suggested by the manuscripts write the verb with a harsh breathing. This makes the possibility that Theocritus might have actually used the verb "ἀλάομαι," instead of "ἅλλομαι" hard to sustain (cf. n244).

236 G. Nagy 1990: 233-5; a basic sexual theme was associated with the *Thorikios Petros*- 'Leap Rock' in Soph.Oed.Kol.1595. Kolonos means 'summit' and the significance of mountain peaks in the myth of Atalanta has been already discussed in connection with both erotic imagery (Phaedra) and cultic practice (fertility deities). It is worth noting that the suitors of another reluctant bride, Penelope, were described as being led past the 'White Rock' to the 'District of Dreams' beyond which was the realm of the dead (Hom.Od.24.11-4).

237 Noticeably the entire myth of Theseus was replete with themes involving names derived from *skûros* /*skîros* which means white rock. The initiatory character of the myth of Theseus has been long ago accepted and hence, the association of leaping with the myth of Atalanta makes more sense. The undoubted erotic character of leaping from a rock was also testified by Anacreon PMG376: "ἀρθείς δηὖτ' ἀπὸ Λευκάδος /πέτρης ἐς πολιὸν κῦμα κολυμβῶ μεθύων ἔρωτι."

238 Theocritus actually used the imagery of leaping in lines 25-6, where he in fact mentioned jumping off a rock: "τὰν βαίταν ἀποδὺς ἐς κύματα τηνῶ ἁλεῦμαι, /ὥπερ τὼς θύννως σκοπιάζεται Ὄλπις ὁ γριπεύς;" for a commentary on these lines, see R. Hunter 1999: 118 and A.S.F. Gow 1952: 69. The motif of wandering in the wilderness seems to belong to ritual practices that originated in the Near East (for a fuller discussion, see

Hence, he referred to the example of Melampous who managed to win Pero as a bride for his brother, Bias (ll.44-6).[239] However, Melampous is also well known for curing the daughters of Proitos who, maddened as punishment for refusing marriage, were roaming the mountains for thirteen months. The tale combines the motifs of wandering in the wild and of erotic insanity, of which Theocritus was probably aware. Theocritus also employed the myth of Adonis (ll.47-8), the annual ritual searching for whom he described in detail in *Idyll* fifteen.[240] The story of *Endymion and the Moon* (ll.49-50), which was often associated with Artemis,[241] has been proved to belong to the goddess and consort strand in the fashion of Adonis and Aphrodite.[242] The same could be argued for the story of Demeter and Iasion;[243] the goddess is known for roaming the earth in search of her daughter, Persephone.

Based on the tradition of Atalanta that associates her with hunting on the mountaintops, it would be plausible that Theocritus could have intended to use the verb "ἀλάομαι," which literally means to 'wander over the land' or even 'to wander away from home.' The fact that Euripides, Aristophanes and the majority of

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ch2).

[239] For a discussion of all three examples, see S.F. Walker 1980: 45-6 and D.M. Halperin 1983: 223-4. Also, see ch2 *passim* discussing the pastoral colouring of *Eros*.

[240] The ritual was established, as Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* explained, by Aphrodite herself in remembrance of her own distressed wandering in the mountains at the news of Adonis' death. Her mourning was described in detail in the pastoral poetry of Bion and Moschus; cf. ch2p.151f.

[241] Selene, the Moon, was identified with Artemis probably before the 5th century BC, perhaps because both had been identified with Hecate; Aesh.fr.170; Soph.fr.535. According to the story, Zeus cast Endymion into an eternal sleep in a cave on Mt Latmus, where Selene visited him. See Apollod.Bibl.1.7.5-6; schol.Theoc.3.49; Paus.5.8.1-3; Cic.Tusc.1.38; Stab.8.3.33.

[242] Hom.h.Ven.5.247-55. Hecate and the Moon in J.D. Rabinowitz 1997: 534-43 and C. Faraone 1999: 141-2. For the identification of Isis with the moon, see S.K. Heyob 1975: 1; cf. n65.

[243] Iasion was struck with a thunderbolt by Zeus when the latter found out about his erotic adventure with the goddess Demeter. His fate was similar to the fate of Anchises, consort of Aphrodite. See Ar.Ran.338; Orph.h.51; cf. Hom.Od.5.125-8; Diod.Sic.4.49; Hes.Th.969f.; Serv.ad Verg.Aen.3.167; Hyg.Fab.250; Callim.h.Cer.34ff.

later poets clearly preferred the metaphor of roaming in the wilderness for rendering lovelorn Atalanta or the erotic infliction she dealt her suitor, Milanio, encourages the possibility that Theocritus' use of "ἅλλομαι" might have intented to somehow elaborate on her situation. Of course, both images convey symptoms of erotic madness, but leaping because of love has often been found in magical spells. In addition, both images might have been employed in initiatory metaphors, as Io's suffering in *Prometheus Vinctus* suggests.[244] In this play, Aeschylus employs a number of words that refer to Io's wandering inflicted on her by Zeus' uncontrollable passion and Hera's jealousy (ll.585: "πολύπλανοι πλάναι," ll.608: "δυσπλάνῳ παρθένῳ," ll.666: "ἄφετον ἀλλᾶσθαι γῆς ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις ὅροις·" etc.). However, the heroine is also described as leaping bitten by the terrible gadfly that pursues her (ll.674-5: "…ὀξυστόμῳ /μύωπι χρισθεῖσ' ἐμμανεῖ σκιρτήματι"). It is likely that Propertius and Ovid who have employed the motif of wandering in frenzy for Milanio and Atalanta respectively, were aware of the two traditions and simply attempted a further reading of Theocritus' verses by introducing the image of running in the wild (because of love) which is often found in association with coming of age rites.[245] Furthermore, this

[244] The verb "ἅλλομαι," means to leap, to spring or to bound, and differs from the verb "ἀλάομαι" in that it is written with one 'λ' and a smooth breathing. The editors have disagreed about which of the two verbs should be read, often favouring the first option (cf. n234). For the view that in *Prometheus Vinctus*, Aeschylus presented Prometheus and Io as initiates, see P.B. Katz 1999: 129-147. For leaping as sign of being spellbound, see n285. For Propertius address to the witches, see pp.81 and 93f. and nn254 and 290.

[245] The tendency of the madmen to run in the wild has been recorded in several ancient medical treatises: Aretaeus (3.5.3-8 Hyde) in his account of *melancholia*, a disease akin to *mania* (madness; cf. Cels.De medic.2.1.6; Galen.ad Hipp.Prorrhet.I13.544.10, *scholia* ad "Περὶ κρίσεων"). In the same text Aretaeus, who claims that young women are more prone to *melancholia* and *mania*, observes a possible cure: "οὗτος οὔτε μὴν ἦν ἔρωτα ἐγγιγνώσκων, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα ξυνῆψε τῇ κούρῃ, παύεται τῆς κατηφείης, καὶ διασκίδνησι ὀργὴν τε καὶ λύπην, χάρμῃ δὲ ἐξένηψε τῆς δυσθυμίης· καθίσταται γὰρ τὴν γνώμην ἔρωτι ἰητρῷ." In 3.6.10 Aretaeus also describes madmen as taking to the wild, an image that brings Milanio (both in Propertius and in his Aristophanic model) to mind: "οἱ δὲ φυγανθρωπεύουσι ἐς ἐρημίην, σφίσι αὐτέοισι ὁμιλέοντες."

reading could explain more convincingly Propertius' reference to the witches in his poem.

Thoughout the third *Idyll* Theocritus gave a number of clues that indicated his awareness of the ritual tradition in which the myth of Atalanta is incorporated. Hence, Polyphemus referred to the cave of lovely Amaryllis which recalls the *antrum* of Atalanta (3.6-7 and 12-4):

"ὦ χαρίεσσ' Αμαρυλλί, τί μ' οὐκέτι τοῦτο κατ' ἄντρον
παρκύπτοισα καλεῖς, τὸν ἐρωτύλον; ἦ ῥά με μισεῖς;
.....αἴθε γενοίμαν
ἃ βομβεῦσα μέλισσα καὶ ἐς τεὸν ἄντρον ἱκοίμαν,
τὸν κισσὸν διαδὺς καὶ τὰν πτέριν ἅ τυ πυκάσδει."

Theocritus employed lions that are normally mentioned in the story of Atalanta as well as in the more general tradition of eastern fertility deities, in a very powerful image of Love being suckled by a lioness (ll.15-7):

"νῦν ἔγνων τὸν Ἔρωτα· βαρὺς θεός· ἦ ῥα λεαίνας
μαζὸν ἐθήλαζεν, δρυμῷ τέ νιν ἔτραφε μάτηρ,
ὅς με κατασμύχων καὶ ἐς ὀστίον ἄχρις ἰάπτει."[246]

Furthermore, Theocritus specifically referred to the apples that Polyphemus offered to Amaryllis in order to stir her love towards him (ll.10-13):[247]

"ἠνίδε τοι δέκα μᾶλα φέρω· τηνῶθε καθεῖλον
ὦ μ' ἐκέλευ καθελεῖν τύ· καὶ αὔριον ἄλλα τοι οἰσῶ."

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[246] For the adaptation of these verses by Vergil in *Eclogue* 8.43: "nunc scio, quid sit Amor," see ch2n289; the motif of kisses is treated in ll.18-9 (cf. ch2n220); there, Amaryllis was addressed as an all-stone lady, which matched Atalanta's widely treated cruelty: "ὦ τὸ καλὸν ποθορεῦσα, τὸ πᾶν λίθος, ὦ κυανόφρυ νύμφα…;" cf. B.S. Thornton 1997: 93; Medea was also called rock and iron and compared to a lion and a bull and a tiger. Also, see Aretaeus 3.6.4 where he describes the symptoms of a kind of madness aggravated by warmth: "τό τε εἶδος ἐς ξηρὸν τρέπεται, τουτέοισι μελαγχολῆσαι ῥᾴιστον. δίαιτα δὲ ἄγει πουλυφαγίη, πλησμονὴ ἄμετρος, μέθη, λαγνείη, ἔρωτες ἀφροδισίων·…καὶ οἷσι μὲν ἡδονὴ ἢ ἡ μανίη, γελῶσι, παίζουσι, *ὀρχῶνται νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρης*, καὶ ἐς ἀγορὴν ἀμφαδόν, καὶ ἑστεμμένοι κοτὲ ὄκως ἐξ ἀγωνίης νικηφόροι ἔασιν." The description is not far from images of garlanded elegiac lovers enjoying their night revels at the doorstep of their mistress.

[247] Note that the Cyclops promised to make for Amaryllis a wreath of ivy (ll.21-3) that might suggest an allusion to the version of Philetas about the ivy wreath of Dionysus. Generally, the employment of ivy explains the mythical and ritual background on which Philetas plausibly drew.

As I have argued up to this point, it seems that Amaryllis matches the description of Atalanta, as treated in Callimachus and later authors such as Aelian and Apollodorus. Theocritus included in his poem most of the motifs employed by his predecessors and therefore, it would seem more rational to refer to the theme of running in the wilderness as well. In addition, in *Idyll* thirteen (ll.66) Theocritus employed the participle "ἀλώμενος" for Heracles who is described as wandering in search for Hylas, a clue that confirms that both verbs were known and used by Theocritus. The confusion of the editors and commentators, observed since antiquity, regarding the use of this verb and the formation of its tenses is indicated by the critical apparatus of Gow's edition.[248] Since Propertius has already been suspected of drawing on Theocritus' poetry, it could be suggested that the Propertian adaptation of Theocritus' version might cast some more light to this point. In addition, an important link of introducing the irrational and radical -almost magical- effect of love in Latin elegiac thought would have been revealed.

Propertius described Milanio as wandering in the mountains in his programmatic elegy (ll.9-15):

"Milanion nullos fugiendo, Tulle, labores
saevitiam durae contudit Iasidos.
Nam modo Partheniis amens errabat in antris,
ibat et hirsutas ille videre feras;
ille etiam Hylaei percussus vulnere rami
saucius Arcadiis rupibus ingemuit.
Ergo velocem potuit domuisse puellam."

One should not miss the adjective "amens" placed as predicative to the subject of "errabat" who is of course, Milanio. Especially since in this particular poem Propertius' translating efforts have long ago been accepted by his students, it could be assumed that at this point he obviously had in mind the metaphorical use of the Greek verb "ἀλάομαι," 'to wander in mind' or 'to be distraught,' which he tried to render as clearly as possible into Latin. It is not clear, whether Propertius borrowed this image from Philetas or Theocritus, but his address to the

[248] A.S.F. Gow 1952 ad 42: "ἅλατ'" Hemsterhus.: "ἅλλατ'" K, Tzetz.Chil.12.948, "ἅλ(λ)ετ'" cett.; cf. n192 for erotic magic driving victims in frenzied wandering away from their homes and also cf. n237 regarding the image of young women leaping because of erotic magic.

witches a few lines further indicates that he combined in his poetry the image of the youth who wanders in erotic frenzy with that of a spell-bound lover, as found in all probability in Theocritus. In any event Theocritus was, as explained above, familiar with both verbs and he had employed both of them in his poetry.[249] In addition, the expression 'wander in mind' seems to have been quite widespread among Greek authors.[250]

More evidence comes from Callimachus who in his account of the myth of Atalanta also used the word "ἄφρων," in order to characterise Roecus. The contrast between the "σώφρων" Milanio[251] who tried to avoid women according to Aristophanes and the "ἄφρων" Roecus who tried to rape Atalanta is striking.[252] Although Roecus' passion cannot be in any case lawful, it should not be disregarded that both Milanio and Roecus ended up wandering in the mountains because of erotic passion. Mountain areas would be the natural place for a Centaur to wander and, in addition, the Centaurs' lustful character was well documented in ancient literature by the incident with the Lapiths. Hence, Callimachus must have also used "ἄφρων" with erotic connotations. In Propertius' version, Milanio was depicted as facing the two Centaurs, who are traditionally repulsed by Atalanta. In the same way, Propertius reversed the legendary motif as treated in Theocritus and he described Milanio instead of Atalanta as taken

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[249] One should not easily assume that Propertius possibly misread the Greek text or that he attempted an innovation by combining two images already employed in Theocritus' poem because the first approach is rather oversimplified, while the second could be rather complicated even for his well trained Roman audience. In addition, Propertius' innovative tendency in translating Greek verses into Latin is a technique well attested in his poetry.

[250] For the expression 'wander in mind,' see Hdt.6.37; Aesch.PV473; for "πλάνη φρενῶν," see Eur.Hipp.283 and fr.1025; cf. "πλάνον ἐδωδήν" in Theoc.Id.21.43 and Anth.Pal.7.702 and "πλάνα δῶρα, πλάνος ἄγρα" in Mosch.1.29 and 5.10. See n125 for itinerant magicians referred to as *planetai* or *planoi*. Note that in the text quoted above Propertius refers to Milanio's erotic adventures as "labores," a word associated with agricultural labour (cf. ch4n19).

[251] Of course, Milanio not only is wise, but he is actually the pioneer of wise men according to Aristophanes. See ch4n69 for wisdom and erotic adventure.

[252] In Ovid Atalanta also characterises Hippomenes as mad (see p.40).

by love. In addition, the poet tried to keep both the literal and metaphorical meaning of the verb "ἀλάομαι" by pointing out not only Milanio's amorous adventures but also his heroic deeds while wandering in the mountains.[253] After all, Milanio was a hero and not an ordinary weak lover like the poet himself. Thus, Milanio is said to have succeeded in winning Atalanta, while the elegiac lover, an anti-heroic figure by nature, was always depicted as failing to win his *domina*'s affection.

Right after he had narrated Milanio's labours for the sake of love, Propertius addressed the witches to help him face the "malum." He referred to the value of "preces" in love, obviously both Milanio's and his own (ll.16-26):

> "tantum in amore preces et bene facta valent.
> In me tardus Amor non ullas cogitat artis,
> nec meminit notas, ut prius, ire vias.
> At vos, deductae quibus est fallacia lunae
> et labor in magicis sacra piare focis,
> en agendum dominae mentem convertitae nostrae,
> et facite illa meo palleat ore magis!
> Tunc ego crediderim vobis et sidera et amnis
> posse Cytinaeis ducere carminibus.
> Et vos, qui sero lapsum revocatis, amici,
> quaerite non sani pectoris auxilia."

Their prayers could be paralleled with Hippomenes' prayers to Venus (Aphrodite) to help him. Although in the remains of the Hesiodic text, Hippomenes was not described as asking for the goddess' help, it could be easily assumed, and, in addition, later sources like Ovid gave to his prayers a long treatment.[254] Hence,

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[253] Both Milanio and Atalanta were hunters and so, wandering away from home would be part of a hunter's life. For Atalanta as the hunter and the hunted, see J.M. Barringer 1996: 48-76. Elegiac poets reject the literary model of Homer and opt for the slender forms of their Hellenistic masters; in addition, they reject the bellicose character of Homeric heroes and in their poetry the identification of the poet with the lover becomes more explicit than ever before; see ch4nn27-29.

[254] Cf. Ov.Am.3.2.29ff. where Ovid prays to Aphrodite to make his new erotic target fall in love with him; also see Ov.Her.4.99-100: "arsit et Oenides in Maenalia Atalantta; /illa ferae spolium pignus amoris habet." Note that the fourth letter in Ovid's Heroides is addressed by Phaedra to Hippolytus. Also, see C. Faraone 1999: 134-142 for prayers mainly addressing Venus (Aphrodite) that asked the goddess to fulfil on behalf of the client the

Propertius addressed the witches in the same way Hippomenes addressed Venus. The comparison of Venus (Aphrodite) to the witches is obviously derived from a more antiquated representation of her as an eastern fertility goddess who had magical powers and would typically infuse violent desire to her victims, and before her character was restricted in the protection of sweet love and soft beauty.[255] Cybele, Astarte, and Inanna always posed as alluring and seductive figures of fatal enchantment.[256] Hecate, who has been acknowledged as a form of Artemis, was famous in antiquity for her abilities in witchcraft.[257] Circe and Medea, famous witches in antiquity, have been recognised as personalised forms of primordial goddesses.[258] In addition, if Venus (Aphrodite) had magical powers, then the apples she offered to Hippomenes must have been also magical an assumption, which could explain better why they were golden. Since the apples infused love to the heroine as we saw in

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magical spells uttered. Several of these incantations show Near Eastern influence; cf. ibid.: 34-5 where the author discusses Egyptian spells of the 2nd and 3rd century AD that address gods not only with their Greek names but also with their Egyptian or Semitic equivalents; cf. C. Faraone 2002: 325.

[255] For violent erotic spells, see C. Faraone 1999: 41-2. For love as a violent panic attack or an attack by Pan in the shape of *Eros*, see his p.47; cf. Hipp.141-47 where the Queen is thought to have been attacked by Pan, Hecate or the Mountain Mother (cf. n89). For a parallelism between spells and curses for binding enemies, also see Faraone ibid.: 50-3. Faraone discusses the case of the 1st century BC oracle of Apollo at Claros that commanded the people to set up an image of Ares, bound in chains and supplicating the goddess Dike (Justice) to avert piracy attacks on their city; cf. C. Faraone 2002: 336 (esp.n39 which refers to Verg.Ec.8.78: "'Veneris' dic 'vincula necto'").

[256] Both the Greek and the Latin name of the goddess are mentioned here as this paragraph refers to the comparison between Aphrodite and Artemis (p.36f.); furthermore, goddess Aphrodite had been charged with magical powers already in Homer (see p.57), and therefore the identification of Aphrodite with Venus should be underlined. Note that Astarte is also invoked as the goddess of the sea. W. Beyerlin 1975: 207: '…they stated their case to Lady Ashirat of the sea, made their plea to the creator of the gods. And Lady Ashirat of the sea replied.'

[257] Eur.Med.394ff.; Theoc.Id.2.12 and very often in magical papyri.

[258] E. Neumann ²1963: 81; also for the history of Circe as an enchantress, see J. Yarnall 1994 and A.S.F. Gow 1952: 39; for Medea, see J. Clauss and S. Johnston 1997.

Theocritus and Catullus, love should be also considered to have a magical character.[259]

THE MAGICAL ASPECT OF LOVE

An encouraging factor for accepting the magical power of love in Roman elegy is that both Propertius' and Tibullus' mistresses are depicted as worshipping mysterious eastern deities, such as Isis[260] and Cybele, the Lydian goddess of fertility. Cybele[261] was also the goddess of mountains, a mistress of wild nature, and was usually attended by lions.[262] She had many of the qualities attributed to Artemis, of whom Atalanta had often been regarded as a representation. Therefore, the elegiac lover was actually a personification of the magical influence of love over people, depicted in Greek literature since Hesiod's age and originating in

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[259] Circe in Hom.Od.12.40-46; 18.21 uses the word 'bewitch' for the Sirens and for the erotic effect Penelope had on her suitors; also cf. Od.18.212-3: "τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατ', ἔρωι δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔθελχθεν, /πάντες δ' ἠρήσαντο παραὶ λεχέεσσι κλιθῆναι." See C. Faraone 1999: 6, 131. The scene is similar to the description of Pandora's sexual attractiveness in Hesiod. Euripides also said that love is a sorcerer: e.g. Eur.Bacch.404; Tr.354-55; Hipp.1274. Also Aesch.PV865; Sophocles (Trach.351-7; cf. ll.497) argued that it was only *Eros* that bewitched Heracles into his war.

[260] For Cynthia and Delia as devotees of Isis, see S.K. Heyob 1975: 59-60, 116, 127; for Corinna ibid. plus 71, 73. The special relation of Isis and of her mourning rituals with women -parallel to the cults of Attis and Adonis- is confirmed by the Latin elegiac mistresses' reverence towards the goddess; cf.Tib.1.3.23; Prop.2.28.61; 2.33.1; 4.5.34; Ov.Am.1.8.74; 2.2.25; 2.8.7; cf. M. Wyke 2002: chs1-3 where she argues the fictional character of the elegiac mistresses and their treatment as poetic conventions employed as means for generic affiliation (e.g. of Propertius with Callimachus in her ch1).

[261] References to Cybebe or Cybele: Catull.63.20, 35, 84, 91 and 12.68, 76. Prop.3.17.35: 22.3 and 4.7.61: 11.51. Ov.Ars.Am.1.507. In addition, they refer to the cult of Isis: Prop.4.5.34, Tib.1.3.23, 1.7 (Osiris), Ov.Am.1.8.74, 2.2.25, 3.9.34, Ars.Am.1.75. I should clarify that material incorporated in this section is part of my MA dissertation (University of Leeds, 1998) that examined the influence of Meleager's epigrams on Propertius.

[262] According to the myth, Atalanta and Hippomenes were transformed into lions either by Zeus or by Cybele for mating in her sanctuary; cf. F. Naumann-Steckner 1996: 167-92.

the cultures of Near East.[263]

The magical conception of love seems to have been deeply rooted in Propertius' poetry; and in his fifth elegy,[264] the poet warned Gallus, a friend who also nourished hopes of winning Cynthia's affection, about the dark side of her love. He even compared her love to the magical potion of the terribly skilful Thessalian witches:[265]

"Invide, tu tandem voces compesce molestas
et sine nos cursu, quo sumus, ire pares!

[263] Love as an excuse of fertility is represented by Cybele in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Cybele rules all human beings in love and one could assume that the elegiac lover is included among them. The elegiac lover is conscious of being a victim of love and willing to undergo every step towards self-destruction. Hence, the elegiac lover has understood love's nature more than anyone else; cf. ch4n38.

[264] W.A. Camps 1961 ad 1.5. For Cynthia as the passionate and uncontrollable female protagonist of Propertius' poems, see E. Greene 1998: ch3 esp.37ff. At this point, I have to acknowledge the arguments put forward by feminists like E. Greene 1995: 303-18 and 2000: 241-261, M. Wyke 1989: 25-47 and 1994: 110-128 and others mostly in the sense that they draw attention to the differences between the ancient Greek society and the Roman society of the Augustan era. However, I chose to focus on 2 elements that in my view define Latin elegy more promptly than the gender division: firstly, the indebtness of the Roman elegists to their Hellenistic predecessors which means that Latin elegy in a way translates in the Roman society Greek literary motifs and images. The fact that the elegists may gloss these images with hedonistic nuances comes down to taste and temperament (see J. Connolly 2000: 71-98). Secondly, the historical context of Latin elegy; Roman elegists write at the time when Augustus tries to establish his authority in Rome but also to expand it eastwards. Part of his propaganda included the introduction to Rome of eastern religious ideas, often associated with the monarch's absolute power (see n301 below, ch5n33 and *passim*); cf. T. Fear 2000: 234ff. and M. Buchan 1995: 53-83. In this context and taking into account that the elegiac mistresses reflect this influx of eastern religious ideas perhaps it is appropriate to read the elegiac mistress not only in terms of gender power but also as a literary product that mirrors the syncretism that society experienced at that time.

[265] Sosiphanes fr.1 (TGrF Nauck, 819 = 261 Snell): "μάγοις ἐπωδαῖς πᾶσα Θεσσαλὶς κόρη /ψευδὴς σελὴνης αἰθέρος καταιβάτις;" cf. Apul.Met.2.1.21 for the prevalence of magic in Thessaly even in the 2nd century AD. For Thessaly's special association with magical excellence, see M.W. Dickie 2001: 33, 42, 107 and O. Philips 2002: 378-386.

Quid tibi vis, insane? Meos sentire furores?
Infelix, properas ultima nosse mala,
et miser ignotos vestigia ferre per ignis,
et bibere e tota toxica Thessalia."

Cynthia was described as a dangerous mistress, who bewitched the poet and left him helpless in the face of her demands. It should be noted that Propertius used once again (1.1.6) the word "furor" in order to describe his compelling passion.[266]

He then went on to explain once more the symptoms of his madness. Propertius wrote (ll.11-22):

"non tibi iam somnos, non illa relinquet ocellos:
illa feros animis alligat una viros.
A, mea contemptus quotiens ad limina curres,
cum tibi singultu fortia verba cadent,
et tremulus maestis orietur fletibus horror,
et timor informem ducet in ore notam,
et quaecumque voles fugient tibi verba quaerenti,
nec poteris, qui sis aut ubi, nosse miser!
Tum grave servitium nostrae cogere puellae
discere et exclusum quid sit abire domum;
nec iam pallorem totiens mirabere nostrum,
aut cur sim toto corpore nullus ego."

The poet described his love symptoms in extremely dramatic terms and Cynthia was depicted as a dark figure that caused all this pain to anyone who would dare to nurture hopes for her love; in fact, it was her love that caused fear and even moved the poet to tears.[267] Propertius also complained about insomnia, which he had

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[266] The use of "furor" could be paralleled with *mania* as employed in Theocritus; cf. Prop.2.4.7-8 where the poet admits that even magic is no remedy for passionate love: "non hic herba valet, non hic nocturna Cytaeis, /non Perimedaea gramina cocta manu."

[267] Propertius' fear can be compared with that of Anchises after realising that he has slept with an immortal goddess; C. Penglase 1994: 170. In 3.11.9-12 Propertius comments on the power of females over men and hints to their 'magical power:' "Colchis flagrantis adamantina sub iuga tauros /egit et armigera proelia sevit humo, /custodisque feros clausit serpentis hiatus, /iret ut Ausonias aurea lana domos." Note that in ll.17-20 Propertius refers to the magical influence that Omphale succeeded over mighty Heracles. For insomnia as a symptom of madmen, see Aretaeus 3.6.8-9.7-14 (Hyde). For insomnia as a typical motif of ancient erotic spells, see C. Faraone 1999: 26(and n114).

already mentioned as a characteristic of the unsuccessful lover in his first elegy (ll.33-4). There he had protested for his suffering in the following words:

"in me nostra Venus noctes exercet amaras,
et nullo vacuus tempore defit Amor."

In both cases his description is far from the playful way in which Ovid treated his insomnia in elegy 1.2 of the *Amores* (ll.1-6):

"Esse quid hoc dicam, quod tam mihi dura videntur
strata neque in lecto pallia nostra sedent,
et vacuus somno noctem, quam longa, peregi
lassaque versati corporis ossa dolent?
Nam puto sentirem si quo temptarer amore-
an suit et tecte callidus arte nocet?"[268]

The motif of love which consumes the lover's body was also treated by Ovid, but in a much lighter style, when in *Amores* 1.6 the lover begs the doorkeeper to let him into his mistress' house (ll.3-6):[269]

"quod precor exiguum est. aditu fac ianua parvo
obliquum capiat semiaperta latus.
Longus amor tales corpus tenuavit in usus
aptaque subducto corpore membra dedit."

Propertius in 1.5 continued to recount the frightening consequences of Cynthia's love in order to remind Gallus that escaping from this terrible, emotional swirl into which this dangerous woman had thrown him would be simply impossible (ll.27-30):

"non ego tum potero solacia ferre roganti,
cum mihi nulla mei sit medicina mali;
sed pariter miseri socio cogemur amore
alter in alterius mutua flere sinu."

As already argued this hopeless dealing with love should make one

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[268] Ibycus fr.6D.6-7: The motif is indeed very old, as Ibycus' verses testify: "ἐμοὶ δ' ἔρος /οὐδεμίαν κατάκοιτος ὥραν." For a discussion on erotic insomnia in Ibycus, see M.S. Cyrino 1995: 102-3; cf. C. Faraone 1999: 44-5 (cf. n229).

[269] P. Brandt 1911: 12 remarked of Ovid: 'There is no motive of any importance in the *Amores* to which one cannot point out a literary predecessor.' Students of Latin literature have repeatedly noticed the imitation of Propertius in the *Amores*; R.O.A.M Lyne 1980: 73ff. In fact it has been argued that Ovid parodies Propertius' verses, giving his own poetry a flavour of burlesque; Ovid's humorous style was not particularly appreciated by the critics; B. Otis 1938: 188-229.

suspect that the elegiac lover was considered to be bewitched.

As discussed, Ovid in his *Ars Amatoria* (2.185-92) obviously commented on Propertius' image of the wandering Milanio. Moreover, he specifically referred to the "fallacia retia" with which Milanio was trying to pass his time for as long as Atalanta kept refusing his love. Of course, a reminiscence of the witches' "fallacia" employed by Propertius (1.19) in his first poem should be recognised behind this use of the word.

Tibullus also included in his poetry an account of dealings with a witch (1.2.42-64), and he even attributed to her powers quite similar to those which Propertius mentions in his first elegy. A witch had guaranteed to Tibullus that Delia's "coniunx" would not discover the affair between Delia and the poet. Tibullus supported his belief in her by an impressive list of the feats he had seen her perform (ll.43-64):

> "Hanc ego de caelo ducentem sidera vidi,
> Fluminis haec rapidi carmine vertit iter….
> Quid credam? Nempe haec eadem se dixit amores
> cantibus aut herbis solvere posse meos,
> et me lustravit taedis, et nocte serena
> concidit ad magicos hostia puella deos.
> Non ego totus abesset amor, sed mutuus esset,
> orabam, nec te posse carere velim."

Tibullus, like Propertius, was not inexperienced in the sufferings of love and sleeplessness had already troubled his enslaved heart. He wrote (1.2.1-4):

> "Adde merum vinoque novos compesce dolores,
> occupet ut fessi lumina victa sopor:
> neu quisquam multo percussum tempora baccho
> excitet, infelix dum requiescit amor."

Hence, Tibullus tried to get drunk in order to escape the persistent thought of his mistress. Cynthia in Propertius 1.5 was attributed magical powers, and more specifically she was supposedly able to bewitch men. In addition, it seems that the other elegiac poets had also experienced the effects of this kind of erotic magic.

Celsus, a Latin medical writer and a near contemporary of Propertius, offers testimony that some of the symptoms which Propertius described as results of Cynthia's magic over him, were also considered as symptoms of madness. He wrote: "omnibus vero

sic adfectis somnus et difficilis et praecipue necessarius."[270] In addition, at another point in his work he treated insomnia not as a result of madness but as one of its initial manifestations: "vel nullo dolore substante somnus ereptus continuataque nocte et die vigilia." Propertius used more than once in his poetry the word "furor" in order to describe his erotic passion and although in antiquity "furor" was sometimes distinguished from "insania," the latter could include "furor."[271] Hence, Propertius enlivened his first elegy with a metaphor equating his love with madness. This metaphor, which was commonly found in erotic poetry, was reinforced in the Hellenistic period by philosophical definitions of any strong emotion as disease.[272] Cicero also provided us with a full analogy of love as well as other strong emotions with illnesses. This remark could explain better the reasons that Propertius chose to describe enamoured Milanio as "amens."[273] Furthermore, Theocritus commented on the erotic mania of Atalanta as well as Callimachus' reference to Roecus as "ἄφρων" could also be regarded as the result of the idea according to which love was equated to madness. Nevertheless, the relation of madness to magic needs still to be studied.

As mentioned above, in his first elegy Propertius after having

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[270] Cels.3.18.12; for insomnia as a symptom of madness, see also 2.7.25; Galen.ad Hipp.Prorrhet.15.525-7; cf. ibid.14.511-515 and M.W. Dickie 2001: 221ff. For love as *mania* associated with drunkenness and melancholy, see Pl.Resp.373c: "Καὶ μὴν ὅ γε μαινόμενος καὶ ὑποκεκινηκὼς οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν ἐπιχειρεῖ τε καὶ ἐλπίζει δυνατὸς εἶναι ἄρχειν…Τυραννικὸς δέ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ δαιμόνιε, ἀνὴρ ἀκριβῶς γίγνεται, ὅταν ἢ φύσει ἢ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἢ ἀμφοτέροις μεθυστικός τε καὶ ἐρωτικὸς καὶ μελαγχολικὸς γένηται." Also, see ch3n205 and ch4p.307f. and nn43 and 71.

[271] T.L.L. s.vv. "furor," "insania." Note that the word Theocritus employed for Atalanta's reaction to the view of Hippomenes was precisely "μαίνομαι," the Greek equivalent of "furo,-ere."

[272] Also A.W. Allen (et al.) 1963: 258-64. For love as disease in ancient lyric poetry, see M.S. Cyrino 1995 *passim*. J.G. Griffiths 1991: 60-67 confirms that love was understood as a disease in Egyptian tradition (also quoted by C. Faraone 1999: 57n10); cf. the Stoic and Epicurean views on love: M.F. Williams 1996: 189-96; for the passions in Roman thought and literature, see C. Gill 1997: 213-41.

[273] Cic.Tusc.Disp.4.68f. For love as madness in Latin poetry, see M.L. West 1969: 40-5 and 1970: 262-267. Also, see Aretaeus 3.5.1.30-2: "ἀτὰρ καὶ μαίνονται μὲν ἐς τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ βίου ἀφρονέοντες καὶ δεινὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ πρήσσοντες."

sought assistance for his "malum" from the witches addressed his friends in order to declare that it is too late now for him to be saved: "quaerite non sanis pectoris auxilia."[274] Such a despairing outcry could be excused only if Propertius was in love with Cynthia beyond any logic, if he was bewitched. Propertius was careful to exploit in his poem every symptom, which would equate his love to madness.[275] Thus, he mentioned that he was "nullum contactum cupidinibus" in the light of the frequent use of "contingere" in order to denote infection with disease.[276] Propertius described Milanio in the fashion of Aristophanes (and in the way Euripides depicted Meleager) as "nullum contactum cupidinibus," an element which reinforces the initial parallelism between the hero and the poet. Although the lack of "consilium" was common for a lover, Celsus[277]

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[274] "Auxilia" is a medical technical term for remedies, see T.L.L. s.v. II3a and b; also cf. Prop.2.1.57-8 where the poet appears confident that there is no medicine for love: "omnis humanos sanat medicina dolores:/ solus amor morbi non amat artificem." In these lines love is clearly described as an illness; cf. H.S. Versnel 2002: 112-3 (also see n20) where he refers to "materia medica" used in magical charms. Note that in ll.60-61 Propertius includes among famous doctors of antiquity Asclepius, who restored Androgeon to life with his 'Cretan herbs,' and therefore we can at least remark that herbs were used by both doctors and witches. The sickness of love could even cause the death of the poet (l.78): "huic misero fatum dura puella fuit;" cf. ch4n19 and ch5n63 for Vergil's associations of love with illness in the *Georgics*.

[275] For a more detailed discussion on the medical symptoms of Propertius' erotic affliction, see F. Cairns 1974: 102-107 from whom I borrowed the comparison of love with clinical *mania* or *melancholia*.

[276] T.L.L. s.v. IB5; cf. Stoic thinking and Lucretius ideas on love; G.B. Conte 1994 and S.M. Braund and C. Gill 1997: 5-16 and *passim*.

[277] Cels.De medic.3.18.21. C. Faraone 1999: 168 refers to an erotic spell, which specifically attacks the arrongance, the thoughtfulness (*logismos*) and the sense of shame (*aischunê*) of a female target. In his n125 he also quotes PMG4.1759-60 in which *Eros* is addressed as the god that 'obscures self controlled thoughts (*sôphronas logismous*) and instill dark frenzy (*oistron*);' obviously, these spells recall Propertius' situation in his first elegy, while the maddening erotic *oistros* alludes to the well known tale of Io, Zeus' mistress. Also, compare the Near Eastern text on the *Wedding of Martu* where after a competition the hero asks as a prize to marry the daughter of the king. In the text the girlfriends of the bride try to avert her from getting married to him because he seems to have no certain plan in his life: at that point the bride declares that she will marry him. It is

mentioned this as a symptom of some "furiosi: si vero consilium insanientem fallit, tormentis quibusdam optime curatur." In the same sense, Milanio both in comedy and in Propertius' elegy was described as hunting in the mountains without any real plan. However, Propertius clearly said that Milanio was "amens," while Aristophanes described him as "σώφρων" for his determination to avoid women. Hence, according to ancient belief, any person troubled by erotic desire should be regarded as a madman. This was obvious in Milanio's case in which his situation changes dramatically. As long as he was free from love (in Aristophanes) he was thought to be wise, while as soon as he fell in love (in Propertius) he was characterised as mad.

Propertius protested that "…mihi iam toto furor hic non deficit anno."[278] Celsus distinguished three kinds of madness and of these only the most acute is of any considerable duration. Hence, it could be argued that Propertius claimed to suffer from the worst kind of madness and he employed the verb "deficit" to declare that his "furor" had not decreased, a verb exclusively denoting decrease in intensity of any disease. The word was also used by Caelius Aurelianus,[279] another Latin medical writer, in describing intermittent fevers as "defectivae:" "Diocles ait defectivas febres tutas atque innoxias esse frequentius quam sunt continuae." In his translating efforts Caelius obviously tried to render in Latin the Greek medical term for intermittent fevers: "διαλείποντες πυρετοί."[280] However,

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worth noting that as long as the wedding is postponed nature falls in decline; see J. Klein 1996: 83-96 and S.N. Kramer 1990: 11-25.

[278] The indebtedness of Propertius to Theocritus can be attested in this verse. The latter already had included the image of love consuming continuously the lover in Id.30.21-3: "…τῷ δ' ὁ πόθος καὶ τὸν ἔσω μύελον ἐσθίει /ὀμμιμνασκομένῳ, πόλλα δ' ὄραι νύκτος ἐνύπνια, παύσασθαι δ' ἐνίαυτος χαλέπας οὐκ ἴ<κανος νόσῳ>;" Ovid also employed the same notion in his *Amores* (1.3); see M. Buchan 1995: 53ff. and n292 below. Note that Propertius characterised love as "improbus," shameless, to emphasise the intensity of his condition (cf. ch4n22 and p.330f.). Also, see E. Cavallini 1994: 353-55 who compared the image of all-consuming love in Theocritus with Sapph.fr.96; cf. Ov.Her.20.14-16: "adsumpsit vires auctaque flamma mora est, /quique fuit numquam parvus, nunc tempore longo /et spe, quam dederas tu mihi, crevit amor."

[279] Cael.Aurel.Acut.Pass.2.10.60; Aretaeus 3.6.1.12-15 (Hyde).

[280] Arist.[Pr.]866A, 23; Hippoc.Aph.4.43. For the fever of love induced by magical spells, see C. Faraone 1999: 57-8. Also, see L.

as argued,[281] the distinction between "furor" and "insania" was exactly that "furor" was intermittent while "insania" was constant. Celsus again testified that sometimes madness arose from fever or was combined with it. Propertius did not quite render this meaning of the Greek verb "διαλείπω" in his text, although he clearly alluded to it by underlying that his disease had not decreased for a whole year. The nature of love-madness could be further clarified if we remember the case of Cydippe who fell mysteriously ill only when she was to marry someone else than Acontius. In that story, however, Artemis was held responsible for the disease.[282] In addition, Propertius, directly after commenting on the duration of his passion, noticed how odd it was to be possessed by the madness of love and not to be favoured by the gods of love. The notion of a lunatic as a recipient of divine favour was very common in antiquity.[283] Plato in his *Phaedrus* was the first to argue that love was a kind of madness sent by the gods.[284] In Cydippe's story it was Artemis specifically who demanded the oath by her

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Edelstein 1967: 205-246. Also, see Aretaus 5.3.33-4: "ἢ ἐς ἐρημίην φεύγουσι μισανθρωπίῃ, ἢ ἐς δεισιδαιμονίην τρέπονται…."

[281] W.W. Buckland 1963: 169-171.

[282] Artemis was also accused of inflicting the Proitids with madness, which can be now understood as an erotic /pre-nuptial madness. See Ov.Her.20.5, 18-20, 95, 110-12; 160, 173, 177, 195, 211, 217, 229 where Acontius refers to Cydippe's oath in the presence of Artemis. The hero often refers to the goddess' divine aid, who now forces Cydippe to fall ill every time she prepares her wedding to somebody else (cf. Aphrodite's intervention in the story of Atalanta). Acontius seems to have a lot in common with Propertius in the sense that he fell also madly in love with Cydippe to the point that he had her consecrated to marry him and no one else. In lines 205-207 Acontius describes how he became mad with love for Cydippe by looking intensively in her eyes: "ut te conspecta subito, si forte notasti, /restiterim fixis in tua membra genis; /et, te dum nimium miror, nota certa furoris, /deciderint umero pallia lapsa meo."

[283] E.R. Dodds 1951: 64-67; cf. Ov.Her.20.83-90 where Acontius declares that he will endure all for Cydippe's love until he will successfully become her love-slave. Acontius also refers to the binding of unyielding love in comparison to the binding with chains: "omnia perpetiar; tantum fortasse timebo, /corpore laedatur ne manus ista meo. /Sed neque contentibus nec me conpesce catenis- /servabor firmo vinctus amore tui! /cum bene se quantumque voles satiaverit ira, /ipsa tibi dices: 'quam patienter amat!' /ipsa tibi dices, ubi videris omnia ferri: /'tam bene qui servit, serviat iste mihi!'"

[284] Pl.Phdr.251B and 249D.

name to be fulfilled and thus, she sent to the heroine an illness, which possibly suggested Cydippe's love for Acontius. In Propertius' elegy, Venus "exercet noctes amaras" for the poet, a clear hint of the insomnia which would trouble both the enamoured and the madmen.[285]

At this point, the appeal to the witches by the poet should be regarded in the light of our new evidence. In the *Monobiblos*, although the poet expressed some slight doubts about the witches' power (ll.23-4), he finally asked for their help. What urged the poet to appeal to the witches was the common belief in antiquity that madness and kindred disorders could find a resort to magic. After all, madness was thought to be caused by gods or spirits inside or outside the madman.[286] Propertius alluded to his appeal to the witches in his third also book (3.24) where it becomes clear that in his first elegy the lover should be identified as a madman: "quod mihi non patrii poterant avertere amici /eluere aut vasto Thessala saga mari" (ll.9-10).[287] In line 19 he declared himself free from love and

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[285] That Acontius in all probability employed magic against Cydippe can be adduced from Ov.Her.20.27-32 where the hero refers to his device (to scribble a marital vow on an apple) as "fraus" and "dolus:" "te mihi conpositis-siquid tamen egimus-a me /adstrinxit verbis ingeniosus Amor. /disctatis ab eo feci sponsalia verbis, consultoque fui iuris Amore vafer. /sit fraus huic facto nomen, dicarque dolosus, /si tamen est, quod ames, velle tenere dolus!" In addition, in lines 125-126 Acontius admits that it is his magical wiles that send to Cydippe constant fevers: "maceror interdum, quod sim tibi causa dolendi /teque mea laedi calliditate puto." C. Faraone 1999: 3 has cited three incantations that were found in Egypt; one of the spells focuses on the lover's wish for exclusiveness (cf. Ov.Her.20.143-170). Another, wishes for a miraculous illness that will fall on the beloved (!) and will drive a rival away: 'burn, torch the soul of Allous, her female body, her limbs, until she leaves the household of Apollonius. Lay Allous low with fever, unceasing sickness, incomprehensible sickness;' (cf. Ov.Her.20.117 and 133 and 21.13-17 where Cydippe admits that the doctors can find no causes for her disease).

[286] F. Cairns 1974: 104; I.M. Lewis 1971: 88-92; in South Italy spirit possession could occur by an event as amoral as the bite of a spider. Dionysus was a well-known foreign spirit who afflicted women in this way. Also, see E.R. Dodds 1951: 77-8; however, by the 5th century BC spontaneous possession was mostly attributed to the Corybantes. R. Parker 1983: 247; W. Burkert 1985: 277 and E.R. Dodds 1940: 171-4; Pan and Dionysus could send madness and cure it. Cf. at an initiatory level, the madness sent by Artemis Triclaria and cured by Dionysus Aisymnetes.

[287] Cels.De medic.3.18.6: "Remedia vero adhidere, ubi maxime furor urget,

dedicated himself to "Mens bona."[288] Hence, his previous state in which a Thessalian saga was involved in order to save him should be considered as mental disorder.[289]

One of the actions which the witches were described as carrying out is "in magicis sacra piare focis," which was mentioned both by Plautus and Horace as a mode of treating madness.[290] Propertius asked the witches to make Cynthia go paler at his face, which actually meant to become enamoured of him. In addition, "pallor" which has been used in ancient literature almost as a synonym for love[291] seems to have also posed as a symptom of medical "furor." Aretaeus,[292] for instance, wrote that "item pallore

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supervacuum est." Note the use of "eluere" and cf. the rites of Artemis at Lousoi where a ritual bathing would signify the transition from puberty to adulthood. The purificatory power of water was widespread in antiquity. See K. Dowden 1989: 102-5. Also, see Cels. De medic.3.18.20: "si bene se purgaverit, ex magna parte morbum levabit."

[288] Cf. "σωφροσύνη" and Milanio (Melanion in Greek) as a rational, "σώφρων" youth (see p.68f.).

[289] R. Parker 1983: 221; in later antiquity, love was a condition that the unlucky suitor could seek to get rid of by purification and this belief is probably derived from Classical Greece: Tib.1.2.59; Nemes.Ecl.4.62-7; contra Ov.Rem.Am.260.

[290] Plaut.Men.291, 571; Hor.Sat.2.3.164f. R. Parker 1983: 222; Bewitchment was seen in antiquity as a form of pollution that needed to be purified. This could explain the use of the verb "pio,-āre" in Propertius, which means to avert, to atone. For purification from magic, see Hipp.Morb.Sacr.148.38J; 1.40G; also Suda, Photius s.v. "περικαθαίρων:" "ἀναλύων τὸν πεφαρμακευμένον ἢ γεγοητευμένον;" for the use of "φαρμακεύω" as bewitch, see Pl.Leg.932e-933e; also M.W. Dickie 2001: 16, 55; for pollution in magic, see Theoc.Id.5.121 with Gow's notes (1952 ad loc.); cf. ch2n94; also Orph.Lith.591(585). Ar.Vesp.118-24 mentioned three religious treatments for madness: purification, the Corybantic rites and incubation. However, also see C. Faraone 1999: 50-51, 58-60 and 150-153 (esp.151) for the so-called fire spells, i.e. rites which powerful witches would perform over fire.

[291] Prop.1.9.17; Ov.Ars.Am.1.729-735, Am.3.6.25. In Eur.Hipp.141ff., the chorus speculated on the queen Phaedra was wasting away because of a mysterious disease which they saw as a form of madness. Later in the passage (ll.316-9) the nurse considered whether Phaedra's frenzy was due to the stain of blood or to witchcraft.

[292] Aret.*De causis et signis morborum* 1.6. Also, see M.W. Dickie 2001: 38-9, 61-2 regarding the Sacred Diseases according to the Hippocratic

quodam (nonnuli furiosi) suffunduntur."[293] As mentioned above, Propertius followed his appeal to the witches with an appeal to his "amici." The presence of friends seems to be well-documented in ancient literature in cases of madness. Cicero[294] while discussing Piso's "furor" wrote: "si familiam tuam dimisisses, quod ad neminem nisi ad ipsum te pertineret, amici te constringendum putarent." Ovid also in his *Amores*, where he appeared to repent bitterly for being violent to his mistress, addressed his friends:

"adde manus in vincla meas (meruere catenas),
dum furor omnis abit, si quis amicus ades."

Catullus as well advised the relatives of his girl:

"propinqui quibus est puella curae,
amicos medicosque convocate:
non est sana puella…."

Propertius in his appeal employed the terms "revocare" and "lapsus" which were technical terms often used of an illness. Directly after Propertius (ll.28) expressed his willingness to suffer "ferrum et ignes," although under the condition that "sit modo libertas quae velit ira loqui."[295] Celsus again offered evidence according to which "ferrum et ignes" were mentioned along with starvation and flogging as remedies for madness: "ubi perperam aliquid dixit aut fecit,

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corpus. Dickie examines the cases of Phaedra and Deianira as possible patients; cf. C. Faraone 1999: 91-2 and 160-66.

[293] For the erotic use of "pallor," see Sappho 31(cited in the following page) and Catullus 51. Also, see O. Thomsen 1992 about the wedding imagery in Catullus. Cf. Ov.Her.21.16 where Cydippe describes her pale colour: "pallida vix cubito membra levare putas?"

[294] Cic.Pis.48.46ff.; also see Ov.Am.1.7.1-2 and Catull.41.5-7; also see J. Booth 1997: 150-168 and E. Greene 1998: ch1 on Catullus' representation of his erotic self. Also, see ch3 on Propertius' compromisation of his erotic profile in the name of poetic fame, and pp.86ff. on Ovid's sense of ethical duty to report the cruelty often entailed in erotic relationships (cf. n276).

[295] Cic.Fam.7.26.2: "nam et viris et corpus amisi; sed, si morbum depulero, facile, ut spero, illa revocabo." Also, Petron.Sat.111: "et cetera, quibus exulceratae mentes ad sanitatem revocantur." For "labor," see Celsus 5.26.13: "quaedam mentem labuntur" as well as Val.Flaccus 5.2-3: "Argolicus morbis fatisque rapacibus Idmon /labitur…;" for the association of "labor" and "morbus" in Vergil's *Georgics*, see ch4pp.290n19 and 297 and *passim*. Cels.De medic.3.18.4: "Ex his autem eos, qui intra verba desipiunt, aut leviter etiam manu peccant, onerare asperioribus coercitionibus supervacuum est."

fame, vinculis, plagis coercendus est."[296] In the case of Ovid mentioned above, the iron could mean fetters. It should also be noted that "furor" and "ira"[297] are almost synonyms[298] and that despite Propertius' insistence on expressing his madness, madmen were usually deprived of speech. Tibullus in 1.5 (ll.5-6) writes:

> "ure ferum et torque, libeat ne dicere quicquam
> magnificum post haec: horrida verba doma."

Hence, harsh treatment and silence is a combination often found in elegiac poetry. Sappho's description of love (poem 31), which was imitated by Catullus (poem 51), specifically illustrates the connection between love and silence casting more light on the equation of love with madness. In addition, Sappho composes about the pale colour of the enamoured and she is admittedly very physical in her description of love symptoms (Campbell 31.9-16):

> "….ἀλλα' ἄκαν μὲν γλωῶσσα ∗ ἔαγε ∗, λέπτον
> δ' αὔτικα χρῷ πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμηκεν,
> ὀππάττεσσι δ' οὐδ' ἒν ὄρημμ', ἐπιρρόμ–
> βεισι δ' ἄκουαι,
>
> κὰδ δὲ μ' ἴδρως ψῦχρος ἔχει, τρόμος δὲ
> παῖσαν ἄγρει, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας
> ἔμμι, τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγῳ 'πιδεύης
> φαίνομ' ἔμ' αὔτ[ᾳ."

The idea that love is a kind of illness equated to madness is actually very old in literature and indeed there is not much distance from considering love as an illness to specifying it as madness.[299] In addition, the parallelism between "ἄγρει" in Sappho's poem and "cepit" in Propertius' poem should not be missed. After all, the

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[296] Cels.3.18.21; the idea of purifying love in ways similar to purifying madness is very old; Pind.Pyth.4.213-9. See C. Faraone 1993: 1-19, about torture implements -including the whip- in erotic magic (cf. n191). Cf. Ov.Her.20.183-4 where Acontius describes medical treatments for maids that Cydippe does not need because all she has to do is honour her oath to marry him: "ut valeant aliae, ferrum patiuntur et ignes, /fert aliis tristem sucus amarus opem."

[297] In this light, Medea, who in Euripides is depicted as "irata" at her husband's unfaithfulness and is accused of having slaughtered her children, should be regarded as the case of a mad witch.

[298] T.L.L. s.v. "furor" 2b.

[299] See J.J. O' Hara 1993: 12-24 about Vergil's understanding of erotic relief in the cases of Dido and Gallus.

ancient civilisations' tendency of characterising any kind of inexplicable or non-pathological situation as 'madness' is well attested.[300] Catullus in his faithful adaptation of Sappho's poem mentioned that his tongue is simply paralysed when he is in front of Lesbia:

> "nam simul te,
> Lesbia, aspexi, nihil est super mi
> vocis in ore,
> lingua sed torpet…."

These remarks are a tentative indication that the erotic ideas represented in elegiac poetry hark back to the intellectual tradition of ancient literary genres such as the Greek lyric poetry. Therefore, the Roman elegiac poets transmit in their society the stereotype of a lover frenzied and condemned by his passion, which would have been understood both by the readers of Sappho and Catullus; his symptoms would be familiar to the readers of the Hippocratic treatises and those of Celsus; his need to call upon the gods would be shared by the devotees of Artemis and the victims of Aphrodite.[301]

EROTIC *MANIA*

Up to this point, the equation of love with madness in Propertius' first elegy as well as in the rest of the elegiac poets has been supported with substantial technical evidence. There is no doubt that Propertius intentionally exploited every medical concept known in those years in order to convince his audience of the seriousness of his situation and his impotence to fight it. His heroic parallel, Milanio, should be also considered as a lover maddened by his passion. The image of Milanio wandering "amens" in the

[300] Epilepsy was often thought to be a form of madness. Also, see R. Parker 1983: 221-2. See M.W. Dickie 2001: 38-9 and 61-2 for sacred diseases as the result of magic. Also, see pp.23-5 for the very old idea of healing incantations for a number of diseases; cf. n272 above.

[301] Also, see the similarities between the writings of Celsus and those of Aretaeus or Galen both of whom lived in c. 150-200 AD. For Vergil and erotic frenzy, see ch2 *passim* and Appendix I. Obviously, the image of the helpless lover is very much against the traditional Roman principles of a non-sentimental, state focused soldier or politician; yet the emphasis on the sequence of cultural and religious ideas in Roman elegies would comply with the vision of Augustus for a progressively integrated empire; see P. Zanker 1988; J. Pollini 1990: 334-63.

mountains alludes to the coming of age rites for young boys and girls that were previously examined. Aristophanes presented him as a lover of deserted places ("ἐς ἐρημίας"), a location ideal for madmen and hunters alike. Therefore, Atalanta, a keen huntress and desirable bride, is frequently mentioned by our sources as wandering in the wilderness. Furthermore, the notion of love as madness is already obvious in Theocritus and now the connection of the verbs "ἄλλομαι" and "ἀλάομαι" with maddening love can be thoroughly understood. Theocritus possibly employed the expression in the sense that the enamoured heroine was obviously frenzied by love and so her 'leaping' (or her 'wandering' in earlier sources) can be interpreted as a typical symptom of her madness[302] or of her bewitchment, especially as 'leaping' was associated in antiquity with magical spells. Callimachus also characterised the Centaur Roecus as irrational and in fact, the fierce appearance and the physical strength of a Centaur could more easily resemble that of a madman than that of a lover. The confirmation that Callimachus was familiar with the love /madness metaphor comes from his treatment of the story of Acontius and Cydippe.[303]

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[302] C. Faraone 1999: 59-61 quotes a spell preserved in a Berlin papyrus and a similar one from Egypt where the victim is ordered to leap forth because of maddening love; cf. p.89 where an anonymous treatise of the late 5th century BC describes leaping as one of the maladies that befall to unmarried woman. Atalanta's association to magic is also confirmed by her association with female groups such as the Danaids and the Proitids which were often attributed magical powers in antiquity (see n123). See N. Robertson 1995: 193-202.

[303] Propertius' poem 18 and Theocritus' Id.9 have been compared on the ground that they both employ pathetic fallacy in an erotic-elegiac context. Both poems suggest a variation on the typical motif of *komos*. In *Idyll* 9, Theocritus developed the thoughts of Polyphemus, the ugly Cyclops who tried to understand his rejection as a lover (cf. Hermesian.fr.1, Powell). See A.S.F. Gow 1952: 86-91. In its 'mood from despondency to despair to final consolation' (Gow ibid.: 11), the poem agrees absolutely with Propertius' last lines in elegy 18: "sed qualiscumque es, resonent mihi Cynthia silvae /nec deserta tuo nomine saxa vacent." Both poems show the 'enfeebling effect of *Eros* on body and mind.' See A. Rist 1978: 19ff.; F. Cairns 1969: 131-4 suggested Callimachus' *Acontius and Cydippe* as a more likely model for Propertius. This view becomes more possible if we consider that Theocritus himself owes a great deal to Callimachus.

Callimachus depicted Acontius as lamenting his unfortunate love at an isolated place. It has been long accepted that the Callimachean hero inspired Propertius' elegy 1.18.[304] Propertius combined solitude with love in several of his elegies, such as poems 1.17 and 1.18. Elegy 1.17 was a fantastic[305] composition, in which the poet, in an attempt to escape from Cynthia's painful love, found himself shipwrecked on a deserted island. He was mourning for his situation and wished he had not left Rome. Poem 1.18 seems to have been composed on a more realistic or at least plausible occasion. There was obviously a misunderstanding between him and Cynthia. She was again angry with him and he, like the enamoured and the madmen, sought the isolation of a "vacuum nemus" in order to think of the possible reasons of his mistreatment. Finally, the poet despite Cynthia's difficult character gave way to his overwhelming feelings for her, while the trees re-echoed Cynthia's name, as a proof of his love.[306] In elegy 17.14 Propertius claimed to be furious at Cynthia's behaviour by using the word "ira," a synonym of "furor." Actually the poet's "furor" is mentioned just a line below (ll.15). In his distress about Cynthia's caprices, the poet also refers to her frequent tears (ll.16). The poet had already employed "ira et lacrimae" in elegy 1.5. Here the situation is reversed because it is the poet who claims to be "iratus," while in 1.5 it was Cynthia who was described as "irata." In addition, Cynthia is clearly mentioned in 1.18 to have swollen eyes from crying while in 1.5 it was the poet who could not help crying.[307] In 1.5 the poet imagined Cynthia as a witch who drove

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[304] Callimachus (fr.73 Pfeiffer) presented Acontius as seating under oaks and elms and wishing that the trees were able to whisper "Κυδίππη καλὴ;" F. Cairns 1969: 131-4.

[305] This clue derives from our belief that the poem's pattern was Tibullus' 1.3, where he was inspired by Odysseus. See C. Campbell 1973: 147-57. Of course, Odysseus is a mythological hero. For Cynthia's character as a weak mistress in need of her lover, see E. Greene 1998: 38f.; cf. M. Wyke 1995: 110-128.

[306] It is not accidental that both poems were thought to have been influenced by the literary type of "epibateria," poems written for someone's departure. In fact, it has been suggested that these elegies should be read as inverted "epibateria." In poem 1.17, the poet admits that his intention was to escape Cynthia's love, while in poem 1.18 he 'departs' to an isolated place in order to think over the situation.

[307] Swollen eyes was also a symptom of madness as Aretaeus testified

her victims crazy. However, in 1.18 Propertius' pretends to be furious at Cynthia while his belief that nature actually participates in his suffering suggests an irrational attitude.

In these poems, Propertius admittedly tried to escape his erotic torment by isolating himself or by 'daydreaming,' since 1.17 is in fact a fantasy. In like manner the rest of the mythical figures mentioned above were seeking relief to their love troubles by 'travelling' literally or metaphorically. However, among the other remedies for love, which Propertius included in his introductory poem, he also mentioned foreign travel, which was thought to be a remedy for madness as well.[308] Theocritus in *Idyll* fourteen (ll.53-56) wrote:

> "χὤτι τὸ φάρμακον ἐστιν ἀμηχανέοντος ἔρωτος
> οὐκ οἶδα· πλὰν Σῖμος, ὁ τᾶς ἐπιχάλκω
> ἐρασθείς,
> ἐκπλεύσας ὑγιὴς ἐπανῆνθ', ἐμὸς ἁλικιώτας.
> πλευσεῦμαι κἠγὼν διαπόντοις· οὔτε κάκιστος
> οὔτε πρᾶτος ἴσως, ὁμαλὸς δέ τις ὁ στρατιώτας."

In accepting foreign travel as a remedy for love, Propertius linked it with a symptom of madness and thus, he expressed his wish to travel in order to escape from all women. Avoiding humans was regarded as a sign of madness in antiquity. Aristophanes in *Plutus* (ll.903) writes:[309]

> "ΔΙ.Γεωργὸς εἶ; ΣΥ. Μελαγχολᾶν μ' οὕτως οἴει;"

The *scholia* on this passage are very interesting:

> "Ὥσπερ οἱ μαινόμενοι, τὴν ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσι διατριβὴν ἀπαναινόμενοι, ἐν ἐρημίαις φέρονται, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν τῶν γεωργῶν διατριβὴν μελαγχολίαν ὠνόμασεν, ὡς ἐν ἀγροῖς γενομένην."

So, wandering in the wilderness was thought in antiquity to be both a remedy for love as well as a sign of madness. Propertius employed both of these meanings of wandering and Theocritus had definitely in mind that travelling in or to foreign places is a remedy for unfulfilled love. Through the testimony of Theocritus,

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in 3.6.9.15-19: "ὀφθαλμοὶ κοῖλοι….μετεχετέροισι δὲ καὶ ἐνέρυθροι καὶ ὕφαιμοι <οἱ> ὀφθαλμοί." Also, see Appendix II.

[308] P.J. Enk 1946 on Prop.1.1.29. See, Celsus 3.18.23.

[309] P. Toohey 1997: 59-62 referred to *melancholia* as a form of madness akin to lovesickness.

it was possible for us to detect the role of the apples in the Hesiodic text as the magical objects, which infused love to Atalanta. Hence, magic and love were already combined in Hesiod. However, his affinity with the notion of love as madness needs still to be argued: Aristophanes' scholiast used the verb "ἀναίνομαι" to refer to madmen's tendency to avoid humans, which is exactly the same expression used in Hesiod in order to describe Atalanta's character:

"73 P. Lond. 486c; P. Oxy. 2488B
]ιτοῖο ἄνακτος
]σι ποδώκης δῖ᾽ Αταλάν[τη
Χαρί]των ἀμαρύγματ᾽ἔχο[υσα
πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀ]παναίνετο φῦλον ὁμιλ[εῖν
ἀνδρῶν ἐλπομένη φεύγ]ειν γάμον ἀλφηστάων[.
]τανυσφύ[ρ]ου εἵνεκα κού[ρης
].αμ[ ]νον εννε[
].[.]ρδ[."

In Hesiod, Atalanta rejected her fellow humans not because she wanted to heal an erotic wound, but in case she fell in love with someone. Nevertheless, her madness was implied in her persistent effort to avoid nature.

Theognis' verses illustrate her behaviour and her vain effort to remain a virgin even more (ll.1287-94):

"Ὦ παῖ, μή μ᾽ ἀδίκει –ἔτι σοι καταθύμιος εἶναι
βούλομ᾽–ἐπιφροσύνη τοῦτο συνεὶς ἀγαθῇ·
[οὐ γάρ τοὶ με δόλῳ] παραλεύσεαι οὐδ᾽ ἀπατήσεις·
νικήσας γὰρ ἔχεις τὸ πλέον ἐξοπίσω,
ἀλλά σ᾽ ἐγὼ τρώσω φεύγοντά με, ὥς ποτέ φασιν
᾽Ιασίου κούρην ἤθεον᾽ Ιππομένην,
ὡραίην περ ἐοῦσαν, ἀναινομένην γάμον ἀνδρῶν
φεύγειν· ζωσάμενη δ᾽ ἔργ᾽ ἀτέλεστα τέλει,
πατρὸς νοσφισθεῖσα δόμων, ξανθὴ ᾽Αταλάντη
ὤχετο δ᾽ ὑψηλας ἐς κορυφὰς ὀρέων,
φεύγουσ᾽ ἱμερόεντα γάμον χρυσῆς᾽ Αφροδίτης
δῶρα· τέλος δ᾽ ἔγνω καὶ μάλα᾽ ἀναινομένη."

Theognis' evidence is very important, since he wrote only a generation after Hesiod. His text had a certain erotic character since he addressed these words to a youth that obviously scorned the poet, and thus, it confirmed once more the previous arguments in favour of the erotic symbolism of the myth. His version is very close to the Hesiodic treatment of the myth and even the same

vocabulary reoccurs such as "ἀναινομένην γάμον ἀνδρῶν," which sound very similar to "φεύγειν γάμον (ἀλφηστάων) ἀνδρῶν." It is even more interesting to compare the Hesiodic phrase "ἀναινομένη δῶρα χρυσῆς ᾽Αφροδίτης" with Theognis' lines "…ἱμερόεντα γάμον χρυσῆς᾽Αφροδίτης δῶρα…ἀναινομένη," which sounds as if Hesiod's verses' have been slightly changed. In both texts -the Hesiodic and that of Theognis'- the poets commented on her strong rejection of the 'presents of golden Aphrodite.' Although Theognis did not mention the apples at all and he said that her father was Iasus and not Schoeneus, he followed Hesiod as regards the name of her successful suitor, Hippomenes. Attention should be drawn to his remark that Atalanta kept avoiding marriage although she was at the right age, which underlines her unreasonable reaction especially as madness in antiquity is often associated with young girls who 'need' to enter marriage in order to escape the fits of *mania*.[310] In addition, on a social level, the unification of a man and a woman in the framework of a marriage was a legitimate way of securing the future of the community.[311] This 'duty' was not confined to the role of a woman in the society, but included both sexes; and this is suggested by the fact that Theognis addressed a young man in his poem ("ὦ παῖ") and that in later tragic plays we mainly have examples of young boys like Hippolytus[312] and Meleager who adopt this negative attitude

[310] C. Calame 1999: 117: 'where the woman was concerned, Greek marriage was certainly conceived (mainly by the men) as a passage from 'nature' to culture, mediated by the union of the two sexes' (also cf. n14 above) and J.H. Oakley and R.H. Sinos 1993: 22ff.

[311] For the legal situation of women at Athens, see J. Roger 1989 and R. Sealey 1990. Plato's *Republic* and his suggestions about a society of better civilians in the 4th century BC is a crystallisation of the philosophical disposition of the ancient world on the theme.

[312] The parallelism between Atalanta and Hippolytus is quite obvious. The hero is young and beautiful, he likes hunting alone in the wilderness exactly as Atalanta does, and they both have a tragic end. It has been often argued that in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, the hero suffers a horrible death despite being innocent. Yet Atalanta was also punished by being transformed to a monstrous lioness, although it was Hippomenes who neglected to thank Venus, not her. However, in both cases, the heroes seem to be punished for being unable /failing to handle their expected social roles. In addition, in both myths what prevents the heroes from

towards family life. The literature presupposes familiarity with ancient cultic practices regardless whether they were contemporary in relation to the poets (Hesiod, Theognis, Aristophanes) or they had just survived in memory /texts (Callimachus, Propertius, Ovid).

In this chapter, we have examined the myth of Atalanta as displayed in three major ancient poets who represent the literary mainstreams of their time. Hesiod has admittedly established an epic tradition, which exercised much influence on his poetic successors. One of these was Callimachus who during the Hellenistic period celebrated an important literary turn towards shorter poetic forms. With the focus on the specific myth, it has been shown how Callimachus channelled traditionally epic material into his short compositions. The Hellenistic tendency towards erotic themes, which is obvious from the popularity which the myth of Atalanta gained during those years, was further developed by the Latin elegiac poets of the Augustan period. Among them, Propertius has treated the legend of Atalanta in the programmatic elegy of his first collection, which is another proof of the significance of the myth for erotic poetry. Moreover, Propertius models the elegiac lover after Milanio, Atalanta's successful suitor. In his poetry, a detailed comparison of love with madness confirms the ancient reception of love as a disease, a theme already treated in Sappho. Propertius actually combines this belief with the ancient superstition about the magical character of love, which is well documented in our sources and seems to be originated in the cultures of the Near East. Our evidence has been based on the magical power attributed to the apples with which Hippomenes won Atalanta. Numerous spells and rituals testify to the use of apples as aphrodisiacs, and the idea was so deeply rooted in ancient thought that Propertius does not need to refer to the apples specifically.

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participating in the normal social activities appears to be their extra-ordinary qualities. Hence, they are actually punished for being so exceptional to the point that they commit *hubris*. Also, note that Hippolytus died by a curse of his father, which Poseidon fulfilled, which is similar to Meleager's death. The latter died by his mother's curse which was fulfilled through the burning of a brand the Fates had entrusted to her. These similarities point most probably to a comparable intellectual and social background from which these stories emerged.

The myth in Hesiod seemed to have a certain symbolism connected with the social rules, which defined the individuals' identity in the community. This motif is gradually reversed since in Propertius love differentiates the poet from the rest of people who are still "sani." Hence, in Roman elegy love (or the madness caused by it) isolates the bewitched lover even from his friends, not for a short transitory period but permanently. However, loneliness troubled also Atalanta, who in Hesiod is depicted as avoiding people by fear of falling in love. It seems that both Atalanta and the elegiac lover have a tendency to exaggerate their principles and they both end up in going from one extreme to the other. Atalanta did not avoid falling in love and, according to Theocritus, her feelings were very intense. In addition, the elegiac lover is so much in love that he is lonelier than ever before (Prop.1.18). Hence, throughout antiquity the myth of Atalanta has it all: it includes love, adventure, and even witchcraft. In addition, it seems to be didactic, in the way so many folktales and myths are.

CHAPTER TWO.

THEOCRITUS 1.1: THE MYTH OF DAPHNIS

THE THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

As argued, Greek lyric poets included in their multifarious repertoire erotic myths, which were later adapted in Hellenistic literature (elegies and epigrams), before they drew the attention of Latin elegiac poets.[1] In the previous chapter, the antiquity and generic flexibility of mythological material were examined in relation to the myth of Atalanta. We have seen that this particular myth intrigued Theognis but also Callimachus, both of whom followed the Hesiodic tradition.[2] Hesiod elaborated on the myth in his epic-style *Catalogue of Women*.[3] The poetic fortune of this particular myth already confirms a taste for intertextuality in the canon of ancient literature. The line of intellectual continuity in the Greek world throughout the centuries comes dimly into sight, revealing the cultural and literary mechanisms of creating well-established traditions. The borderlines between the various generic traditions have raised long and often futile discussions among scholars who tried to determine securely the conventions of each genre.[4] However, it seems that ancient literature was far more

[1] See ch1p.1-5.

[2] For the relation between Hesiod and Theognis, see G. Nagy 1990: 36-81, esp.52 and 68-73; for the affinity of Callimachus and Hesiod, see A.S. Hollis 1990: 9; also cf. H. Reinsch-Werner 1976. For the treatment of the myth in Latin poets, see ch1p.36ff.

[3] See ch1p.6f.; cf. J.J. Clauss 1990: 129-40.

[4] Some general works are cited here: C. Galavotti 1928: 356-66; R. Pfeiffer 1968: 128, 183-4, 204-7; F. Cairns 1972; P. Hernadi 1972; C. Calame 1974: 113-28; T. Todorov 1976-7: 159-70; ibid. 1977: 53-66; G. Nagy 1994-5: 11-25; F. Hermann 1997. These scholars continued a tradition in literary criticism already established in antiquity. For the

complicated than this and that skilled poets would aim precisely at shifting the generic boundaries by recycling literary motifs.[5]

A popular poetic tradition whose influence can be traced even in Plato[6] rendered erotic iconography in bucolic terms. Pastoral elements have been detected in archaic lyric,[7] in tragedy,[8] comedy,[9]

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ancient views on genres, see J.F. D'Alton 1931; J.W.H. Atkins 1934; D.A. Russell and M. Winterbottom 1972. See K. Gutzwiller 1991: 3-4 where she argued that a new genre is a concept contradictory by nature, because the elements /motifs that form the generic conventions must have pre-existed separately and therefore the term 'invention' proves elusive.

[5] D.M. Hooley 1990-1: 77-92; cf. C.M. Dawson 1950: 130. For the literary practice of genre-crossing especially in Alexandrian poetry, see G. Zanker 1998: 225-236 (cf. p225nn1-2 where the author defends his 1987 work on 'the crossing of the form of grand genres with the subject-matter of low genres' and p.226n3 for a criticism of A. Cameron's stance (1995) on the notion of Hellenistic genre crossing); A. Cameron 1995: 146 argues that in all probability literary genres never existed in rigid isolation. Also see D. Konstan 1998: 133-4: 'In the Hellenistic age, poets became pre-eminently self-conscious of their status as imitators. They deliberately sought out as models forms of poetry that had come to seem archaic, such as didactic poetry, epic, hymns, and epigram, and purported to revive them in ways that combined archaizing diction with recondite learning. In so doing, they assigned a privileged position as precursors to the sources they chose to adapt, constructing them as originals in relation to their own belated copies of genre pieces;' also cf. M.A. Harder 1998: 95-113 and R. Thomas 1998: 205-223.

[6] Pl.Phdr.241DI: "ὡς λύκοι ἄρν' ἀγαπῶσ', ὦ παῖδα φιλοῦσιν ἐρασταί;" C. Murley 1940: 281-95. For Plato's fascination with herdsmen as the perpetuators of civilisation in times of stress, see T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 42. Aristotle was believed to regard the pastoral as a subspecies of epic, although the genre did not exist until two generations after his death; D.M. Halperin 1983: 201-2; 208-9.

[7] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 38: 'Some of the earliest choral poets including Alcman, Stesichorus and Pindar evidence similar formal and thematic antecedents;' ibid.: 63: 'Unlike the subjective, confessional lyricism of the archaic poets, the mood of the Theocritean pastoral is public; the authorial reticence is comparable to what we find in drama and epic and more appropriately perhaps in philosophy. In Theocritus the source of pleasure is not within the man, as the archaic lyric had done, but in external stimuli and in the relations between men and all animate creatures;' cf. G. Lawall 1967: 82-3. Also, see D. Pinte 1966: 464-66 for pastoral elements in the poetry of Bacchylides and C. Calame 1974: 124-5 for the opposite view.

and mime.[10] However, the first Greek poet who systematically depicted love in pastoral terms throughout his work seems to have been Theocritus.[11] He has often been considered as the inventor of bucolic poetry,[12] although ancient authorities[13] expressly distinguished him not as the founder of the genre but as the first in

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[8] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 37 discussed the possibility that the figure of the idle shepherd had its parallels in tragedy, especially in Euripides' Antiope, although the author is rather sceptical. Ibid.: 38 for the relation of Theocritus' *Idylls* with *scholia*. See T.C.W. Stinton 1965: ch1; B. Snell 1964: 73.

[9] U. Wilamowitz 1927: 190; A. Lesky 1966: 722. It has been argued that *Idyll* 5 of Theocritus as well as *Eclogue* 5 of Vergil is utterly Aristophanic. T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 36 mentioned that Theon, the principal ancient editor of Theocritus was believed to have argued for a kinship between pastoral and comedy. J. Lavinska 1963: 286-97 supported that both comedy and pastoral originate at the end of the 6th century BC.

[10] For the discussion about mime in Theocritus, see G. Lawall 1967: 2, 16, 11, 42-53, 57, 66; F. Griffiths 1979: 128; D.M. Halperin 1983: 206-9; on the mimes of Herondas, see I. Cunningham 1971; G. Mastromarco 1984.

[11] The Suda dates Theocritus at about 300-260 BC. Also, see G. Lawall 1967: 120-3. The relative chronology of Callimachus and Theocritus has been much discussed and the matter is further complicated by the question of the dating of Callimachus' *Hymn* 1; see G. Weber 1993: 213n2, M.P. Funaioli 1993: 206-15. G.O. Hutchinson 1988: 198 has put a literary argument for the priority of Callimachus.

[12] C. Murley 1940: 283; R. Coleman 1969: 100 and 1977: 1; C. Segal 1963: 53n36 and 1975: 126-7; J. Barrell and J. Bull 1974: 4; R. Poggioli 1975: 3. D.M. Halperin 1983: 2 compared Theocritus with Homer on the ground that they were both regarded as the classic author of a genre, pastoral and epic respectively.

[13] Critics such as Athenaeus (Deipn.14.619a-d) and Hesychius could recognise certain features of bucolic poetry as belonging to it; D.M. Halperin 1983: 78nn7 and 8 collected all ancient sources which discuss the poetic supremacy of Theocritus in the bucolic (but not his invention of it). See L.E. Rossi 1971a: 82-3 on the ancient definition of "βουκολιασμός;" cf. "βουκολιάσδεσθαι" in Theocritus (Idd.5 and 7); K.J. Dover 1971: lv thought that the term was invented by Theocritus; T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 36 admitted the scholars' ignorance on the invention of the term. R. Poggioli, quoted in the previous note, and C. Segal 1975: 115-39 also discuss the development of the genre in connection with Theocritus.

a class.[14] The same sources derived the bucolic from religious rites in honour of Artemis Caryatis or Artemis Phacelitis,[15] although the goddess plays no significant role in the surviving bucolic poems.

In employing the term 'bucolic,' already the first difficulties arise because the term has never been quite explained and it seems to include so much.[16] The preoccupation of poets and scholars with the definition of the bucolic from later antiquity throughout

[14] J. Van Sickle 1975: 67-8 and 1976: 18; schol.Prol.A: 11-14; Serv.Aen.2, 14; cf. J.Tzetz.Anec.Est.3, 6-7; and K.J. Dover 1971: lx-lxi. Aelian (VH10.18) offered a unique testimony according to which Stesichorus had inherited bucolic poetry from its first inventor, the mythical cowherd Daphnis; cf. Tim.FGrH566F83. K.J. Dover ibid.: lxv accepted Aelian's testimony unlike A.S.F. Gow 1952: 2.1 and D.M. Halperin 1983: 80 (cf. also nn45 and 48). Also, see M. Fantuzzi 1998: 61-79 (esp.62-3): 'This Daphnis was thus already characterised in pre-Thecoritean legendary and literary tradition as a 'heroic' figure, both as a result of the divine company attributed to him (Artemis), and in view of his remoteness in time (he lived, or was considered to have lived, before Stesichorus, and then he possessed the fabulous halo of the "πρῶτοι εὑρεταί")' (see ch1n7). Fantuzzi argues that the author of Id.8 had already distinguished between 'a mythical Daphnis and a 'living' bucolic shepherd Daphnis' (p.61) and therefore the hero's apotheosis in Vergil should be understood to refer to the legendary aspect of Daphnis. In this chapter, the association of Daphnis with eastern legendary figures who were both addressed as deities and as heroes offers a different interpretation of the dual tradition of Daphnis.

[15] *Scholia in Theocritum Vetera* (Wendel 1914): 2-20. Three versions were mentioned: a) during the Persian wars, countrymen sang in honour of Artemis Caryatis in Sparta since young women were hidden away for fear of the enemy; b) In Sicilian Tyndaris the locals honoured Artemis with pastoral songs. Orestes adopted the custom after visiting the place; c) In a Syracusan festival for Artemis, who brought peace to the city, farmers came and sang. Modern scholars also argued for theories of ritual origin: R. Reitzestein 1893: ch4; R.Y. Hathorn 1961: 228-38; G. Wojaczek 1963: 135-150; T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 34-5; R. Merkelbach 1988: 37-143.

[16] D.M. Halperin 1983: 7: 'so long as the character of the pre-Vergilian tradition remains to be identified, no intellectual advantage can be gained by applying to the poetry of Theocritus the generic title or the concept of pastoral.' C.W. Hieatt 1972: 24: 'neither the poems of Theocritus nor of Vergil answer to the Orthodox notions of pastoral.' Also, see T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 6 and 17 regarding the moral dimension of the bucolic.

the Middles Ages and the Renaissance focused mainly on Vergil[17] rather than Theocritus. Vergil was praised as the poet who understood in depth the limitations of the genre and thus, managed to give it unity of form and thematic clarity without missing the idyllic freshness in style.[18] An example of the confusion that prevails in the study of the bucolic remains Halperin's suggestion that Theocritus' work should be distinguished from pastoral[19] -a term usually attributed to the *Eclogues* of Vergil.[20] However, it might be argued that the proposed distinction of pastoral from bucolic was actually deceptive,[21] since a clear definition of at least one of

[17] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 4 and 30 mentioned Theocritus as a prominent pastoral poet. He did certain things superbly well, which came to be generally accepted as pointing out the orientation of the pastoral lyric (yet not its final definition or ultimate excellence, which was not achieved until the *Eclogues* of Vergil).

[18] For long time, the *Idylls* have been received as early specimens of pastoral poetry. T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 8-9; B. Effe 1978: 48; R. Stark 1963: 380-3; D.M. Halperin 1983: ch7.

[19] D.M. Halperin 1983: 10-16, esp.15, thought that ancient literary critics insisted on purely formal criteria (not thematic) in classifying a genre. Hence, pastoral qualities were not regarded as a measure for distinguishing a poem from other works composed in a similar meter. Consequently, 'no body of pastoral literature was recognised as such in antiquity.' Halperin believed that the bucolic was regarded in the Hellenistic era as a sub-genre of *epos*. For the employment of epic language in Thecoritus' poetry as an indication of affinity with (as well as rejection of) Homer, see N.E. Andrews 1996: 21-53.

[20] D.M. Halperin 1983: 11-12, discussed the testimonies of Terentian.Maur.2123-6 (end of the 2nd century AD) and of Quintilian (10.1.55) in order to point out that they referred to the poetry of Theocritus in a descriptive way simply because his work was not included in pastoral poetry. However, it might be argued that the translation in both cases was rather pushed to suit the author's purposes. The epigram of Artemidorus of Tarsus (Anth.Pal.9.205) in which the editor addressed the bucolic Muses, which were previously scattered, could also indicate a belated intention for literary design; also J. Van Sickle 1976: 25 and K. Gutzwiller 1996: 119-148.

[21] It is difficult to specify when the term pastoral was employed; cf. n16 for the terminological confusion suspected in ancient scholars. Vergil characterised his bucolic poetry as "carmina pastorum" at the end of the *Georgics*; cf. n13 for the term bucolic. Also see K. Gutzwiller 1996: 122-3 who draws attention to the traditional correspondence between the

the terms has not yet been fully worked out.[22] Halperin also argued that all the component parts of pastoral could be found before Theocritus[23] and therefore, he cannot be considered as the inventor of pastoral poetry.[24] Although this observation put unnecessary emphasis on the invention of bucolic rather than on its understanding,[25] it nevertheless stressed the inclination of poets before Theocritus to include bucolic scenes in their work.[26]

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figures of poets and shepherds and the employment of the motif by Callimachus and other poets who wished 'to define their position within various poetic traditions' (i.e. aetiological elegy).

[22] In addition, it seems that ancient commentators did not limit the application of the term 'bucolic' to poems about herdsmen. See B.A. Van Groningen 1958: 293-317; also D.M. Halperin 1983: 21: 'the silence of Proclus, Tzetzes and Hugh of St. Victor on the subject of classifying bucolic poetry has been taken to signify their fidelity to the traditional inclusion of bucolic in the more general category of *epos*;' T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 5.

[23] D.M. Halperin 1983 indicated the Odyssey as the obvious forerunner of bucolic poetry: 164-7; 171-6; 239-34. The author faithful to the distinction of bucolic from pastoral poetry referred to the relation of the Odyssey to pastoral in 29, 32, 48 and 57. Bucolic is generally considered as harsher and more erotic in its images, while pastoral, normally situated in ideal Arcadia alludes to more gentle and romantic forms of love. In this book, the two terms are used indiscriminately.

[24] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 4-5 quoted E. Schwartz 1903-10: 154 and G. Rohde 1963 who refused to accept that pastoral was an independent genre. During the 70s the 'primitivistic' theories argued that pastoral was not invented at a particular time, but always existed in the peasants and herdsmen of each generation. Theocritus was regarded as a collector and imitator of folk material; see R. Mandra 1950: 5-28; F. Kermode (ed.) 1952: 18 and D. Petropoulos 1959: 5-93. T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 41-2 supported that Theocritus probably drew on his literary predecessors especially of the 4th century BC, as he would find folk traditions less interesting.

[25] J. Van Sickle 1975: 49 and 1976: 18: 'literary genres are human inventions, which have concrete histories rather than an ideal absolute existence. They develop in practice and only gradually are theorised; their definitions change and evolve according to the interests, tastes and needs of the successive poets, audiences and critics.'

[26] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 32 cited J. Sannazaro's view who in the 10th book of his *Arcadia* traced the early history of pastoral as a series of personal achievements- from Pan to Theocritus to Vergil. J.C. Scaliger traced the pastoral back via Isidore, Donatus, Suetonius, and Varro to the

Furthermore, Hellenistic scholars had developed a genuine taste for mingling literary genres,[27] and they had put far more effort into studying the already established ones than into trying to invent new kinds of literature.[28]

This last remark might raise the question about the Hellenistic background of Theocritus, who in the *Canon* of ancient poetry stood out as an obscure and rather controversial poetic figure.[29] His work was rather pushed to the fringe of Hellenistic literary production, partly because of our scanty remains of Hellenistic literature and partly because of the nature of his poetry.[30] In an anonymous Life he was mentioned as a pupil of Philetas,[31] who

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Epicureans, Dichaearchus, and Thucydides. A similar account has survived in Lucretius (bk5): early man along with other basic parameters of culture invented music and pastoral song.

[27] R. Coleman 1975: 140 believed that the reference to the anonymous poet of the Lament for Bion should be understood as a firm evidence for the acknowledgement of the genre during antiquity. For the opposite view, see E.R. Curtius [5]1965.

[28] The Hellenistic Age did not produce new literary genres. It rather witnessed the adaptation (or distortion) of the archaic and classical forms. Thus, pastoral poetry could also be an earlier creation; T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 31. However, see D.M. Halperin 1983: 200-1 quoting Plato Leg.700d, where the latter accused his contemporaries of mingling indiscriminately the poetic genres; cf. Arist.Poet.1447b20-3, 1460a. Also, see C. Segal 1981: 7 where he characterised Hellenistic poets as 'bold collagists of heterogeneous fragments.' See D. Konstan 1998: 133-4.

[29] For the Hellenistic poetics of Theocritus, see S. Goldhill 1991: 223-83; A.E. Horstman 1976: 85-110; R. Barthes 1970: 183; C. Segal 1981: 224-9 (see his pp.135-48 for the pastoral conventions in Theocritus' poetry).

[30] D.M. Halperin 1983: 195: 'The most productive period of Theocritus' artistic career, then, appears to have coincided with the first, and perhaps the greatest, burst of creative energy in Alexandrian scholarship, and it would be astonishing if a poet who demonstrates in so many ways his vigorous and self-conscious participation in the contemporary literary movement were unaffected by the critical theories both directing and emerging from the work of his colleagues.'

[31] See Theoc.Id.7.39-41 where he speaks of Asclepiades as a master. For Philetas and Theocritus, see A.H. Couat 1931: 69; R. Pfeiffer 1968: 88-92; G. Lawall 1967: 74-5; also see ch1p.54-5. However, T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 40-41 believed that Philetas was not, at least in Theocritus' view, a bucolic poet; cf. the following note.

according to our evidence played an important role in the development of the Alexandrian poetic style.[32] Philetas wrote elegies on erotic mythology but it has always been a matter of dispute whether his style bore any resemblance to Theocritus' pastoral images.[33] Nevertheless, even if our conclusions should be confined to the few remaining lines of Philetas[34] and to the testimony of his pupil Hermesianax,[35] we are likely to admit that Philetas did not reject the pastoral setting.[36] Hermesianax also

[32] Philetas enjoyed admiration by Latin elegiac poets who imitated him. Propertius (3.1) put him at the same rank as Callimachus who employed the image of 'pure water' as a symbol of poetic inspiration. It has been assumed that Philetas had used similar expressive patterns. G. Lawall 1967: 103-4 argued about Theocritus' familiarity with Philetas, who also included in his works pastoral motifs, such as groves and springs sacred to Nymphs and caves. For Philetas' interest in Homeric epic and his influence on the formation of the Alexandrian poetics, see K. Spanoudakis 2002: 50ff.

[33] See T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 40-1 argued that in spite of a preoccupation with nature and an expressed longing for release from suffering, there is nothing bucolic about the fragments we have. The reason Philetas has been ranked with the pastoralists is that the teacher of Daphnis, in Longus' pastoral romance of much later date, bears the name Philetas. His argument that, if Longus wished to refer to this Philetas, he would be singing about Bittis not Amaryllis sounds rather too programmatic for Theocritus' intentions.

[34] The claim that he was one of the forerunners of the bucolic is widely accepted. He is among the rare company of writers mentioned by name in Theocritus and his extant remains show some interesting parallels with the *Idylls*: e.g. the *Alder tree and the poet*. Particularly a couplet about a fawn and the prick of a thorn and a loss of heart may have influenced Theocritus' Id.10.3-4; F. Cairns 1979: 25; E.L. Bowie 1985: 67-91 was rather sceptical on Philetas' actual contribution to the pastoral genre; the author disagreed with K.J. Dover 1971: 148-50 who argued that Theocritus acknowledged his debt to Philetas in *Idyll* 11 in which Lycidas assumed the character of the great scholar (esp.68 and 76).

[35] In a *scholium* of the Theriaca of Nicander, Hermesianax was mentioned as "φίλος καὶ γνώριμος" of Philetas. Hermesianax gave evidence about Philetas' statue at Cos. The idea that Philetas wrote pastoral poetry was also largely based on the later novel of Longus in which a character named Philetas posed as the *erotodidaskalos* in *Daphnis and Chloe*; also, see E.L. Bowie 1985: 67-91.

[36] Philetas composed in hexameters [Herm.fr.5 (Powell);

wrote about the loves of shepherds,[37] and the main characters of bucolic poetry recur in it: Polyphemus, Daphnis, and Menalcas.[38] Moreover, Theocritus' literary affinity with his predecessors in lyric and epic poetry, discussed in several recent papers, has been established beyond doubt. In more recent times, it has been accepted that Theocritus should no longer be thought as an exceptional case of a poet who followed a solitary literary course.

This view, which represents a long-standing attitude towards Theocritus' work, rested mostly on the character of his unsophisticated heroes:[39] his poetry mainly dealt with the amatory

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Parth.Er.Path.2] and in elegiacs (Demeter), and he often treated erotic themes. It is not clear in which of his works he wrote love-poetry for Bittis (Herm.7.77-8; Ov.Tr.1.6.2) or treated the subject of the *Bugonia* (fr.22 (Powell); Theoc.Id.7.78-89; Verg.G.4.281ff.). Theocritus composed in dactylic hexameter and only once used elegiacs (Id.8.33-60).

[37] Hermesianax wrote books of elegies about Leontium; Ath.Deipn.13.70.597a: "ἀπὸ γαρ ταύτης ἐρωμένης αὐτῷ γενομένης, ἔγραψεν ἐλεγειακὰ τρία βιβλία." T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 39-40: One fragment seems to be about Polyphemus looking at Galatea from afar (see also his n37). We also know from the scholiast on Theocritus' *Idyll* 9 (= Herm.fr.3 Powell) that Hermesianax wrote about the love of Menalcas for Euippe. Menalcas disappointed in love threw himself headlong from a rock. Sositheus, a younger contemporary of Theocritus and a member of the Alexandrian Pleiad, also wrote about Menalcas and Daphnis; see A.S.F. Gow 1952: 1 and M. Fantuzzi 1998: 66 [Hermesianax also seems to have written about Daphnis' affair with Menalcas: schol.Theoc.Id.8.55 = Herm.fr.2 (Powell)].

[38] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 38; some poets and poetesses were regarded as instrumental in the creation of the pastoral. According to Clearchus of Soloi, who was a contemporary of Theocritus, the lyric poetess Eriphanis used to pursue Menalcas on the hillsides, with a desperate passion, which made the beasts weep for her. The framework of this story was quite common: cf. the tale of Sappho and Phaon. She finally composed a song, the so-called *nomion*, with the refrain: 'Large are the oaks, Menalcas;' cf. Ath.Deipn.14.619c.

[39] The ancient critics do not often comment on Theocritus' style, but where they do, they tend to classify it as "humilis" or *apheles*; see Serv.Proem.ad Verg.Buc.3.1-2 (Thilo); Donatus, Iun.Philarg., and Isidor.of Sevil. in C. Wendel 1914 ad 17.26-8, 19.16-8 and 21.18. Demetrius, *On Style*, and Longinus did not consider Theocritus worthy of quotation. See D.M. Halperin 1983: 19; T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 51, A.M. Patterson 1970: 59. For the identification of pastoral with rustic, see D.J.

adventures of lusty and often coarse shepherds who were least concerned with their pastoral duty.[40] Most of Theocritus' *Idylls* were structured on a repeated formula which would usually include the meeting of two shepherds in an invariable landscape regularly visited by the Nymphs and other rustic deities such as Pan or Priapus.[41] There, trees in blossom would pleasantly offer their shade to the shepherds, who could not resist having a rest next to the gurgling springs and taking up their favourite singing contests.[42] These naïve and rustic figures[43] were often thought of as inappropriate repertoire for a poet of any ambition.[44] However, at

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Gillis 1967: 339-62. P.V. Marinelli 1971: 8 argued that even today the word 'bucolic' 'frequently takes on a comic aspect as suggesting a rural lack of sophistication, a comic clumsiness.' However, Marinelli felt that this nuance of bucolic damaged the idealistic qualities of both Greek and Latin pastoral poetry. For the opposite view, see C. Segal 1974a: 128-36.

[40] Theocritus is usually praised, 'for seasoning his idealisation of rustic life with humour and realism, but such praise simply confirms the tendency to regard the pastoral as whimsical and unreal;' see P. Alpers 1972: 356; cf. C. Segal 1975: 115.

[41] D.M. Halperin 1983: 249 has outlined the recurring motifs of bucolic as themes taken from the lives of ordinary people usually regarding erotic or other minor episodes from myth and epic poetry. Most of the *Idylls* are short, sophisticated and playful or comic in tone. Also, see P. Alpers 1990: 20. S.F. Walker 1980: 34 has identified seven *Idylls* as pastoral (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11) and excluded the others because the figure of the herdsman does not appear in them (cf. C. Segal 1981: 176). Also, see R. Hunter 1998: 115-132.

[42] S. Hatzikosta 1982: 35-8: 'localities with springs shaded by trees' constitute a *topos*. T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 22 referred to a common view regarding the pastoral vision as soundly non-tragic. See A. Parry 1957: 11-12 for the opposite view. Paus.8.5.7 and Polybius 4.20 (dated a hundred years after Theocritus) offered evidence for the association of pastoral with Arcadia and in particular for an Arcadian origination of singing contests. However, singing contests among herdsmen were not attested in Greek scholarship before Diodorus.

[43] C. Segal 1974a: 133, commenting on Her.2.17 in relation with the meaning of the term bucolic wrote: 'for us bucolic has the romantic associations conferred upon it by centuries of literary tradition. Bucolic is itself a literary word in our vocabulary. But for Theocritus, who stands at the beginning of that tradition, the word evokes still the toil of the countryman and the smell of his beasts.'

[44] D.M. Halperin 1983: 243: he acknowledged that Theocritus used the

the root of every argument about Theocritus' sharing of Alexandrian poetic concerns, which Callimachus embodied in his *Aetia*, lies Hesiod's evident influence on his work.[45] Hesiod, who claimed to have been endowed with the gift of poetry while serving as a shepherd on the slopes of Helicon, was regarded as the great master of the Alexandrian poets, and his prestige over them has been well documented in their poetry.[46] In addition, Hellenistic poets would merely address their work to well-educated audiences, which could appreciate the allusive use of epic language, and who were also familiar with rare versions of myths. Hence, the obscure expressions and puzzling hints, which Theocritus has often preferred for rendering his images, should be rather understood as an affirmation of his reference to Hellenistic taste.

DAPHNIS AND HIS TRADITION IN THEOCRITUS

Since the theoretical approaches of modern critics have tended to betray the bucolic as one-dimensional, it seems that the key to the understanding of bucolic poetry might be hidden in the adventures of certain legendary figures which claim close affinity with bucolic life.[47] Pastoral song accompanied by the pipe can be traced in

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image of the herdsman as a 'vehicle of poetic self-expression' and a 'figure, which could serve as the type of the Alexandrian poet.' Also P. Alpers 1990: 22 and T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 63 mainly referring to *Idyll* 7, but also to *Idyll* 1, discussed below (p.118f.); for the programmatic manipulation of the figure of herdsman in the pastoral poetry of Vergil, see J. Van Sickle 2000: 53.

[45] As a Hellenistic poet Theocritus would follow Hesiod; J. Van Sickle 1976: 18-44; R. Pfeiffer 1968: 117. However, see T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 20 for the distinction between Hesiodic and pastoral verse. Calpurnius Siculus, Vergil's successor in the days of Nero, wrote (4.147-151): "rustica credebam nemorales carmina vobis /concessisse deos et obesis auribus apta; /verum, quae paribus modo concinuistis avenis, /tam liquidum, tam dulce cadunt, ut non ego malim, quod Paeligna solent examina lambere nectar."

[46] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 23-4 argued that the generally physical labour (*ponos*) was not particularly mirrored in pastoral poems, unlike the Hesiodic corpus where it was pervasive; there *ponos* would mark the very nature of man. In this sense, the *Georgics* should be regarded as almost entirely Hesiodic, although book 2 contained large stretches of pastoral interest.

[47] In the 17th and 18th centuries, it was fashionable to ascribe the invention of pastoral to the earliest known shepherds. A common

Greece from an early period,[48] a clue that raised hopes among scholars who were engaged in associating bucolic poetry with folklore tradition.[49] Especially in Sicily, which was regarded as the homeland of the bucolic, pastoral tradition was focused on the tragic fate of the mythical shepherd Daphnis.[50] He was a son or favourite of Hermes[51] and was loved by the Nymph Echenais, who

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argument of those days was that the Greeks took the pastoral from the East and that Isaiah was a more significant pastoralist than Theocritus. See T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 31. See also Diomedes and a scholiast on Th.1.141 in Wendel 1914 ad 17.14-5 and 74.10 rendering the invention of the bucolic to Daphnis. For Diomus, another Sicilian cowherd who devised bucolic poetry, a version that proved to be the invention of the comic dramatist Epicharmus, see Ath.Deipn.14.619a-c and K.J. Dover 1971: lxv.

[48] Some examples of literary evidence recording pastoral activities prior to Theocritus are found in: Hom.Il.18.525-6; Soph.Ph.213-4; Eur.IA574-76 and Rhes.551-3; Mnasalces Anth.Pal.9.324. Also see J. Duchehim 1960: 19-56, quoted by D.M. Halperin 1983: 80n17. Also, see A.A. Day 1938: 19-20; E.R. Curtius 1953: 185-90; H. Parry 1964: 280-82; R. Coleman 1975: 101-3; T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 37-44; W. Berg 1974: 1-22, S.F. Walker 1980: 115-20.

[49] R. Merchelbach 1956: 97-133; D. Petropoulos 1959: 5ff., B.A. Van Groningen 1958: 293ff.; R.Y. Hathorn 1961: 228ff.; J. Horowski 1973: 187-212, A.D. Pagliaro 1975: 189-93; S.F. Walker 1980: 55-7, 125-28 tried to associate folklore tradition with bucolic poetry. However, K.J. Dover 1971: lx argued that the scholars were misguided by their tendency to find the origins of the bucolic in the herdsmen and not in the poets who praised them; cf. D.M. Halperin 1983: 83 and E. Schmidt 1969: 183-200.

[50] Diod.Sic.4.84.2-4 possibly followed Timaeus, a Sicilian historian of Theocritus' time; cf. Parth.Narr.Am.29; Stesichorus ap. Aelian VH10.18. For Timaeus from Tauromenium as the source of both Diodorus and Parthenius, see D.M. Halperin 1983: 80; cf. M. Fantuzzi 1998: 62. According to Diodorus, Daphnis used to hunt with Artemis, rendering acceptable service to the goddess, and he pleased her by playing his *syrinx* and singing bucolic songs. For Theocritus' debt to Stesichorus, see A. Rostagni 1957: 3-17. However, see A.S.F. Gow 1952: 2n1 where he argued that if Artemis had any role in the poem, she should have been present.

[51] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 33; G. Lawall 1967: 2; B. Snell 1953: 285; at the beginnings of the 19th century it was widely assumed that the tale of Daphnis must have been, long before Theocritus, the subject of the herdsmen's songs. However, after Athenaeus' revelation about the share of the poets in the making of poetic tradition (cf. nn13 and 45), scholars

required of him to be faithful to her alone.[52] However, a (mortal) princess persuaded him to lie with her after getting him drunk.[53] Hence, the Nymph blinded Daphnis, and for some time, he would console himself by making pastoral music.[54] He met his end when he fell off a rock –some say that he fell into the sea,[55] and others

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became increasingly more suspected of the role that the lyric poet Stesichorus might have had in the creation or at least the building up of the legend.

[52] For Echenais, see App.IIIn1; also PMGF280 (Davies) and Timaeus in FGrH566A83; Parth.κϕGasel.335. In Servius ad Ecl.8.68 the Nymph is called Nomia (see Ov.Met.4.277); cf. Hermes Nomios (Hom.h.Merc.491-4) but also Apollo Nomios: Daphnis' name points out to the sacred plant of Apollo (*daphne*), the god who in later tradition at least presided over all herdsmen; Serv.Proem.ad Bucolic.1.12-13 and his comments on Ec.5.35; Eur.Alc.568-85; also W. Berg 1974: 12. In later versions of the myth, she is also called Thaleia (Verg.Ec.6.1-2; cf. Hes.Th.917; A. Lesky s.v. 'Thaleia' in Paully-Wissowa 5.1.1205; Paus.9.35.3; Plut.De mus.14) or Pimplea (Sositheus, J.E. Zimmerman Lexicon 1964: 81). Finally, see Philarg.ad Ecl.5.20 who mentioned the name Lyca and cf. Longus' novel where the married woman who initiated Daphnis to sex was named Lycaenion.

[53] The association of wine and love in literature is a very old one. The notion of being intoxicated with lust is found in Anacreon PMG376. See M.S. Cyrino 1995: 110-12; also 93-4 on Alcaeus: '…Alcaeus' circle of friends… where they not only drank wine, but also shared the verses of sympotic song with its frequent focus on the capricious character of love.' The motif was also widely employed in erotic Hellenistic epigrams (and is of course a typical feature of the elegiac komos); see G.O. Hutchinson 1988; T.B.L. Webster 1964: 156-77; G. Giangrande 1967. For drunkenness in Latin love elegy, see G. Luck 1969, R.O.A.M. Lyne 1980, G. Giangrande 1974: 46-98.

[54] Blinding was a common punishment for offending a goddess; thus, Helen was said to have blinded the poet Stesichorus for castigating her licentiousness (Hdt2.112-20) and Athena blinded Teiresias because he accidentally saw her bathing (Callim.h.5). However, see M.S. Cyrino 1995: 150, 162n60, for the use of similar vocabulary for death and erotic blindness in Homeric and Greek lyric poetry. It might be accepted that a general notion interpreted love as blindness, and therefore Daphnis' punishment would only be suitable (cf. ch4n71).

[55] Daphnis was believed to have leapt from a rock into the sea like Sappho for the sake of Phaon, a mythical ferryman; Menand.Leuk.1 (Arnott); Strabo 10.2.9); cf. Anacreon, mentioned above (n53). Phot.Bibl.152-53 quoting Ptol.Chennos (1st century AD) recorded that

add that his father, Hermes, took pity on him and transformed him into a stone.[56] This stone, which was still shown at the time of Theocritus at the city of Cephalenitanum, should be probably associated with an early representation of Hermes[57] as a stone with human head and a phallus.[58] It was also reported that Hermes caused a fountain called Daphnis to gush up at Syracuse, where annual sacrifices were offered in memory of his son. From the aforementioned clues, it follows that the myth of Daphnis was probably woven around a certain cult, which lies at the background of Theocritus' poem.[59]

Daphnis as depicted in Theocritus' first *Idyll* was often compared with the character of Hippolytus in Euripidean drama.[60]

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the first to dive off the heights of Cape Leukas was Aphrodite out of love for dead Adonis. Also, see G. Nagy 1990: 223-62 identifying Phaon with Phaethon, son of Helios, who fell into the river Eridanus. For a pastoral treatment of Phaethon's death, see pseudo-Verg.Cul.140-55. For Polyphemus' comical intention to jump into the sea (Id.3.25), the marine residence of his beloved Amaryllis, see ch1p.78f. and nn237-8; cf. Id.5.14-6: "οὐ μαὐτὸν τὸν Πᾶνα τὸν ἄκτιον, οὐ τέ γε Λάκων/τὰν βαίταν ἀπέδυσ' ὁ Κυλαίθιδος, ἢ κατὰ τήνας/τὰς πέτρας ὤνθρωπε μανεὶς εἰς Κρᾶθιν ἁλοίμαν."

[56] According to the lexicon of J.E. Zimmermann 1964, Daphnis was the name of a shepherd on Mt Ida turned to stone by a jealous Nymph (Ov.Met.4.277) or a son of Paris and Oenone.

[57] On Hermes as a pile of stones, see M.P. Nilsson 1950: 256-9; W. Burkert 1979: 39-40; Paus.1.44.2, 2.31.4, 3.22.1, 7.22.4, 9.24.3, 27.1, 38.1. These "Ἑρμαι" in honour of Hermes were usually set up by the roadside in reminiscence of the first bloodshed.

[58] Xanthos in FGrH765F29; Anticlides in FGrH140F19; Eust.1809.38-43: all authors narrate how Hermes under the order of Zeus killed Argus, the dog that guided Io. Also, see Hom.h.Merc.436, where the god is said to have invented sacrifice and is called "βουφόνος." E.A. Freeman [4]1926 included a map of Sicily in his account of the island's history that featured a city by the name of *Cephaloedium*. The city was located in the north by the seaside and not far from Himera.

[59] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 39 argued about the absence of cult and dedications from the Theocritean pastoral poem. He held that Theocritus underlined cult only in the epigrams in which the position of the gods was prominent. He also supported that unlike Theocritus Vergil was clearly more pious than Theocritus; also W. Berg 1974: 12; cf. M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 166-94 (esp.179-84) describing the apotheosis of Daphnis in Vergil's *Eclogue* 5 and P. Alpers 1990: 32-3.

[60] G. Lawall 1967: 3: '…Daphnis' character and predicament are

Hippolytus was the victim of his stepmother's ardour, which he, being respectful of his father and essentially anti-sexual, rejected. Yet he did not avoid the fierceness of her vengeance. The Queen hanged herself, leaving a letter in which she accused Hippolytus of a rape attempt. Theseus, furious with his son, whose bombastic protestations he would not believe, cursed him with death.[61] Nevertheless, Hippolytus was regarded as a woman's victim in accordance with the tradition attested for Daphnis. Hippolytus was revered as a wedding deity in Troezen, where ritual lament was established in his honour,[62] and Theocritus' dying Daphnis was mourned by the whole pastoral world including the cowherd's animals.[63] Moreover, Hippolytus was associated in cult with Aphrodite and in a Euripidean light he was presented as the victim of the goddess who punished him for spurning her power.[64]

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patterned after the Euripidian *Hippolytus*, and the narrative-dramatic technique of Thyrsis' song is adapted from Aeschylus' *Prometheus*;' also see his page 20; cf. W. Berg 1974: 13: 'Theocritus cast his Daphnis in the role of a pastoral Prometheus, a champion of a lofty ideal who is willing to die for his convictions…' For Prometheus and Io as initiates in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vinctus*, see P.B. Katz 1999: 129ff (cf. ch1p.77 and n244).

[61] Euripides presented Phaedra as a strongly modest woman who nevertheless became a victim of her own excessive passion; see D.J. Schenker 1995: 1-10. On the contrary, later Seneca presented the Queen as a lustful and totally unscrupulous stepmother; see ch1nn62, 88, and 118.

[62] Eur.Hipp.1423-30; Paus.2.32.1-4: Hippolytus received hair-offerings from girls about to marry in Troezen; R. Seaford 1994: 320; there was also evidence for lamentation ritual, see K. Philippides 1995: 277. At Athens Aphrodite had a shrine "ἐφ' Ἱππολύτῳ" on the Acropolis (Eur.Hipp.31-3); cf. H.M. Jackson 1996: 150-9. For the cult of Daphnis, see Verg.Ecl.5.29-31 where Daphnis, worshipped amid the Nymphs, was presented as the founder of Bacchic rites: "Daphnis et Armenias curru subiungere tigris /instituit, Daphnis thiasos inducere Bacchi /et foliis lentas intextere mollibus hastas." W. Berg 1974: 124 (cf. ch5p.377 where his text is discussed in association with Orpheus).

[63] The fact that Daphnis enjoyed a certain cult is more evident in *Eclogue* 5 of Vergil. Mopsus, the singer, conveys the rites that Daphnis ordered to the shepherds (5.40-44): "spargite humum foliis, inducite fontibus umbras, /pastores (mandat fieri sibi talia Daphnis), /et tumultum facite, et tumulo superaddite carmen: /'Daphnis ego in silvis, hinc usque ad sidera notus, /formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse.'"

[64] Eur.Hipp.1-65. Hippolytus was totally devoted to Artemis and the

Daphnis' stichomythia with the goddess in Theocritus was subsequently interpreted in the same light:[65] Daphnis was seen as an arrogant shepherd who refused to fall in love, and whom Aphrodite punished by infusing into him a desperate passion. Daphnis, like a Hellenistic version of Hippolytus, remained unrepentant to the very end, and he finally died from unsatisfied longing.

Although this comparison -based on the aforementioned, rather superficial correspondences between the tales- has been widely accepted by modern commentators on Theocritus,[66] it might be suggested that it relied by and large on the assumption that Theocritus' version of the myth was considerably different from the traditional one.[67] On the grounds of the Hellenistic literary setting with which Theocritus wished to affiliate his work, it would

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chastity that she imposed on her devotees. See J. Gregory 1991: 78; T. Gould 1990: 179-80; D.B. Lombard 1988: 17-27; O. Taplin 1978: 71-2, H. Herter 1940: 273-92 etc.

[65] For the dialogue of Aphrodite with Daphnis, see below (p.140f.). Apollod.Naupactica 3.121 narrated how Asclepius restored Hippolytus to life. This led to his identification with Virbius at Nemi, a deity associated with Diana, the Latin equivalent of Artemis; Callim.fr.190 (Pfeiffer); Verg.Aen.7.765-82 and Servius' comments on 84 and 761; Ov.Met.15.544.

[66] The conception of Daphnis as Hippolytus was based on G.A. Gebauer's suggestion, who had published his dissertation on bucolic poetry in 1856. Scholars like R. Reitzenstein, Ph.E. Legrand and R.J. Cholmeley have followed him. Also, A.S.F. Gow 1952: 2 wrote: '…this scene is evidently no part of story…its obvious interpretation is that Daphnis is here playing a Hippolytus-like part, has vowed himself to chastity, and rather than break his vow, prefers to die;' K.J. Dover 1971 ad loc.; C. Segal 1981: 181 mentioned the denied sexuality of Daphnis in contrast with the sexually active countryside where he lived. Of course, the more general fertility background to which both stories belong is not to be denied; therefore, similarities between the two traditions should be rather anticipated. See R.M. Ogilvie 1962: 106 ns2 and 8-12 for various reconstructions of the myth of Daphnis by scholars of the 19th century (eg. F. Jacoby, F.G. Welcker and K.F. Hermann).

[67] C. Segal 1981: 25-65; R.M. Ogilvie 1962: 106-10. In *Idyll* 7.73 Theocritus described the fatal love of Daphnis for the Nymph Xenea; see G. Lawall 1967: 92-3 where he argued about the correspondence between *Idylls* 1 and 7. However, he observed that in *Idyll* 7 Theocritus does not explain why Daphnis was wasting, unlike *Idyll* 1 for which Lawall accepted that Daphnis had vowed not to submit to love.

not be illogical to presume that the allusive way in which Theocritus composed this song implies that he treated an already recognised variant of the myth quoted in detail elsewhere.[68] Therefore, he would not need to explain its components too much. It seems that the understanding of the story of Daphnis lies in the mythical and literary background that Theocritus shared with his audience and which the modern reader can only vaguely assume.[69] A reconstruction of this poetic and cultural framework as far as possible will be attempted in the rest of this chapter with the intention of reading the myth of Daphnis from Theocritus' standpoint rather than that of the modern reader.[70]

In his first *Idyll*, Theocritus recounted the death of Daphnis, which was mourned by all living creatures and even by the gods. Hermes was the first of Daphnis' divine visitors to enter the scene and address the dying hero (ll.77-8):

"ἦνθ' Ἑρμᾶς πράτιστος ἀπ' ὤρεος, εἶπε δὲ 'Δάφνι,
τίς τυ κατατρύχει; τίνος, ὠγαθέ, τόσσον ἔρασαι;'"

The presence of Hermes, a god always interested in fertility,[71] stressed Daphnis' relation with the forces of nature;[72] in addition,

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[68] R.M. Ogilvie 1962: 106: 'Thyrsis' song is, however, far from being a straightforward narrative. It is throughout allusive, seeming to assume from the listener familiarity with the story.'

[69] In the tradition of modern criticism Theocritus and generally Hellenistic poets were often believed to have addressed an audience especially educated and attuned to the various wordplays that they attempted in their compositions. Their art was characterised as *arte allusiva*, an expression invented by Pasquali in 1951; cf. G. Giangrande 1970: 46n3 who also adopted the term. G. Hutchinson 1988: 6 was more sceptical pointing that it would be rather simplistic to explain the inner sophistication of Theocritus' poetry based solely on the nature of his audience.

[70] This approach promotes the idea that the poem 'creates, shapes, disciplines, and trains its (proper) reader;' see C. Segal 1984: 201-9, esp.207 and 209n20.

[71] Hermes was often reputed to have fathered legendary figures by goddesses related to fecundity: Hermaphroditus by Aphrodite (Ov.Met.4.288) or Priapus (Hyg.Fab.160). His relations with Hecate or Brimo (schol.Lycoph.1176; Prop.2.2.11-12) as well as with Herse, daughter of Cecrops, (Ov.Met.2.708ff.) were also well known in antiquity.

[72] In Hom.h.Merc.19, tradition and cultic facts come together to suggest that he was an Arcadian. Hence, by inviting Hermes into the

given for granted the god's funeral associations, his intervention might have underlined the inescapable nature of Daphnis' imminent death.[73] Hermes seemed well informed about the nature of Daphnis' collapse, which he explained as overstated passion. Daphnis was dying because he was too much –"τόσσον"- enamoured and such an avowal leaves no doubt that the hero, unlike chaste Hippolytus, did experience amorous affection. Inasmuch as Daphnis was dying of love, he could perhaps be compared with the typical figure of the komastic lover often depicted as dying on the threshold of his beloved.[74] In addition, there might be a hint that Daphnis was either unaware of his situation like in the much later novel of Longus or could not handle his passion due to its excessive nature or his own inexperience.[75] From this point of view, Daphnis could be perhaps understood as a rather entertaining, farcical version of the

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scene Theocritus already introduces idyllic Arcadia in the background; cf. ch4p.283f. about the introduction of Arcadia in the poetry of Vergil.

[73] Hermes' presence at the deathbed of Daphnis is explained both by his position as the hero's father as well as by his chthonic associations as *psychopompos*. Hom.Od.24.1ff; Verg.Aen.4.242ff. His magical wand was the characteristic implement of a necromancer. Hermes was also regarded as the inventor of the *syrinx* and the patron of herdsmen (Hom.h.Merc.491-4). Hermes played a significant role in magic as well: C. Faraone 1999: 34, 35 and 153; see also C. Faraone 1988: 279-286. Notice also that N. Marinatos 2003: 130-153 discusses Hermes and Aphrodite as initiation gods and from this point of view Daphnis' situation could be interpreted as a kind of initiation (probably sexual).

[74] See ch1 *passim*; the motif of Love causing the death of its victim has been widely employed in Hellenistic epigrams and Roman elegies. For the similar infliction of love and death in Greek literature, see M.S. Cyrino 1995: 74: 'certain elements of the Homeric and Hesiodic conceptions of *Eros* resonate powerfully in the lyric phase of literary activity: the association of *eros* and *pothos*, in actions and characteristics, with the semantic fields covered by limb-relaxing sleep and misty death….' For equating death with marriage see e.g. C. Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 248-51, 265-7, 286-8; cf. Mel.Anth.Pal.12.74.5: "…δῶρον Ἔρως Ἀΐδη."

[75] For an analysis of these possibilities, see below (pp.125-9).; also cf. n88); G. Giangrande 1971: 101-13 argued about the use of irony in Theocritus, which seems to have been based on the manipulation of lexical nuances. See below (n107) for the characterisation of Daphnis as "δύσερως καὶ ἀμήχανος." Generally, the author talks about the manipulation of Homeric vocabulary by later poets.

passionate lover image as depicted in several Hellenistic epigrams and later Roman elegies.[76] It has been accepted that pastoral poetry, from which a note of irony and /or burlesque was never lacking, had featured several komastic scenes. Daphnis seems to have been as inexperienced in love as Meleager and Propertius[77] and therefore his comparison to some typical elegiac figures seems possible. Every living creature mourned Daphnis' death, and many of his fellow-shepherds came to his aid in vain (ll.80-1):

"ἦνθον τοὶ βοῦται, τοὶ ποιμένες, ὡπόλοι ἦνθον·
πάντες ἀνηρώτευν τί πάθοι κακόν."

If a komastic element was to be assumed in Theocritus' first *Idyll*, it might be argued that in the tradition of Daphnis the shepherds and cowherds that represent the sympathy of the natural world towards the hero seem to have replaced the friends of the lovesick elegiac "adulescens."[78] Their intervention, as seen in the

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[76] C. Segal 1981: 190 argued that '*Idyll* 1 raises bucolic love, pathetic, but light and humorous in the other *Idylls*, to its highest seriousness and its closest approximation to tragic and heroic models.' However, it might be argued that Theocritus ironic mood existed even implicitly in *Idyll* 1 as well; cf. G. Lawall 1967: 19-22 and C. Segal 1974b: 17-9.

[77] See Mel.Anth.Pal.12.23 and 101, and Prop.1.1 (ch1p.67f). Note that the notion of arrogance which lies behind the poems of Meleager and Theocritus could imply an arrogant Daphnis, who would then resemble Hippolytus (cf. Straton Anth.Pal.12.182); however, both Meleager and Propertius described the lover's fatal downfall in dramatic terms. For similarities between the poetry of Propertius and Theocritus based mainly on *Idylls* 3 and 11 which have been accepted as *komoi*, see F. Cairns 1972: 145-152 and *passim*. See ch1p.98 (also, n303) where Propertius 1.18 was compared with Theocritus Id.9. The appropriatness of comparing the poetry of Thecoritus with that of Theocritus and Vergil (for "furor" and "amor" in Vergil see ch4n70) is emphasised by works like that of R. Thomas 1998: 227-246.

[78] The analysis that follows here is not aimed at establishing yet another specific model for Propertius' first elegy: Propertius' affinity with Theocritus in general is well established and was discussed in ch1. However, the comparison of the typical elegiac lover, as featured in Propertius 1.1, with Daphnis' description in Theocritus *Idyll* 1, could encourage the komastic features that Daphnis ridicules and could suggest that humorous treatments of the figure of the elegiac lover are found already in the Hellenistic era. For shepherds in the role of suitors, see T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 84-5; D.M. Halperin 1983: 130-1. It has been

case of Propertius, was indeed vain and as ineffective as the presence of shepherds, cowherds, and goatherds on the side of Daphnis.[79] Furthermore, Daphnis seems to have shared with the elegiac lover the same divine animosity. As Propertius declared in his programmatic elegy, the intensity of his undiminished passion had provoked the adversity of the gods towards him (Prop.1.7-8):

"et mihi iam toto furor hic non deficit anno,
cum tamen adversos cogor habere deos."[80]

Propertius' Hellenistic background has already been accepted beyond doubt and his familiarity with the work of Theocritus has been maintained satisfactorily.[81] Hence, it would not be illogical to

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argued that the excuse of love as a source of inspiration could explain better the notion of herdsmen composing poetry; cf. Pl.Symp.212B3 in which *Eros* is regarded as supplying the outer force that infuses poetry to humans. Cf. R. Poggioli 1975: 16, 54.

[79] See ch1p.94: in Prop.1.1 the elegiac lover deplored the vain interference of his friends. Persistent erotic passion had already condemned the lover to his destruction. Nature was also depicted as sympathising with the elegiac lover; cf. esp.Prop.1.17. It should be marked that pathetic fallacy was notoriously associated with Orpheus. F.O. Copley 1937: 194-209 esp.202 argued that early Greek poetry had developed the expressive motifs of pathetic fallacy, albeit on a limited scale; B.F. Dick 1968: 27-44 argued that the lament for Enkidu in ancient Mesopotamian literature represented a primitive address to the nature to revive the dead; cf. J.L. Buller 1981: 35-52 and J. Van Sickle 1976: 22-4.

[80] This explanation seems also to comply with the idea of the Fates who, as Theocritus stated in his poem, had stopped favouring the barge of Daphnis' life (ll.137-41); see p.192 below for a fuller discussion. The notion that the gods would favour lovers because they were in essence madmen relies on the recording of a special kind of 'divine madness' associated with high sexual drive: see ch1p.92 and Aretaeus 3.6.11 (Hyde): "Μανίης εἶδος ἕτερον. …ἐγείρονται δὲ αὐλῷ καὶ θυμηδίῃ ἢ μέθῃ, ἢ τῶν παρεόντων προτροπῇ. ἔνθεος ἥδε ἡ μανίη;" this *mania* is very akin to *satyriasis* (Aretaeus 2.12.11-17 Hyde; cf. ch4n10). For the idea of the annual endurance of love-sickness, see the discussion on the first image on the Cup (App.IIp.465f.).

[81] Propertius employed pathetic fallacy in his elegies, especially in 1.18; it has been accepted that in the first elegy of the *Monobiblos* he used the word "fallacia" possibly in imitation of Vergil G.4.443; the word suggests deceit or illusion, and love was traditionally conceived as deception; cf. Alcaeus fr.283 and M.S. Cyrino 1995: 99-100. For the notion of love as deception in Theocritus, see App.Ip.445f.

assume correspondences between the poetry of Propertius and that of Theocritus. In addition, Theocritus has substantiated his tendency of ridiculing his rustic heroes, and Polyphemus has already been accepted as a mock-figure of the traditional elegiac lover.[82] From this point of view, Daphnis could fit to the image of the "adulescens delicatus" much more promptly.[83] This notion could possibly justify the anger of Daphnis towards Aphrodite who had obviously been unkind to him, a scene discussed in more detail below (p.140f.). The idea of divine wrath that was also employed in the first lines of Thyrsis' song could be also understood as designed in order to elucidate the circumstances of the hero's death. Theocritus asserted that while Daphnis was wasting the Nymphs were absent from his side (ll.66-9):[84]

"πᾷ ποκ' ἄρ' ἦσθ', ὅκα Δάφνις ἐτάκετο, πᾷ ποκα Νύμφαι;
ἦ κατὰ Πηνειῶ καλὰ τέμπεα, ἢ κατὰ Πίνδω;
οὐ γὰρ δὴ ποταμοῖο μέγαν ῥόον εἴχετ' Ἀνάπω,
οὐδ' Αἴτνας σκοπιάν, οὐδ'" Ακιδος ἱρὸν ὕδωρ."

This absence has been often explained as the reason why it was impossible for Daphnis to be saved.[85] A common argument

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[82] S. Goldhill 1991: 247 on *Idyll* 3: 'the poem parodies the self-representations of a lover: it parodies first by the general transposition of a city convention into a bucolic setting…; it further parodies the lover by the deliberate trivialisation and bathetic articulation of the conventions of erotic self-expression in this goatherd's performance.'

[83] Although it might be argued that Daphnis featured a rather rustic version of the urban elegiac lover, he was nevertheless depicted as inexperienced in love as Propertius in his programmatic elegy; in his later novel *Daphnis and Chloe*, Longus sustained this detail of the character of the elegiac lover. This could also explain more satisfactorily his supposed hostility to Love. On parody and genre see F. Cairns 1972: 143-7, A.E. Horstman 1976: 95-110; cf. G. Zanker 1998: 225ff. (cf. ch1n54).

[84] Although the Nymphs were not present at Daphnis' death, their primeval sister Aphrodite had a dynamic presence throughout the poem. Her association with the Nymphs is recognised by Anacreon who described their play in the mountains. Homer (Il.16.334) as well as Pausanias (10.24.4) testified that at Athens Aphrodite Urania was called the eldest of the three Fates. Hence, it seems that Aphrodite should be identified with Fate and her power (that is love) with the means of imposing her power; cf. n87.

[85] It has often been assumed that they could restore Daphnis back to life; A.S.F. Gow 1952: 18. However, this assumption cannot be correct;

has been that the Nymphs could not possibly favour an adulterer anymore.[86] However, as Greek lyric poetry could attest, the Nymphs were included among the deities that could help a lover win the affection of his /her beloved.[87] It could be argued that perhaps the absence of the Nymphs was designed to emphasise the fatal intensity of Daphnis' love in the way Propertius complained about the adversity of the gods.[88] Furthermore, as argued in the previous chapter, the elegiac lover should be understood as a madman and the mediation of the Nymphs, in cases of erotic mania was a common motif in Greek literature.[89] The notion of

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cf. T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 128. The Nymphs, spirits of the nature, although endowed with extreme longevity, are themselves mortal; Ov.Met.8.771. Therefore, they could not secure immortality to the hero or even a temporary escape from death.

[86] It seems that the aversion of the Nymphs towards adulterers was mainly based on the version that Daphnis was blinded by one of them; cf. the tale according to which the Nymphs took revenge on Aristaeus for Eurydice's death, an episode treated by Vergil in his fourth *Georgic*. See ch4p.274, 304 and ch5p.323f.

[87] Anac.357 (Campbell), addressed his poem to Love, the Nymphs and Aphrodite: "ὦναξ, ὦ δαμάλης Ἔρως /καὶ Νύμφαι κυανώπιδες /πορφυρῆ τ' Ἀφροδίτη συμπαίζουσιν, ἐπιστρέφεαι /δ' ὑψηλὰς ὀρέων κορυφάς· /γουνοῦμαί σε, σὺ δ' εὐμενὴς /ἔλθ' ἡμῖν, κεχαρισμένης /δ' εὐχωλῆς ἐπακούειν· /Κλεοβούλῳ δ' ἀγαθὸς γένεο /σύμβουλος, τὸν ἐμόν γ' ἔρωτ– /τ', ὦ Δεόνυσε, δέχεσθαι." Also, the Nymphs were believed to know all too well the sufferings of love: Prop.1.20.6-9 and 32-45 underlines the lustful character of the goddesses. The poem was modelled on Theoc.Id.13 (esp.ll.47-48); also see n93.

[88] The Nymphs were also benevolent towards the sick and they were associated with Asclepius; Paus.6.22.7. However, the notion of love as a disease was widespread during antiquity (see ch1p.88f.). Then the perception of Daphnis as enamoured and therefore, sick would not be particularly novel. Also, see Longus 1.13 where Daphnis admitted that he was sick: "νῦν ἐγὼ νοσῶ μέν, τί δὲ ἡ νόσος ἀγνοῶ." Although Longus wrote much later than Theocritus, he seemed to be well aware of the bucolic tradition; M.C. Mittelstadt 1966: 162-177 and 1970: 211-227; B. Effe 1982: 65-84.

[89] M.P. Nilsson 1998: 11-18 (esp.13). Hence, the possibility of erotic excess, perhaps to the point of *mania*, in the case of Daphnis cannot be overruled. It will be argued that the reflection of such ideas could be found on the Cup of Theocritus. In Longus' novel the Nymphs *teach* Daphnis how to become a husband, and, from this point of view, this instruction might explain why in Theocritus the Nymphs are so

erotic madness was not at all unfamiliar to Theocritus' rustic characters, as Polyphemus testified in *Idyll* eleven (ll.72):[90]

"ὦ Κύκλωψ Κύκλωψ, πᾷ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπότασαι;"

Therefore, a similar desperate question to the Nymphs -this time addressed by the singer- could dramatise Daphnis' situation.[91] In addition, Thyrsis' address to the Nymphs might be paralleled by Propertius' call upon the witches.[92] The latter asked the witches to

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desperately called to offer their skills to the moribund lover; B.D. MacQueen 1990: 76. Also, see Id.5.15-6 (cf. n55) where Theocritus specifically mentioned the idea of erotic madness in association with jumping into the sea, an image that accords with the traditional death of Daphnis.

[90] Prodicus (5th century BC) DK84fr.7 wrote: 'desire doubled is love, love doubled is madness.' Philosophers of all stripes characterised sexual passion as madness; see Pl.Symp.213d; Arist.Eth.Nic.1147a, 1152b, Eth.Eud.1229a; Pl.Grg.DK82fr.11.19; Chrysipp.Stoic ap.D.L.7.113; Epic. ap.D.L.10.118. Pindar (early 5th century BC) wrote that Ixion conceived in his maddened mind the idea of sleeping with Hera (Pind.Pyth.2.26). In Aristotle (HA572a, 577a) the despondent Thystelis decries the evil madness of *eros* that turns the new bride into an adulteress and causes the virgin to lose her virginity. Hence, when Anacreon described sex-madness he did not use simply a metaphor, he made a diagnosis (Anac.fr.359.3: "ἐπιμαίνομαι," ll.428: "μαίνομαι," ll.398: "μανίαι"). [Also Theoc.Id.2.48-51 and 2.136, fr.446C. 'Woman-crazy' Hom.Il.3.39; Archil.103.5; Sapph.1.18.3 ("μαινόλα θύμωι"): the poet prays for the relief of her maddened heart. Also, see Aesch.Supp.109-11; Soph.Tr.988-99, 1142; Hdt.1.57-60].

[91] S. Goldhill 1991: 252: 'there is no sign that …that this question…is anything but a rhetorical expression of misery.' A.S.F. Gow 1952: 211 (ad 13) argued that the song of Polyphemus was a sign and symptom of desire. Similarly, a song for Daphnis could indicate the hero's desire. Perhaps then the questions of his divine visitors could be understood in an ironic mood. Cf. Theoc.Id.2.19 where Simaetha asked her maid: "δείλεα, πᾷ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπότασαι;" and compare it with Thyrsis' question to the Nymphs: "πᾷ ποκ' ἄρ' ἦσθ', ὅκα Δάφνις ἐτάκετο;"

[92] The relation of pastoral with elegy has been argued several times; H.E. Toliver 1971: vii; D.M. Halperin 1983: 17, 47 professed that Moschus attributed pastoral colour to the conventions of funeral elegy. For the interrelation between pastoral, elegy and novel, see ibid.: 57. Also see N.P. Gross 1985: 124-78 regarding the amatory dilemmas throughout Greco-Roman literature. Note that Propertius addressed the Thessalian witches while Theocritus implied that the Nymphs were detained in

relieve him from his erotic torment and the Nymphs were obviously expected to do the same had they come to Daphnis' aid; they could have 'saved' him in the sense that they could have consoled him.[93] Theocritus' treatments of *Idylls* two and eleven seem to reveal the poet's understanding of the magical character of love,[94] a clue also underlined by the employment of apples and roses, symbols of the magical effect of love.[95] The Hellenistic and later Latin image of a lover consumed by his passion could elucidate some of the aspects of Daphnis' tradition;[96] although, the

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Thessalian vales, Peneius, or Pindus (Id.1.67-9).

[93] This clue agrees with the interpretation of the role of the Nymphs as 'saviours.' The Nymphs were not expected to save Daphnis' life literally, but they could relieve his passion as the lyric fragments indicated. In addition, it would be reasonable to assume that in the countryside natural spirits like the Nymphs would replace the urban malevolent witches (depicted by Theocritus in *Idyll* 2). In addition, the Nymphs might be associated with witchcraft, since the abilities of the herb *nymphaea*, sought specifically for cases of excessive lust, was well known among the Greeks and the Romans: see Diosc.Mat.Mag.3.132 and Pliny HN25.75 also discussed by C. Faraone 1999: 18n78. Numphaea was used along other herbs in magical recipes; also see A. Sherrat 1991: 51.

[94] In addition, Polyphemus referred to a *pharmakon* for love (Id.11.1 and 17) that in an erotic context acquires the meaning of poison; cf. Eur.Hipp.516; Soph.Tr.685; Hom.Od.1.262. See C. Faraone 1999: 112-119 for the use of *pharmakon* as magical potion designed to induce or cure love (cf. ch1n290). For the similarities between *Idylls* 1 and 2 in theme and technique, see G. Lawall 1967: 14-33, C. Segal 1975: 123, J. Van Sickle 1976: 24-5 and D.M. Halperin 1983: 126-7. However, in *Idyll* 11 bucolic singing poses as the only efficient cure for love and in this sense songs (or bucolic songs in particular) could be paralleled with healing incantations - "ἐπαοιδαί;" cf. n91 above and M.W. Dickie 2001: 23-5, 165, and 255. Also, see ch4n9 and A. Brooke 1971: 73ff.

[95] For a detailed discussion of the motif in Theoc.Id.3, see ch1p.78. Also cf. Plin.HN28.4.19 wrote for the common fear in antiquity of being spell bound: 'and so Theocritus among the Greeks, Catullus and quite recently Vergil among ourselves, have represented love charms in their poetry.'

[96] Mel.Anth.Pal.5.140 (the Muses endowed Zenophila) and 5.195, 196 (the Graces gifted their charms to Zenophila); in Anth.Pal.5.215 the poet addressed his Muse as "ἐμὴν ἱκέτην;" cf. Mel.Anth.Pal.12.122 where the Graces have embraced Aristagoren with their favour; also, ibid.: 12.128 where Daphnis posed as the favourite of the Mountain Nymphs.

typical elegiac lover was often refused the favours of his beloved,[97] he was nevertheless a helpless victim of her magic. Priapus, who was shown to arrive second in the scene, clearly stated that the maiden with whom Daphnis was in love was looking for him everywhere (ll.84-5). Therefore, the fact that Daphnis did not apparently lack response to his love seems to confirm the suspicion that the reason of his death is probably to be found in the excessive nature of his love.

As mentioned, among the deities who visited the dying hero, the poet presented Priapus, son of Dionysus by a local Nymph or Aphrodite herself.[98] The cult of Priapus was very popular in Alexandria, and his statue used to decorate gardens as a sort of divine protector as well as a scarecrow.[99] However, Priapus had an important role later in the song of Thyrsis, and Theocritus seems to have derived the god's character from earlier in his mythical background, before he became a grotesque and rather amusing old goblin.[100] Priapus was regarded as the embodiment of lust and his cult originated in the rude wooden phallic images, which were often used in the Dionysian orgies.[101] Certain versions dated from

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[97] However, cf. *Idyll* 11 where Polyphemus was indeed refused the favours of Galatea. For a discussion on Polyphemus' profile as a lover, see S. Goldhill 1991: 255-7 and F. Cairns 1972. For more on the magic aspect of love as experienced by Daphnis and Near Eastern consorts, see below p.194f. (cf. ch1pp.66, 83ff and ch3n114).

[98] See Strabo 13.1.12; Paus.9.31.2; schol.Ap.Rhod.1.932; Theocritus' reference to Priapus could very well indicate a kind of representation of the god such as a statuette. See A.S.F. Gow 1952: 5 (ad ll.20-22): "δεῦρ' ὑπὸ τὰν πτελέαν ἐσδώμεθα τῶ τε Πριήπω /καὶ τᾶν κρανίδων κατεναντίον, ἅπερ ὁ θῶκος /τῆνος ὁ ποιμενικός καὶ ταὶ δρύες…" This clue could testify against Rosenmeyer who believed that Theocritus does not relate his poetry with cult in his *Idylls*, unlike Vergil. Cf. S. Goldhill 1991: 245 for the ritual interpretation of the final lines of Thyrsis' song (ll.143-5).

[99] Cf. Tib.1.3 poem to Priapus where the poet most probably had a dialogue with the god's statue. Also, see C. Campbell 1973: 147-157.

[100] His original cult was important and his mythology associated him with great deities. Priapus, a god of fertility, was originally worshipped at Lampsacus of the Hellespont and in that neighbourhood. His cult spread in Greece after Alexander, although M.P. Nilsson (GGR i2.594 and pl.33.I) tried to find evidence for him on a late 5th century BC Boeotian vase. See Strabo 13.1.12; Paus.9.31.2.

[101] From this point of view, he seems rather close to Daphnis who was

the Hellenistic period onwards testified that his father was Adonis, rather than Dionysus.[102] The lustful presence of Priapus[103] on the deathbed of Daphnis seems to confirm the latter's association with fertility deities such as Adonis or Dionysus.[104]

Priapus addressed Daphnis but he did not exactly seek to know the reason of the latter's torment. His speech expressed

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also worshipped as a phallic stone (see n56 above). W. Berg 1974: 11, 118 and 125. The poet praised for composing the song of Daphnis was characteristically called Thyrsis, which might be a short form for *thyrsophoros*: T.B.L. Webster 1964: 82-5. In the Hellenistic period, Dionysus seems to have been elevated to a god of poetry: Callim.Epigr.10 (Mair), Iamb.fr.193.32f. (Trypanis). Latin poets of course continued this notion: Lucr.DRN.1.922ff.; Prop.2.30b.38. Propertius especially imagines the "doctus poeta" as holding a Dionysian wand instead of the Hesiodic sceptre (Th.22-35), a clue that enhances the possibility of Daphnis as an earlier type of the elegiac lover. For Theocritus' allusion to this scene in Id.7.43-4, see G. Serrao 1971: 44-5 and C. Segal 1981: 112f.

[102] Ap.Rhod.4.914-19; Diod.Sic.4.83; schol.Theoc.Id.25.100; Tzetzes on Lycoph.831. Priapus' association with Adonis relied mainly on his tradition as a gardener, which alluded to the miniature gardens normally thrown in water sources during the ritual mourning for Adonis' death. See Theoc.Id.15. The relation of Adonis with Daphnis will be commented later on (p.134f).

[103] Priapus and Daphnis had similar genealogies since both Hermes and Dionysus were vegetation gods whose festivals focused on phallic themes. Hence, a possible satyric element in *Idyll* 1 might be suspected; W. Berg 1974: 10. All vegetation gods were also related to the Underworld. Priapus was associated with human fertility, fishermen in Greek texts and with tombs in Roman texts (RE and Kl. Pauly).

[104] W. Burkert 1979: 111-22 compared Adonis with Hippolytus as hunters killed in their prime. Panyasis ap. Apollod.Bibl.3.14.4: Aphrodite concealed the infant Adonis in a box that she entrusted to Persephone. When the latter refused to restore him, Zeus intervened judging that Adonis should spent part of the year on earth with Aphrodite and part of it in the Underworld with Persephone. Note that in *Idyll* 7.78-82 Comatas, possibly a by-form of Daphnis (P. Alpers 1990: 25), had a similar experience: "ἆσει δ' ὥς ποκ' ἔδεκτο τὸν αἰπόλον εὑρέα λάρναξ /ζωὸν ἐόντα κακαῖσιν ἀτασθαλίαισιν ἄνακτος, /ὥς τέ νιν αἱ σιμαὶ λειμωνόθε φέρβον ἰοῖσαι /κέδρον ἐς ἀδεῖαν μαλακοῖς ἀνθεσσι μέλισσαι, /οὔνεκά οἱ γλυκὺ Μοῖσα κατὰ στόμαχος χέε νέκταρ." See S. Goldhill 1991: 236. The story, a clear parallel of the adventure of Danae and Perseus, confirms the association of fertility deities with the Underworld (Apollod.Bibl.2.4.1-5; Hes.[Sc.]216-30) and places Daphnis' story among these.

aporia about Daphnis deathly distress, especially since, as noted, his love was responsive.[105] Priapus then in a mood of admonition reviewed the unfortunate situation of Daphnis in terms, which would rather suit a komastic lover.[106] The hero's emotional state was rendered in rather obscure terms, which still lack a sufficient explanation. Priapus' words are cited below (ll.82-93):

"…….. ἦνθ' ὁ Πρίηπος
κἤφα 'Δάφνι τάλαν, τί τὺ τάκεαι; ἁ δέ τυ κώρα
πάσας ἀνὰ κράνας, πάντ' ἄλσεα ποσσὶ φορεῖται–

ζάτεισ'· ἆ δύσερώς τις ἄγαν καὶ ἀμήχανος ἐσσί.
βούτας μὲν ἐλέγευ, νῦν δ' αἰπόλῳ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας.
ᾠπόλος, ὅκκ' ἐσορῇ τὰς μηκάδας οἷα βατεῦνται,
τάκεται ὀφθαλμῶς ὅτι οὐ τράγος αὐτὸς ἔγεντο.

καὶ τὺ δ' ἐπεί κ' ἐσορῇς τὰς παρθένος οἷα γελᾶντι,
τάκεαι ὀφθαλμῶς ὅτι οὐ μετὰ ταῖσι χορεύεις.'
τὼς δ' οὐδὲν ποτελέξαθ' ὁ βουκόλος, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὑτῶ
ἄνυε πικρὸν ἔρωτα, καὶ ἐς τέλος ἄνυε μοίρας."

Priapus characterised Daphnis as "δύσερως" and "ἀμήχανος," two adjectives which could reveal a lot about the hero's suffering and its possible reasons.[107] The adjective

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[105] Cf. the erotic *aporia* of Daphnis in Longus' novel, B.D. MacQueen 1990: 31-51. Notice that in Theocritus Id.1.91 Priapus compared Daphnis with a goatherd who regretted that he was not born a billy goat. He also stated that Daphnis wept at not being able to dance with the girls. In Longus' story 3.14.5 Daphnis bewails because he is "καὶ κρίων ἀμαθέστερος εἰς τὰ ἔρωτος ἔργα." Hence, the comparison of Daphnis with the Propertian elegiac lover who was "contactus nullis ante cupidinis" seems to be sustained.

[106] Although Daphnis' divine visitors repeatedly asked him what was wrong with him, there should be little doubt that the hero's illness was well known not only to Priapus and Hermes, but also possibly to Daphnis himself. See B.D. Macqueen 1990: 40, commenting on Longus' novel wrote: 'The lovesick poet, or the lovesick shepherd of the pastoral, usually knows well enough what is wrong with him;' cf. Heliod.Theagen.and Charicl.3 where shame prevented the heroine from admitting her passion.

[107] N. Loraux 1995: 33 in her discussion of the term *ponos* in Greek wrote: 'in the feminine arena of childbirth, *ponos* is eclipsed by *nosos*, 'sickness,' *anagkē*, 'constraint,' and *amēkhania*, a term for 'helplessness,' not to mention the derangements of madness'. It seems that *amēkhania* was a

"δύσερως" has been employed in ancient literature to describe any kind of perverse love and the only way in which Daphnis' passion could be characterised as such is to be found in its excess.[108] It has been suggested that the adjective used to implicate

> *some suggestion that the love is pathological or unbalanced. That sense is developed in the Hellenistic period so that "δύσερως" is standard in the Anthology for someone who is obsessed with sex, who is 'in a bad way'…It will be seen that throughout its history [of the adjective] there is a consistent thread of meaning: the love is always in some way improper or abnormal.*[109]

The Greeks had always treated passion as a mysterious and

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term particularly associated with femininity (see ibid.: n92) and therefore Theocritus' intention must have been to present Daphnis as afflicted by a woman. See also below nn216-220. In addition, Pausanias recorded a temple to Aphrodite Machanitis, the Deviser, because she would inspire such various speeches and devices for gratifying sexual passion. See Eur.Andr.289; Paus.8.31.6; Sapph.fr.200C; Paus.1.22.3. Aphrodite and Peitho were also linked in Aesch.Supp.1039-40; Ibyc.fr.288.3, Pind.fr.122 (Snell); see also W.G. Arnott 1996: 63 (cf. n276).

[108] Eratosthenes Scholasticus, a later writer of epigrams, defined Daphnis as a "δύσερως…γυναικοφίλας" (Anth.Pal.6.78); A.S.F. Gow 1952: 19. Also see Id.6.7 where Galatea called Polyphemus as "δύσερως." There, Daphnis, presumably cured, sings of the dangers of being "δύσερως:" "βάλλει τοι, Πολύφαμε, τὸ ποίμνιον ἁ Γαλάτεια /μάλοισιν, δυσέρωτα καὶ αἰπόλον ἄνδρα καλεῦσα;" (cf. A.S.F. Gow ibid.: 121 ad loc.); for both Daphnis and Polyphemus in the poetry of Hermesianax, see M. Fantuzzi 1998: 68 (esp.n32) . The use of the word with the same meaning is also confirmed by numerous Hellenistic epigrams: see Meleager Anth.Pal.12.23, 79, 81, 125, 137, and Strato Anth.Pal.12.13. R.M. Ogilvie 1962: 107, who argued that Theocritus followed the traditional version of the myth, remarked that the epithet is rather rare and that 'in its earliest occurrences it means loving that which one ought not to love.' He quoted examples from Eur.Hipp.193-4, Thuc.6.13.2, Xen.Oec.12.13, Lys.4.8, and Callim.Epigr.41.6. His explanation seems to be applied in the case of Polyphemus as presented in Theocritus.

[109] R.M. Ogilvie 1962: 108 continued his interpretation like this: 'The point, therefore, must be that Daphnis is in love with someone whom he has no business to love and the only situation which would seem to satisfy these conditions is if he is already engaged to someone else and is no longer a free agent.' The author also quoted examples of later authors who used the word 'loosely to denote anyone who is unbalanced by love': Plut.Cic.32.4 and Dion 16.2; Lucian Tim.26.

frightening experience.[110] Indeed Priapus in his address of Daphnis asserted that the unfortunate cowherd was wasting away because of love. Therefore, there should be no doubt that Daphnis had not merely been an object of passion, but that he had felt passion, and this seems to remain his fundamental difference from Hippolytus. The latter underwent an unjust punishment and received an undeserved death, but had never experienced erotic passion. Priapus also asserted that Daphnis felt like a shepherd who wished to have been born a ram, an animal that symbolises lust and sexual hyperactivity. Priapus continued with the sad observation that Daphnis could no more dance with the young maidens who were laughing at him.[111] This motif, widely treated in Greek lyric poetry, underlines Theocritus' affiliation with his literary models, and it could indicate the use of symbolism in his poetry. Polyphemus in *Idyll* eleven, having recovered from his obsession with the sea-Nymph Galatea, declared his potential for responding to the giggling invitation of the girls. Unlike him Daphnis' weakness to react in similar fashion would apparently underline the frenzy of his passion; Daphnis should be regarded as enamoured and as such, he was sick.[112] Consequently, his professed death could be possibly

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[110] E.R. Dodds 1951: 185 According to the etymology of the word "πάθος," which the Romans borrowed as "passio," it means something which happens to a man and of which he is the passive victim. In Hesiod *Eros* was discussed as a mere abstraction and the early Greeks pictured him as a "Κήρ" or winged spite, an image also used for Old Age or Plague; cf. C. Faraone 1999: 46nn24-5 (App.In29).

[111] See S. Goldhill 1991: 252-3; I. DuQuesnay 1979: 213; at the end of *Idyll* 11, Polyphemus supposedly cured of his passion for Galatea speaks about the invitations he had from other girls who used to summon him often to their erotic games amid giggles. This laughter has been explained as a seductive enchantment and several examples of similar interpretations of laughter in antiquity were cited by A.S.F. Gow 1952 ad 11.78. However, the maidens might laugh at Polyphemus because he was not really out of love. It might be suspected that in *Idyll* 1 Priapus created the same parallelism.

[112] Cf. Longus 1.17: Daphnis was described as "χλωρότερον…πόας θερινῆς" in imitation of Sappho's fr.31.14 (Campbell); cf. ch1p.95. Note that Polyphemus also bore (Id.11.15-6) an angry erotic wound inflicted by Aphrodite, which resembles the angry words of Daphnis towards Aphrodite (see below p.140). Polyphemus was also depicted as seating on some high rock on the seashore gazing at the sea while 'plaiting' his

perceived as symbolic,[113] especially since Daphnis was always depicted as dying young and handsome.[114]

As argued in the previous chapter, symbolic death within the frame of pre-nuptial /sexual rituals was a common mythical theme in ancient Greece.[115] Fertility goddesses such as Demeter, Aphrodite, or even the virginal Artemis that usually dominated the natural realm and ruled over life and death were also associated with the pre-nuptial or coming-of-age rites. Among these, the ancient sources indicated a possible association between Daphnis and Artemis, while Theocritus had the hero converse with Aphrodite and even accusing her of his death. Generally, it might be argued that death seems to have acquired a female face in antiquity.[116] Daphnis, like Adonis and Dumuzi, died because they

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musical remedy; cf. the image of the fisherman depicted on the second image of the Cup in App.IIp.465f.; also cf. *Idyll* 2 where Simaetha admitted she was lying sick of love for ten days on her bed (ll.86).

[113] L. Rissman 1983: 74-5, discussed the verb "πτοιέω" in Sappho in the sense that the poetess is afraid of undergoing a spiritual death for losing her beloved girl. Daphnis himself referred to Anchises, who as explained in the previous chapter, was particularly anxious about his fortune after realising that he had slept with Aphrodite (C. Penglase 1994: 170). Anchises in Hom.h.Ven.5.189 was described as "βιοθάλμιος," viz. without a healthy life. For Diomedes' incurable love, see n141 below and W. Burkert 1992a: 98 who drew attention to Diomedes' associations with Cyprus (rather than Argos). From this point of view, his interaction with Aphrodite could be better exlpained.

[114] W. Berg 1974: 12n9; cf. Verg.Ecl.5.42-4: "Daphnis ego in silvis, hinc usque ad sidera notus, /formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse." In Longus' novel Daphnis was 15 years old (1.7), while Dorcon, his older rival was described as "ἀρτιγένειος μειρακίσκος" (1.15).

[115] The death of girls was a common mythological and ritual motif symbolising initiation into adulthood as well as marital life, especially since these ideas were inextricably associated for women in ancient societies. See ch1n198; also C. Calame 1977: vol.1.270 and 2003: 68-74; R. Seaford 1988: 118-36 and 1994: 279-80 for the association between the ritual lamentation for the death of Adonis and the lamentation of a bride for the loss of her maidenhood as designed by Sappho (frr.140a and 114). Also V. Turner 1967b: 96 discussed death as a metaphor for the crucial or final stage of rites of passage; see ch1n37.

[116] F.T. Griffiths 1981: 255 discussing the differences between the martial Homeric heroes and the heroic substance of Adonis wrote: 'Adonis…surpasses paragons of assertive masculinity like Ajax and

had the misfortune to be loved by a highly sexed goddess.[117] Of course, divine female love was projected on human women, the mortal counterparts of the goddesses, a notion clearly suggested in the Hesiodic story of Pandora, and possibly implied behind the version that a mortal woman deceived Daphnis into committing his lapse.[118] Hence, female love comes once more into the centre of the discussion. Generally, women and their love were often charged in antiquity with causing men to grow old, or with wearing them out.[119] Hesiod's views on the effect of taking a wife on men

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Agamemnon …for he alone participates in the triumph of the cyclic female principle over death.'

[117] At least according to the traditional version of the story which Theocritus seems to have followed, as argued above (p.116-18.). Daphnis was supposedly seduced by a mortal princess thus bringing upon himself the punishment of his Nymph-beloved. Sappho in 31.7-8 described speechlessness because of acute love: "ὤς με φώναισ' οὐδ' ἒν ἔτ' εἴκει." This explanation could suit Daphnis who remained mostly silent to the questions of his visitors (ll.92-3); cf. n60 and 127 and App.Ip.457. For a complete commentary on the pre-Hippocratic conception of speechlessness, see Y.V. O' Neil 1980: 13; for silence as a symptom of erotic affliction, see ch1pp.95-6.

[118] J. Winkler 1990: 202-4 commented on the misfortune that often befell divine consorts such as Adonis, Tithonus, and Endymion during antiquity. Odysseus and Anchises in their encounters with Calypso and Aphrodite respectively were also perceived as consorts of a powerful female divinity that posed a threat to their well-being; cf. ch1n84. The author suggested that these stories were women's fantasies. Cf. E. Stehle 1990: 89-100 whose article Winkler reworked.

[119] Anac.PMG432: "κνυζή τις ἤδη καὶ πέπειρα γίνομαι /σὴν διὰ μαργοσύνην;" cf. Hipp.Acut.390; Anth.Pal.12.9 and 185; cf. C. Faraone 1999: 44-5 and 63. The theme was also popular in Latin elegiac poetry. Anchises begged Aphrodite not to leave him 'feeble,' a word Homer used of the dead in Hades (h.Ven.5.288, 218-38; cf. Hom.Od.10.521). Note that in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* Enkidu loses his strength after sleeping with a harlot specially sent to persuade him to join the urban life at Uruk, see n192. Inanna also laments the evil fate that she will bring to Dumuzi after they have slept together: '…you, for this reason, have been deceed an evil fate, /thus it is, 'dragon' of women, my brother of fairest face;' see C. Penglase 1994: 47. Furthermore, N. Janowitz 2001: 86-96 discusses rabbinic literature that presents women as unclean and potentially dangerous witches, especially through their involvement with medicine and midwifery (cf. the following note regarding the views of Hesiod on

almost created a chauvinistic and anti-female tradition in Greek literature,[120] of which Theocritus was without fail aware.[121] Since Daphnis was dying because of love and yet, as Priapus stressed, he wished to have had the sexual vigour of a billy-goat, the possibility that the poet might have wished to present Daphnis as the victim of a woman's love becomes increasingly compelling. This suggestion, which would actually comply with the tradition about Daphnis, seems to enhance the prospect that Daphnis' death could be a symbol of his total submission to love rather than of his refusal of love.[122] Daphnis was old enough to fall in love and from that point onwards, it would be only sorrows and death that he had to await.[123] In Theocritus' *Idyll*, *Eros* was declared to have been the

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women).

[120] The consequences of accepting the gift of the gods are fatally inauspicious for the human race. Hes.Op.702-5 wrote: "οὐ μὲν γάρ τι γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ληίζετ' ἄμεινον /τῆς ἀγαθῆς, τῆς δ' αὖτε κακῆς οὐ ῥίγιον ἄλλο, /δειπνολόχης· ἥ τ' ἄνδρα καὶ ἴφθιμον περ ἐόντα /εὖει ἄτερ δαλοῖο καὶ ὠμῷ γήραϊ δῶκεν." According to Hesiod, a woman was constituted of a body reduced essentially to a belly, and finery, which is often a veil; see N. Loraux 1981: 84-6 and J.P. Vernant 1979: 94-105; cf. App.IIp.465ff.

[121] In Greek literature, the poems that were mostly 'preoccupied with defining human life by exploring the line that separates men and gods' were those of Hesiod as well as the *Homeric Hymns*. S. Murnagham 1992: 242-64. In these poems, the necessity of dying was identified more or less with women. In a pervasive way, women by giving birth to men were also responsible for their death. Often a mother's capacity to provide nourishment was considered itself as an expression of the child's mortality. Hera suckled Heracles, the only mortal who succeeded in gaining immortality; Lycoph.Alex.39, 1326; Diod.Sic.4.9.7; Paus.9.52.2; Hyg.Poet.astr.2.49 (cf. n179). Similarly, a woman was thought of bringing death to her husband because she presented him with the child who would eventually displace him.

[122] R. Hunter 1996: 14-17; besides Philetas and Asclepiades Hunter included Erinna among the possible forerunners of Theocritus' style. In one of her poems, the *Distaff*, Erinna grieved for a friend who was reputed to have died on her wedding day (cf. Hymenaios who died on the first love making). It seems that in this work the notion of 'death as a marriage with Hades' or 'marriage as death' was extensively exploited. In addition, see M. Alexiou 1974: 120-2 for laments addressing the bride who leaves her parents' house.

[123] Hesiod's ideas survived in the Hellenistic era; Anth.Pal.9.165.1-4; cf. Hes.Op.57: "ἐστι γυνὴ πυρὸς ἀντιδοθεῖσα / δῶρον, ἀνιηρὸν τοῦ πυρὸς

reason for Daphnis' death but according to the prevailing view this was because he refused to accept love. The word used by the poet to describe the hero's situation is "ἐτάκετο," a verb which during antiquity had strong notions for those in love, and was rather typical in lyric poetry.[124] Furthermore, Alcman associated the motif of erotic melting away with death:[125]

"λυσιμελεῖ τε πόσωι, τακερώτερα
δ' ὕπνῳ καὶ σανάτω ποτιδέρκεται."[126]

ἀντίδοτον· /ἄντρα γὰρ ἐκκαίει ταῖς φροντίσιν ἠδὲ *μαραίνει* /καὶ γῆρας προπετὲς τῇ νεότητι φέρει." Note that in the novel of Longus Daphnis was described in similar terms: "Δάφνις δὲ *μαραίνεται*" (my italics). In addition, Hesiod employed the word "ἀντίδοτον" to describe women, a word normally employed for a remedy against poison.

[124] The verb was established in the nosology of love; as a shadow of the komastic lover, Daphnis should be thought of as sick. Already Hermes had stated that the hero was wasting ("κατατρύχει"); cf. the love symptoms of the young men on the first image on the Cup. Also, in antiquity *Eros* was often characterised as "λυσιμελής," 'limb loosening,' which could explain the exhaustion /illness of Daphnis; Hes.Th.121, 911; Alcm.fr.3.61 (Page); Sapph.fr.44a (Campbell); cf. Archil.fr.85 (Edmonds) and Hes.Op.66 where Pandora was given 'painful desire and the limb loosening cares.' In this image love was equated with the battlefield where a fatal injury would loose the knees of the warriors; see Hom.Od.14.69 and Aesch.Ag.63-4.; cf. App.Ip.445f.

[125] Again Alcm.3.61-2 (Campbell); see M.S. Cyrino 1995: 83 who argued that Alcman depicted in his verses the 'physically damaging and dissipating nature of *eros* in a complex synthesis of images of heat and liquidity.' cf. The use of "τακερὸς" in Anacreon who used the conventional language of nosological *eros*, ibid.: 111. In epic poetry, melting was primarily associated with weeping, which characterised Daphnis' attitude as well. The notion was also found in Hesiod Th.910-11. For wetness and women in general, see A. Carson 1990: 137-45.

[126] Ibycus (Campbell 287) as well casts even more light in the use of "τήκω" denoting love. His feelings are so strong that almost in despair he cries out: cf. ch1nn229 and 268. M.S. Cyrino 1995: 107-9 stresses that Ibycus recognised the role of beguilement in love. However, cf. R.M. Ogilvie 1962: 108 who argued that 'nowhere is it stated that Daphnis actually did die of love;' "τάκεσθαι," used twice (ll.66, 82), is capable of a wide variety if meaning, from 'to be consumed with love for, to love passionately' to 'fade, pine away,' but there seems to be no case where the process denoted by "τάκεσθαι" does actually result in death without the intervention of some other agency. It might be argued that from this

Hence, the ancient audiences were supposed to have already realised that it was love that troubled Daphnis and that this love was liable to cause the hero's death.[127]

Another motif, which could confirm the association of the tale of Daphnis with the fertility rites discussed in the previous chapter, would be that of a maiden running in the wild. Theocritus included this pattern early in his poem by having Priapus declare that a maiden was already in search of the fading hero.[128] The motif, which has been explained as a symbolism of falling deeply in love, rather than refusing love, seems to comply with the interpretation of Daphnis as a fervent lover. The employment of this tradition by Euripides was reflected in the fantasies of the queen who, desperately enamoured, wished a short retreat from her well-built palace to the hunting areas of Hippolytus.[129] Hence,

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point onwards Ogilvie despite admitting the allusive character of the poem seems to regard the clues offered by Theocritus as word for word.

[127] Pindar (fr.123, Snell) wrote that when he looked 'at the limbs of blossoming boys' he was melting like the wax of the holy bees. Medea (Ap.Rhod.3.1019-21) also mentioned that she 'warms and melts her mind just as the dew melts around roses when warmed by the morning sun;' cf. Ibyc.fr.282.14 (Campbell); Anth.Pal.590; Theoc.Id.7.76-77, 11.14, 14.26; Asclep.GA5.210; Mel.GA12.72. Also, see B.S. Thornton 1997: 21. For the licentiousness of women in Latin elegy, see ch1p.59f.

[128] The motif of running in the wild seems to have been particularly associated with the bucolic genre; cf. Id.7.91-3: "…πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα /Νύμφαι κἠμὲ δίδαξαν ἀν' ὤρεα βουκολέοντα ἐσθλά…" G. Giangrande 1968: 509-11 argued that Simichidas was deliberately vague in this verse and he chose to play with the word *boukoleomai* as tending cattle and /or wandering in the mountain. As explained in the previous chapter, those wandering in the mountains were likely to have supernatural meetings such as Anchises whom Daphnis referred to in his speech towards Aphrodite (ch1nn89, 114-5, 118, 170, 224, 243, 267); in this context the figure of Daphnis as an enamoured cowherd becomes more comprehensible; cf. Daphnis as a *boutas* in Theoc.Id.8.1-2: "Δάφνιδι τῷ χαρίεντι συνάντετο βουκολέοντι /μῆλα νέμων, ὡς φαντί, κατ' ὤρεα μακρὰ Μενάλκας." D.M. Halperin 1983: 144 quoted the same texts in a discussion referring to programmatic character of the *Idylls*. Also check the meaning of *boukoleomai* as 'be deluded, be beguiled.' In the traditional version of the tale, Daphnis is deceived by a promiscuous mortal princess and therefore, he is perfectly suitable for the role of a *boukolos*.

[129] Phaedra composed herself as soon as she uttered her wishes while comforted in her seat by her maids (see ch1n118). Theocritus addressed

Daphnis would relate to Phaedra rather than Hippolytus. Based on the pattern of roaming the wilderness, those who identified Daphnis with Hippolytus have argued that the maiden Priapus referred to could be Artemis.[130] The goddess, often addressed as *potnia therõn*, used to ask her devotees to remain chaste. A first objection to this argument could be that Theocritus tends to mention all the other gods who were present at the death of Daphnis by name, and there should be no reason for neglecting Artemis. Besides the post-Theocritean bucolic poets as well as their Latin followers had clearly depicted Aphrodite as running on the mountain in frenzy for the death of her beloved Adonis, and Theocritus had the goddess in dialogue with Daphnis.[131] As discussed in the previous chapter, ritual search was often associated with the cult of Adonis and similar deities such as the Sumerian Dumuzi or the Babylonian Tammuz.[132] At this point, a first clue for

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his poetry to a learned court elite: G.O. Hutchinson 1988: 6; also see ch4n46 for the discussion about the urban audience of bucolic poetry; cf. G. Zanker 1987. T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 17 argued that pastoral enables us to return, on our terms to a nature we have abandoned. However, Plutarch did not believe that Theocritus would improve an adolescent mind or promote the integration of a youth in society; see W.C. Hembold and E.N. O'Neil 1959.

[130] For Artemis as *potnia therõn*, see ch1nn50, 72-3, 113; a possible identity of the maiden who is roaming the mountain in search of Daphnis will be later based on the comparison of Theocritus' poem with the *Song of Solomon*; also cf. ch1n21 and *passim*. This very same motif was also treated in Id.13.58-63 where Heracles rages round the island's undergrowth like a ravening lion in search for his favourite Hylas; see K.J. Dover 1971: 181 and D. Mastronarde 1968: 275-88 commenting on Heracles' heroism in the bucolic.

[131] For the similarities between Aphrodite and Artemis as fertility divinities, see ch1p.18f.

[132] According to tradition, the Nymphs were reputed to take with them the ones they would love such as Hylas and the same could be argued about Daphnis. According to the widespread version of the myth, Daphnis was blinded and drowned into a nearby river; it was thought only right for the water Nymph, on whom he had cheated, to claim back what was hers. Moreover, it seems that those abducted by the Nymphs were not considered dead because Ap.Rhod.1354 testified that in his days people would still go on a ritual search for Hylas. For erotic drowning in Greek lyric poetry, see M.S. Cyrino 1995: 64, 92, and 116-7; also see

the association of these eastern heroes with the tradition of Daphnis comes into view.[133] In addition, despite the fact that these divine consorts were generally considered as victims of their love for the relevant fertility goddess, it remained a fact that they had once surrendered to the sacred passion. If Daphnis' kinship with these mythical figures is to be accepted, then the primal bucolic hero should be safely regarded as enamoured.[134]

Theocritus had Daphnis compare himself with divine consorts of the fertility realm, thus confirming his affiliation with them: before breathing his last, Daphnis was visited by Aphrodite, whom he addressed angrily. Aphrodite seemed to regret his death, and she even made a belated effort to revive him.[135] Daphnis' dialogue with Aphrodite has been paralleled with Gilgamesh's offending speech towards Ishtar when the latter proposed to him to become her

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below (nn241, 282, 290); cf. Prop.1.18 in ch1nn237-8.

[133] W. Berg 1974: 17-8 argued for the identification of Daphnis with Tammuz. For the derivation of Daphnis' name from Tammuz, see I. Trencsényi-Waldapfel 1966: 26-30 (my own interpretatin of the name is different; see n14). A ritual search for Daphnis could imply a resurrection like in the case of Adonis: cf. Id.7.72-89 and Verg.Ec.5 in which Daphnis died and was resurrected. Hence, it might be argued that Vergil clarified for the modern reader the obscurities that Theocritus possibly included in his style; not that he necessarily advanced the genre. Cf. T. Mettinger 2001: ch1 who discussed young consorts such as Adonis and Tammuz /Dumuzi in the company of Near Eastern dying and rising gods. Also, see my paper presented in the *Classical Association of South Africa Conference*, July 2003 with the title: *'Daphnis and Heracles as dying lovers,'* (forthcoming article).

[134] In addition, the cultic background of Theocritus' poem should be reconsidered, especially as the poem is supposed to be a dirge. See T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 89-92, 111-23, 226, esp.119 where he wrote: 'In *Idyll* 1 the lament is scheduled as a performance, and framed by opening and closing sections which give no inkling of tragedy in the delicate courtesies and delights of a chance meeting between the performers.'

[135] The Sumerian text also refers to the failure of the goddess to save Dumuzi's life: "on that day the queen did not save his life, she gave him /Over to the land of no return as her substitute, /the spouse of Usumgalanna did not save his /Life, she gave him over as her substitute;" S.N. Kramer 1980: 9ff. Nothing is mentioned in the Theocritean text about Daphnis being a substitute of Aphrodite, although the goddess also makes a belated effort to revive the hero: "τὸν δ'' Αφροδίτα /ἤθελ ἀνορθῶσαι· τά γε μὰν λίνα πάντα λελοίπει /ἐκ Μοιρᾶν, χὠ Δάφνις ἔβα ῥόον."

consort.[136] In the Babylonian text, Gilgamesh accused the goddess of causing the bad fortune of her previous lovers among whom he mentioned the shepherd Tammuz:[137]

> "which of your lovers did you ever love for ever? What shepherd of yours has pleased you for all time? There was Tammuz, the lover of your youth, for him you decreed wailing, year after year."

This comparison has been regarded as a safe indication that Daphnis refused Aphrodite in the same way that Gilgamesh rejected the advances of Ishtar. In addition, the scene was interpreted as Daphnis' rejection of Love in the face of Aphrodite, in the same way as Hippolytus insisted on remaining pure from erotic passion. However, in her sad address to Daphnis, Aphrodite made the acute remark that although he had nurtured hopes to master Love, he found himself bent by Love. In her reply to Daphnis, the goddess favoured a deeply erotic image taken from wrestling scenes to describe the defeat of Daphnis by Love. The image, which dates from archaic lyric poetry, could be a clear hint that Aphrodite viewed Daphnis as enamoured.[138] The motif had numerous parallels in Hellenistic epigrams, while the idea of a lover that has been bent by Love was very common in Latin elegy. Aphrodite's words are cited below (ll.97-8):

"…τύ θην τὸν Ἔρωτα κατεύχεο, Δάφνι, λυγιξεῖν·

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[136] Diomedes might be a more plausible parallel for Gilgamesh; see M.S. Cyrino 1995: 16-7 where she discussed the *aristeia* of Diomedes: 'in a curious reversal, but an important one in terms of erotic symbolism, Athena removes the mist from the eyes of the Greek warrior Diomedes in Book V…the absence of the cloud of mist over his eyes allows Diomedes to recognise and attack the goddess of love, instead of being blinded by the enfeebling veil of *Eros* and thereby suffering at her hands.'

[137] N.K. Sandars 1960: 84 = A.R. George 2003: 621(ll.42-47); also, see T. Jacobsen 1976: 140-3.

[138] Anacr.396.3 (Campbell): "ἔνεικον, ὡς δὴ πρὸς Ἔρωτα πυκταλίζω." cf. The Hesiodic *Shield* on which a joyful scene of wrestling during peacetime was described in similar terms (ll.301): "οἳ δ' ἐμάχοντο πύξ τε καὶ ἐλκηδόν·" Erotic metaphors taken from various sports were quite common in Hellenistic epigrams. In *Hippolytus* Theseus describes *Eros* as marching against his victims and laying them waste (Alc.380C, fr.287C; Ar.Ec.963-4, Eur.Hipp.527, 542). Deianira also used the image of someone boxing against Love for Heracles (Soph.Tr.441-2; Anac.fr.346b.3); for wrestlers as particularly skilful in magic, see M.W. Dickie 2001: 243-5 and 298-300.

ἦ ῥ᾽ οὐκ αὐτὸς Ἔρωτος ὑπ᾽ ἀργαλέῳ ἐλυγίχθης;"

Hence, it becomes obvious that Theocritus employed in his imagery several motifs with possible diverse and even opposing backgrounds, which he apparently manipulated to achieve his own aesthetic result. It might be suggested that by composing a Gilgamesh-like angry reproach of Daphnis towards Aphrodite, the poet plausibly emphasised the tantalising and irresistible love to which Daphnis had yielded[139] (by alluding to the context of Gilgamesh's speech about Ishtar's unfortunate lovers). It is also quite plausible that Theocritus intended his comparison to cast light on the similarities between Daphnis and Aphrodite's previous consorts rather than his relation with Gilgamesh. After all, Daphnis was dying and his fate was more similar to that of the youthful and unfortunate Adonis than to the glorious life of Gilgamesh who managed to overcome the temptation of Ishtar.[140]

Daphnis in his reproach of the goddess did not hesitate to refer to her past affairs with mortals, all of which were doomed to failure and anticipated a heavy toll for their audacity in enjoying her love. Daphnis mentions Anchises, Diomedes, and finally Adonis.[141]

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[139] G. Lawall 1967: 24 noted that Aphrodite's smile should not be interpreted as ironic, but rather as an indication of the goddess' amusement at the situation of Daphnis.

[140] Note that Gilgamesh was successful in killing the Bull of Heaven that Ishtar sent in punishment for her rejection: "Woe to Gilgamesh, for he has scorned me in killing the Bull of Heaven" [Sandars: 86 = A.R. George 2003: 629 (ll.153)]. Also, in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* Ishtar asks her father to make her the Bull of Heaven to destroy Gilgamesh and then she adds: "Fill Gilgamesh with arrogance to his destruction" [Sandars: 85; cf. A.R. George 2003: 625 (ll.94-5) and 629-31 (ll.172-8) for Gilgamesh's boasting after he killed the Bull of Heaven]; cf. Appendices I and II where the theme of arrogance is discussed in relation to epic and tragic figures.

[141] Diomedes was rumoured to have followed the Greeks to Troy neither for glory nor spoils, but out of love for Helen that was never cured. Hence, the Trojan War was for him a personal matter. In addition, there was a tradition about his post-Troy era adventures recording that he was carried by a tempest to the Libyan seashore where he fell into the hands of Lycos. He was saved from death by Lycos' daughter whom he later abandoned. She committed suicide by hanging. C. Miralles and J. Pòrtulas 1983: 57-9 paralleled this incident with the fate of Neoboule; however, it might also be compared with the story of Ariadne whom Theseus abandoned.

"οὐ λέγεται τὰν Κύπριν ὁ βουκόλος; ἔρπε ποτ' Ἴδαν,
ἔρπε ποτ' Αγχίσαν· τηνεὶ δρύες ἠδὲ κυπειρος,
αἱ δὲ καλὸν βομβεῦντι ποτὶ σμάνεσσι μέλισσαι.

ὡραῖος χὠδωνις, ἐπεὶ καὶ μῆλα νομεύει
καὶ, πτῶκας βάλλει καὶ θηρία πάντα διώκει."

Adonis has been identified with Tammuz as well as with the Sumerian Dumuzi whose mourning was also rendered in bucolic terms.[142] The sheep and goats of the unfortunate shepherd who descended to Hades as a substitute for his spouse, Inanna, wept for the loss of their shepherd in the same way that the flocks of Daphnis mourned the death of their master. The Sumerian text reads:[143]

"your small kids weep bitterly in the feeding-pen,
your motherless lambs [utter] bitter cries at the wall's
encompassing base."

By comparison Theocritus wrote (ll.74-5):

"πολλαί οἱ πὰρ ποσσὶ βόες, πολλοὶ δέ τε ταῦροι,
πολλαὶ δὲ δαμὰλαι καὶ πόρτιες ὠδύραντο."

Theocritus' affinity with the realm of eastern fertility deities and their cults is established in *Idyll* fifteen in which he offered a detailed account of the annual festival in honour of Adonis.[144] The

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[142] J.P. Brown 1995: 244-6; this pastoral religious tenet had a long tradition in the *Old Testament*. D.M. Halperin 1983: 99: 'The religious aura surrounding the figure of the herdsman and his prophetic colleagues also clings to Orpheus and, in historical times to Hesiod; it can be traced back from the Daphnis of Greek lyric poetry and cult all the way to the Sumerian shepherd-god Dumuzi.' Cf. J. Duchemin 1960: 70-84; W. Berg 1974: 15-22. On the *'Orphic elements of Daphnis,'* see post-doctoral research presented in the *Classical Association of the Canadian West Conference*, in March 2003.

[143] C. Penglase 1994: 178: 'Adonis seems to be the West Semitic derivative of Dumuzi and to have come to Greece from the Phoenician religion, an origin which is especially supported by his name and his cult in Greece; ' cf. M.L. West 1997: 57.

[144] W. Burkert 1979: 105-108; Queen Arsinoe would celebrate the Adonia at Alexandria and on this occasion two Syracusan women, Gorgo and Praxinoa, went to watch the majestic ceremony. While they were engaged in admiring a tapestry, Gorgo announced that a woman was about to sing the song of Adonis. Her song was actually a detailed description of a tableau, which Arsinoe had consecrated to Aphrodite and Adonis for the celebration. Cf. the tableau that inspired Longus' novel. G.

Greeks adapted the cult of Adonis during the seventh century BC from the annual lamentation for the Mesopotamian god Tammuz or Dumuzi.[145] The god was lamented in the dry summer as a personification of the failing crops and herds.[146] Eusebius explained that Adonis was a divinity of vegetation and fertility and that his death marked the harvesting of the crops.[147] As pointed out, already in Theocritus Daphnis was attributed with elements of a divine worship, although the mourning described in the first *Idyll* was not clearly denoted as part of an established cult.[148] A possible revival of such a cult in which a hero closely connected with fertility was celebrated would not be unusual during the Hellenistic period.[149]

Anderson 1993: 70 underlined the similarities between the story of Adonis, who was decreed to share his time between Aphrodite and Persephone, and that of Dumuzi who would spent half of the year on earth with his sister Gestinanna and the other half with Ereshkigal in the Underworld.

[145] The Greeks were totally aware of the fact that the cult of Adonis was a cultural loan from the Near Eastern societies. Pseudo-Apollod.Bibl.3.14.4, reported that in the *Catalogue of Women* Hesiod made Adonis the son of Alphoesiboea and Phoenix, an eponymous representative of the Phoenicians in Greek mythology. He also attested that Panyasis of Halicarn.Bibl.2.85-7 ascribed his origin to Theias, king of Assyria; cf. ch1n56.

[146] Note that the boy plaits a cricket-cage and cricket is a summer insect. He is also asked to guard the vineyards, which are already ripe, but obviously the harvesting time has not come yet; cf. Polyphemus' plaiting in *Idyll* 11.

[147] Euseb.Praep.Evang.3.11.12. Ovid in his account of the myth introduces Adonis as son of Myrrha or Smyrna by an incestuous union with her father Cinyras, king of Cyprus (Met.10.298-559; 708-39). Aphrodite fell in love with him but he was killed while hunting by a boar or by Hephaestus or Ares disguised as a boar.

[148] The sympathy of nature to his suffering is also found in the *Death of Bion* fashioned by Moschus after the *Death of Adonis*, which Bion had previously composed. Mourning, of course, in honour of Adonis was an established part of his cult; cf. S. Goldhill 1991: 245 who unlike Dover and Halperin argued that the last lines of Thyrsis' song (ll.143-5) for Daphnis are 'typical traits of the closure of hymns (the *khaire/-te* formula).' Furthermore, note that later Latin elegiac poets presented nature as being compassionate to the anguish of the elegiac lover, thus manipulating cultic motifs; cf. Prop.1.18 also quoted in n132.

[149] G. Anderson 1993: 68: 'that Daphnis was a rustic deity in Sicily is

The thriving of many other eastern cults like those of Isis or Cybele in the refined Alexandria of those years has been repeatedly attested.[150] The main reason for this phenomenon is to be traced in the complicated social and religious nexus in which the citizens of the vast conquests of Alexander had to define their existence after his death.[151] The decay of the political discipline of the city-state confused people who lost their source of reference and they eventually became increasingly fatalistic. However, as mentioned, until now the ancient sources, which derive bucolic from religious rituals, deserved little credence, especially as bucolic poetry can have a profoundly erotic character.[152]

This view is open to criticism, since sexuality played an important role in the conception of religion in antiquity, and it was emphasised in cult from a very early stage. The gender division in ritual was profoundly stressed in the worship of eastern goddesses and their duplicates, such as Ishtar, Inanna, or Cybele, which were characteristically associated with minor male deities such as

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also attested: this is not the wishful thinking of Menalcas' ditty, but is reported in both Diodorus (4.84) and Servius ad Ecl.5.20. The tradition also leaves room for a number of episodes in the life of the divine shepherd, and a number of variants of some of them.' Anderson compared Daphnis with culture heroes of the stock of Orpheus or the Scythian Anacharsis (for Orpheus as a culture hero, see ch5p.365f.). Also, see his pp.75-6 for eastern cults relating to ritual mourning for a dying god which were still performed in Seleucia at the time of the poet: 'Ishtar was still lamenting Tammuz in Akkadian in the age of Theocritus himself.'

[150] For the adoption of these cults by the Romans, see ch1n207.

[151] On how the end of the reign of Alexander affected the social structure of the Hellenistic kingdoms and what was its impact on the literary production of the times, see P.A. Miller 1994: 122-3. See P. Green 1993: 52-3; W.A. Bulloch 1985: 543; A.M. Parry 1957: 3-29 esp.14: 'pastoral poetry might be described as a cover in an age of irony. It arose in Greece at a time when writers felt it impossible to deal with strong emotion directly….'

[152] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 77-8, quoted the testimony of Mnasalcas of Sicyon (author of Anth.Pal.9.324), which confirmed that even in antiquity bucolic poetry was thought to address itself to erotic themes; cf. Prop.2.34.67ff commenting on the *Eclogues* of Vergil. Critics like R. Poggioli (1975, see n12 above) did not hesitate to castigate the morals of bucolic poets. For Mnasalcas, see A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page 1965: 400(vol.2).

Dumuzi or Tammuz. The male god was normally described as her consort or son who for various reasons was doomed to die while still in his prime.[153] As argued, the Greek counterpart of these cults was found in the worship of Adonis as consort of Aphrodite.[154] The identification of Daphnis with Adonis and other similar deities has already been argued in several papers. These studies provide a useful background, which could add new potential to the argument of the ancient testimonies. In addition, it seems that Theocritus was familiar with the cults and practices implied by the ancient sources because in *Idyll* fifteen he offered a detailed description of the cult of Adonis at Alexandria.[155] It might be argued that the poet, who understood Daphnis to belong to the same group of cult heroes as Adonis, gave substantial clues for this identification in the first *Idyll*. Recently the resemblance of bucolic poems with ancient Near Eastern texts[156] has emphasised the idea that ancient Greek culture

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[153] C. Penglase 1994: 165; Aphrodite's Near Eastern origins were well established already in antiquity as the testimonies of Herodotus and Pausanias also confirmed. In addition, the goddess' affair with Anchises has 'striking motifs which recall the relationship of Inanna /Ishtar and her young lover the herdsman /shepherd Dumuzi…It may be a significant aspect in the myth in which Anchises plays a major role that the motifs are entirely of the goddess and consort strand, presenting another parallel with the situation in the Inanna and Dumuzi myths.'

[154] At Byblos, a Phoenician dying and reviving god was celebrated by both men and women and the Greeks had long identified the couple with Adonis and Aphrodite: cf. Cleitarch.FGrH137F3; Lucian Syr.D.6-7 (cf. n235). J. Reed 1995: 318 argued about the difference of the Adonia that the post-Classical authors experienced in comparison with the celebration in Classical Athens. For the festival at Argos, see Paus.2.20.6.

[155] There have been many disputes about the authorship of particular *Idylls*; C. Segal 1975: 115, 123, 131-2, classified the *Idylls* in those written in genuine bucolic style and not; G. Lawall 1967: 14-33 argued that the first seven *Idylls* form a separate poetry book; cf. M. Grant 1965: 64-5. Also, see R. Coleman 1975: 140 admitted that there must be other criteria in defining bucolic poems than simply their rural setting. *Idyll* 15 is regarded as dealing with feminine subjects (along with *Idyll* 2). For the association of *Idyll* 15 with the themes of the pastoral *Idylls*, see C.W. Hieatt 1972: 26 and D.M. Halperin 1983: 206-8.

[156] I. Trescsényi-Waldapfel 1966: 1-31 and G. Anderson 1993: 65-79 compared Daphnis with the Sumerian shepherd-god Dumuzi; T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 31; W. Berg 1974: 14-15: 'from religious texts of the ancient Near East, and from the earliest of Greek literature, emerges the

and literature were extensively influenced from the East.[157] In addition, the religious syncretism which was always in existence during the Hellenistic and Augustan periods seems to confirm the suspicion that authors would in those times also allow Oriental material to colour their work.[158] In his first *Idyll* especially, Theocritus has often raised suspicions of drawing heavily on Near Eastern tradition.

According to Theocritus, Adonis' wedding to Aphrodite was celebrated in a magnificent ceremony at Alexandria.[159] The next day women would carry his image to the seashore amid lamentations.[160]

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figure of the first shepherd-poet, a singer of hymns and oracles. As a personification of the year-god and consort of the love-goddess, he stands too, as a great symbol for the mysteries of life and death in crops, in animals and in men;' D.M. Halperin 1983: 83-117.

[157] M.L. West 1966: 16-31 and 1978: 26-30 and 1997: 59-60: 'Near Eastern influence cannot be put down as a marginal phenomenon to be invoked occasionally in explanation of isolated peculiarities. It was pervasive at many levels and at most times. W. Burkert in his brilliant study *The Orientalizing revolution* has focussed attention on one particular period, the early archaic age, c. 750-650 BC. That was no doubt an especially important phase in the history of Greco-oriental contacts. But as we have seen, they had flourished productively for centuries before that, and new oriental elements continued to surface in the later seventh and sixth centuries…;' J. Griffin 1992: 189-211.

[158] M.L. West 1969: 113-34 and 1997: 60: '…At the literary level too, we shall find that oriental influences cannot be limited to one period. As to the extent to which they may have affected Greek poetry of the Mycenaean or early Iron Age, we shall be unable to discover more than occasional hints. But we shall see that they are already very extensive in the Hesiodic and Homeric poems. In the iambic, elegiac, and melic poets and in the tragedies of Aeschylus we shall find evidence of their continuing significance throughout the archaic period and into the early Classical Age;' C. Penglase 1994: 3-8.

[159] A.S.F. Gow 1938: 202 judged *Idyll* 15 as a mediocre and rather clumsy piece, while K.J. Dover 1978: 210 charged Theocritus with the intention of showing how badly most people would write a hymn. For a discussion of the *Idyll* as an ambitious poetic attempt that 'began as a reworking of Sophron,' but finally 'lays claim to unexpected literary grandeur,' see R. Hunter 1996: 116-38; for the quotations, see p.137.

[160] B.S. Thornton 1997: 153-60 argued that agriculture might have set an example in antiquity for the decay of things as a natural process following their blossom (see ch1n85). The flowers and fruit of the natural

The mourning of the women and the ephemeral "Gardens of Adonis"[161] on the housetops marked the festival at Athens.[162] In later sources, there was evidence for the celebration of his resurrection, although it was argued that this was an addition based on contact with the cult of the Egyptian Osiris.[163] The cult of

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world that symbolised the exuberance of youthful sexuality suggested also the death that would follow. Possibly the rituals of festivals had the same effect; the mourning for the Adonis Garden thrown into the sea would be a symbol of unfulfilled youthful sexual beauty (or perhaps a symbol of exceptional beauty that will nevertheless prove vain in the sense that it cannot secure immortality). Hence, the institution of marriage would be promoted as the necessary nucleus for the continuity of the *polis*. However, it might be argued that as explained in the previous chapter ancient Greeks viewed life as a total of several deaths symbolising the passage from one stage of maturity to another; e.g. from puberty to adulthood.

[161] J. Reed 1995: 317-347, esp.321-3: 'the Attic Adonia reveal their Mesopotamian origins in such features as the summer date and the potted gardens.' Zenob.1.49 (2nd AD) reported that the pots were carried out with the dead god and were thrown to the sea, while Reed suggested that this custom was probably a 'fossilisation of some Near Eastern agricultural magic' (J. Reed ibid.: 320). Eustath.Od.1701.45-50 reported that the gardens were thrown into the sea, while according to the Alexandrian practice an effigy of the god was committed to the sea (perhaps Osirian influence should be suspected here); Theoc.Id.15.133 with schol.; Diosc.Anth.Pal.5.53 and 193; cf. Plut.DeIs.etOs.13. Reed suggested that in Athens the Adonia were deprived of the agricultural character it probably had once; M. Detienne 1994: 101-22; cf. W. Burkert 1979: 107; G. Nagy 1985: 62; J. Winkler 1990: 192; E. Stehle 1990: 92; O. Murray ²1993: 87. For the proverbial use of the expression as gardens of Adonis, see J. Reed ibid.: 324-5.

[162] M. Alexiou 1974: 55-60 grouped Adonis along with Linus, Hyacinthus, Lityerses, Bormus and Mariandynus as far as public lamentation was concerned; cf. ch3p.261. For Adonis' lamentations specifically by women, see L. Deubner 1932: 220 and Ar.Lys.389-96; also, see R.S. Kraemer 1992: 30-5.

[163] C. Penglase 1994: 179; Adonis' birth from a tree had its parallel to the story of Dumuzi, who celebrated an annual resurrection symbolised in the vegetation cycle. Hence, Adonis would be also expected to rise. The story came from later Apollod.Bibl.3.183-5 and an influence from the cult of Osiris was suspected (Plut.Dio52.372c). However, the rites of Osiris as described by Firm.Mat.Err.prof.rel.2.3 have similarities with the cult of Adonis as featured by Sappho fr.140 (especially the beating of the

Dumuzi as well as that of Adonis was always performed by women and the Greek Adoniazousai described by Theocritus had their counterparts in the women of Jerusalem weeping for Tammuz at the north gate of the temple.[164] Even the name of Adonis was an adaptation by the Greeks of the western Semitic adjective Adon (= lord) which was probably used as a divine title during the god's mourning.[165] Although an analogous ritual lamentation was not mentioned for Daphnis, the song of Thyrsis was a dirge in which nature was also depicted as weeping for the hero's death.[166]

In addition, the poets Bion and pseudo-Moschus who wrote after Theocritus and were deeply influenced by him use pathetic fallacy to describe nature's empathy for the death of Adonis. The natural world was also mournfully described in Bion's bucolic lament for Adonis[167] (ll.32-34):

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breasts). Furthermore, in antiquity dying fertility deities such as Persephone celebrated a resurrection; see E. Neumann ²1963: 308-314. Adonis remained in the netherworld for one third of the year like Persephone. Even if later influences should be assumed, Adonis was clearly expected to rise like his eastern forebears.

[164] See Ezekiel 8:14-5. For the parallels of the Dumuzi tale in the *Old Testament*, see W. Beyerlin 1975: 80, 88 and 160. Also, see D.M. Halperin 1983: 99-100 about the nature of shepherd kings who seem to have been mediators between mortals and gods and their *Old Testament* survivals; cf. B. Alster 1972: 14 who saw Dumuzi as a mediator between nature and culture and compare his association with the role of Enkidu in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*.

[165] W. Burkert 1979: 192n3; also W. Atallah 1966: 310-18; W. Berg 1974: 18: 'For at least three millennia Tammuz was mourned annually. One of his Semitic epithets, Adon, became his name among the Greeks;' cf. M.L. West 1997: 57, 448 and T. Mettinger 2001: ch4 for Adonis' Near Eastern traditions. Also, see ch7 where Mettinger discusses the Sumerian Dumuzi as the oldest example of a dying and rising god and argues on his possible influence on the seasonal aspects of Adonis but also of Melquart (Heracles).

[166] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 121 argued that in Vergil's *Eclogue* 5 the joy that the audience would derive from the song was more substantial than any feelings of sadness the mourning of Daphnis would create for them. D.M. Halperin 1983: 164 applied the same notion to *Idyll* 1.

[167] See, Bion, *The lament for Adonis* ll.32-5, cf. Moschus, *The lament for Bion* ll.1-10. In ll.93-97, Moschus claimed that he continued the bucolic tradition. However, D.M. Halperin 1983: 17 argued that he infused literary

"ὤρεα πάντα λέγοντι, καὶ αἱ δρύες 'αἰ τὸν Ἄδωνιν.'
καὶ ποταμοὶ κλαίουσι τὰ πένθεα Ἀφροδίτας,
καὶ παγαὶ τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἐν ὤρεσι δακρύοντι,
ἄνθεα δ' ἐξ ὀδύνας ἐρυθαίνεται."

Pseudo-Moschus, in his lament for the death of Bion, fashioned after the latter's lament for Adonis, insisted on fancifully presenting the bucolic poet as an actual cowherd like Daphnis. He even addressed the dead poet as "ὦ βούτα" in the way Priapus addressed Daphnis.[168] In addition, he described the poet's flocks as weeping for their master's loss (ll.23-4):

"ὤρεα δ' ἐστὶν ἄφωνα, καὶ αἱ βόες αἱ ποτὶ ταύροις
πλαζόμεναι γοάοντι καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντι νέμεσθαι."

It seems that the above description could be compared with the verses of Theocritus referring to the mourning of the flocks for Daphnis' death, especially since Bion did not mention any animals at all in his poem. The possibility that Moschus was drawing on Theocritus' depiction of Adonis as well as on Bion, is stressed by the fact that Moschus addressed Bion as 'thrice-beloved man' (ll.51) echoing Theocritus' address to the thrice-loved Adonis in *Idyll* fifteen (ll.86):[169]

"αὐτὸς δ' ὡς θαητὸς ἐπ' ἀργυρέας κατάκειται
κλισμῷ, πρᾶτον ἴουλον ἀπὸ κροτάφων καταβάλλων,
ὁ τριφίλητος Ἄδωνις, ὁ κὴν Ἀχέροντα φιληθείς."

Moreover, Bion offered in his verses an interesting treatment of Aphrodite, who, free from her divine grandeur, was depicted as mourning the tragic fate of her dying lover with all the pain and

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conventions of the funeral elegy with pastoral colour.

168 Mosch.65; cf. Theoc.Id.1.86. D.M. Halperin 1983: 253: 'The oppositional relation of bucolic to heroic *epos* is most fully elaborated by the author of the Lament for Bion. The title character and subject of the lament is clearly identified as a bucolic poet. He is urged to sing his odes to Persephone in language denoting their bucolic status (ll.120) and is called a *boukolos* (ll.2 and 65). His song….purports to belong to the same Sicilian tradition which produced the bucolic song of Thyrsis and the *Idylls* of Theocritus.' It is my view that the tradition of Daphnis is not at all Sicilian but has its roots in the Near East (for my post-doctoral research on the issue, see n142).

169 Cf. Bion ll. 58: "θνάσκεις ὦ τριπόθητε." Three was regarded as a magical number and its multiplies were employed by Theocritus in the structure of Simaetha's incantation (Theoc.Id.2.17-63 and A.S.F. Gow 1952 ad loc.) as well as by Vergil in Ecl.8.64-109; W. Clausen 1994: 237).

despair of any mortal woman. In her grief she would wander distraught in every slope and glade calling his name (ll.19-24):[170]

"…ἁ δ' Ἀφροδίτα
λυσαμένα πλοκαμῖδας ἀνὰ δρυμὼς ἀλάληται
πενθαλέα νήπλεκτος ἀσάνδαλος· αἱ δὲ βάτοι νιν
ἐρχομέναν κείροντι καὶ ἱερὸν αἷμα δρέπονται·
ὀξὺ δὲ κωκύουσα δι' ἄγκεα μακρὰ φορεῖται
Ἀσσύριον βοόωσα πόσιν καὶ παῖδα καλεῦσα."

Bion apparently acknowledged Adonis' eastern origin since he described him as the 'Assyrian husband' of Aphrodite, an expression that probably referred to the famous festival of the civic Adonia at Byblos, where a Phoenician dying and reviving god was worshipped in the temple of his divine lover.[171] The couple had long been identified with Aphrodite and Adonis. Even her favourite island sympathised with the goddess by echoing in every corner of its small land the dirge for Adonis (ll.35-6):

"…ἁ δὲ Κυθήρα
πάντας ἀνὰ κναμώς, ἀνὰ πᾶν νάπος οἰκτρὸν ἀείδει."

It would not be irrational to compare both of these scenes to Theocritus' depiction of the unnamed beloved of Daphnis who according to Priapus was looking for him in every fount and glade (ll.82-5):[172]

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[170] Ovid rendered Aphrodite's mourning for Adonis in very similar terms to Sappho's fr.140 (cf. ch1n136), a clue, which indicates the antiquity of the motif in literature as well as in religious practice. Also compare the reaction of Gilgamesh at the death of Enkidu whose similarities with Achilles' lament for the death of Patroclus M.L. West 1997: 340-2 has already pointed out: "he was tearing out and scattering (his) cur[ly lo]cks, /he was ripping off and discarding (his) finery [as if it were] taboo." Also, see the discussion below on the *Song of Songs* (p.156f.).

[171] For the Assyrian influence that the Greeks accepted as far the myth and cult of Aphrodite is concerned attested by both Paus.1.14.7 and Hdt.1.105; 1.131, see C. Penglase 1994: 161-3. In addition, note his remark on pages 163-4: 'they would never be able to demonstrate a completely Indo-European origin, because Aphrodite does have aspects which only Semitic derivation can properly explain.' However, Penglase immediately added that arguments have often been too speculative. Theocritus was apparently aware of the fame Assyria enjoyed as the native place of magic: A.S.F. Gow 1952: 62.

[172] Ap.Rhod.4.445-47 wrote: "Σχέτλι' Ἔρως, μέγα πῆμα, μέγα στύγος ἀνθρώποισιν, /ἐκ σέθεν οὐλόμεναί τ' ἔριδες στοναχαί τε γόοι τε, ἄλγεα τ' ἀλλ'

"…ἁ δέ τυ κώρα
πάσας ἀνὰ κράναϛ, πάντ' ἄλσεα ποσσὶ φορεῖται–…–
ζάτεισ'·"

The same notion of a lover, divine or not, wandering in the wilds in search of a dying hero, apparently lies behind the two scenes, although Theocritus included it in the mourning of Daphnis, while Bion used it to refer to Adonis' death.[173] Hence, as far as their literary treatment is concerned, Daphnis and Adonis seem to share a few of their bucolic features: their death had a similar impact on nature, while their mistresses reacted in the same way at the news of their tragic doom. It should be noted that Bion's description included many more details, which could perhaps be attributed to his own initiative. However, based on Moschus' close imitation of Bion as well as on the general rules of acknowledging literary patterns in antiquity, it should rather be suspected that all three poets had in mind (an)other common literary source(s) which each rendered according to his personal taste. As mentioned, the cult of Adonis was derived from the cultures of the Near East and there should be no doubt that bucolic writers were familiar with the cult of Adonis, which they explicitly celebrated in their poetry. Moreover, it might be suspected that perhaps they even had access to the Near Eastern literary sources, which described similar cults.

These cults have numerous Near Eastern parallels of which Theocritus might have been aware.[174] The poet was definitely aware

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ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἀπείρονα τετρήχασιν." For Apollonius' understanding of the magical aspect of love, see C. Faraone 1999: 55-69; cf. S.A. Stephens 2002: 188ff.

[173] Gilgamesh, with whom Daphnis has been already compared, was also described as wandering to the ends of earth inconsolable about the death of his friend Enkidu. This indication, which could possibly point out to an oriental origin of the 'distraught wanderer' motif, was also recognised in the adventures of Heracles and Achilles (see App.Inn18, 22, 33, 39-40; for Heracles also cf. ch1nn109, 178, 211 and 226-8). In addition, M.L. West 1997: 337 suggested that Achilles' reaction to the death of Patroclus should be understood as excessive grief, which left the hero distraught in mind.

[174] Eastern goddesses like Cybele who would have power over life and death are often accompanied by lions; this should not be considered as a sign of Hellenisation since several figures dated in the Mycenaean period (L. Goodison 1989: 81) show a female figure among lions exactly as *potnia*

of literary traditions and commonplace motifs of erotic poetry as the description of a Cup in his first *Idyll* verifies. Theocritus was often accused of inserting in his work this description that is disproportionate in comparison with Thyrsis' song about the death of Daphnis.[175] However, it might be suggested that Theocritus employed this description as a literary manifesto of his models. Hence, the images carved on the rustic Cup might offer clues about the tradition of Daphnis.[176] In particular it could be assumed that the three images of the Cup could allude to the circumstances of Daphnis' death.[177] Furthermore, our attention will focus on the

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therõn; see ch1p.44f. A Cretan statuette which represents a woman with a lion head recalls the Egyptian story about the savage lioness Tefnet who was transformed into a benevolent goddess. Theocritus seems to elaborate on this idea by arguing that a lioness must have been the mother of *Eros*; moreover, in epigram 22, Theocritus describes Heracles with the epithet "λεοντομάχος" which is attached to Acheron by Julius Africanus (A.S.F. Gow 1952: 546); cf. ch1nn63 and 98.

[175] Daphnis dies because of a woman. In Appendix II (pp.465f.) Theocritus' affiliation with Hesiod's view on women is argued; Pandora was clearly held responsible for all the smashing blows that humanity had to suffer and which are identified with basic features of human nature such as old age and the necessity of death. Hesiod wrote (Op.90-5): "Πρίν μὲν γὰρ ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χθονὶ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων /νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνοιο /νούσων τ' ἀργαλέων, αἵ τ' ἀνδράσι κῆρας ἔδωκαν. /[αἶψα γὰρ ἐν κακότητι βροτοὶ καταγηράσκουσιν]. /ἀλλὰ γυνὴ χείρεσσι πίθου μέγα πῶμ' ἀφελοῦσα /ἐσκέδασ', ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἐμήσατο κήδεα λυγρά."

[176] D.M. Halperin 1983: 163-4: 'whether the relation of cup to song is interpreted as one of parallelism, expansion or contrast, there can be no doubt that Theocritus intended each artefact to be set against the other as complementary illustrations of the bucolic 'genre." First, the Cup is offered in exchange for the song: hence, they should both be considered of equal value. Second, they are both rustic artefacts. Third, both the cup and the song are 'sweet' and 'pleasant' (cf. verses 27 and 149 with verses 65 and 145 respectively). Finally, they should be both understood as artistic 'performances.'

[177] J. Van Sickle 1976: 19 also quoted by D.M. Halperin 1983: 161: 'poetic practice in Alexandria is itself designed to show the literary interests of the writer. Alexandrian poetry, made by poets conscious of their craft and its traditions, acts as a form of criticism, offering judgements implicit but intelligible to careful readers. Thus even without critical writing from Theocritus, we should be able to reconstruct his literary ideas.'

origins of the motifs used in the description of the third image on the Cup. As argued in the previous chapter, it seems that well-known literary motifs were often derived from the Near East.

THREE IMAGES ON A CUP: IMAGE III

In the third image carved on the Cup Theocritus described a vineyard, a symbol of merry time but also a reminder of the joys that death will snatch away from mortals.[178] In his description of the Cup, the anonymous goatherd seems to have prepared the audience efficiently for the dirge that Thyrsis was expected to take up.[179] The first image introduced a sense of erotic danger, analogous perhaps to the erotic trap lurking for Daphnis in the traditional version of the myth, while the second image alluded to

[178] According to Heraclitus (fr.15DK), Dionysus and Hades are identified with each other. Iophon (TGrF22F3) recorded the god's descent to the Underworld in order to save Semele (or Aeschylus according to Aristophanes' *Ranae*; cf. ch3n217). Dionysian imagery was very common in both Greek and Roman funerary art; W. Burkert 1993: 259-75; S.G. Cole 1993: 276-95. The god was especially associated with Heracles and vineyard scenes were detected on both descriptions of the epic *Shields* (see App.Ip.445f.).

[179] Dionysus was also believed to have established rites, which secured for the initiates a better lot after death. Two of the so-called Orphic tablets refer to a ritual rebirth under the aegis of Dionysus and to wine drinking in the after-life. W. Berg 1974: 13-4 has recognised that Vergil treated Daphnis in Ec.5.29-31 ["Daphnis thiasos inducere Bacchi"] as 'preceptor of the Dionysian worship' and compared Daphnis with Adonis, Osiris and the Thracian Dionysus; Berg suggested that Vergil must have had in front of him the verses of Damagetus' referring to Orpheus as the first hierophant of Dionysus (Anth.Pal.7.9.5-6 quoted in the following chapter); cf. The celebration of the vintage at Lesbos on the estate of Dionysophanes in Longus' novel; also see 1.16 where Daphnis said: "ἀγένειός εἰμι, καὶ γὰρ ὁ Διόνυσος." A few lines above, Dorcon in pointing his advantages over Daphnis also says: "εἰ δ', ὡς λέγουσι, καὶ αἶξ αὐτῷ γάλα δέδωκεν, οὐδὲν ἐρίφων διαφέρει" (also, see n190). Dionysus was also suckled by Hera like Heracles (cf. n121) which allowed him to join the pantheon of the gods (Nonn.Dion.35.298-328); it seems that bucolic forms and especially the image of someone falling in milk (like a kid) were important in the soteriological imagery of the Orphics; Daphnis whose Orphic elements I have argued elsewhere (see n14) seems to follow in the steps of Orpheus and Dionysus (see ch3nn84-5 and p.219f.).

the location where Daphnis died (on the banks of river Anapos).[180] Based on the beliefs that associated water with the return of valuable objects or divinities (see App.IIIp.483), it might be argued that a notion of regeneration was implied in the tradition that reported Daphnis as dying in a river.[181] Furthermore, the association of Daphnis and his tale with the tradition of eastern deities like Adonis, Osiris and Tammuz has been often implied along with the suggestion that Greek material dated even from the Homeric times had been filtered through eastern religious ideas.[182]

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[180] Anapos was mentioned along with Acis again at Ov.Fast.4.468. According to Ovid's version, the river Acis sprang from the blood of Acis, son of Faunus and rival of Polyphemus for the hand of Galatea. Acis, famous for the coldness of its waters (Solin.5.17), flows into the sea; A.S.F. Gow 1952: 18 (ad 69).

[181] As underlined, the riverbank or the seashore situated between land and water functioned as a bridge between two antithetical elements and two diverse worlds. As such, it was regarded as borderline where divine epiphanies would often occur, and, therefore, it should not be surprising that Daphnis received there three divine visitors. It might be argued that the location of his death reflected perfectly the substance of Daphnis as a shepherd. A shepherd or herdsman would have to roam the mountains as part of his daily duties and therefore, therefore he would spend his time on the border between civilisation and the wild. Paris met the three goddesses while tending his sheep on Ida (Eur.IA573-86) and so did Anchises when he met Aphrodite (Hom.h.Ven.5.76-80; cf. ibid.: 54-5). D.M. Halperin 1983: 96 noted that Euripides specifically addressed Paris as *boukolos*. The notion is dated as far back as the Babylonian literature; W. Berg 1974: 16; J.N. Postgate 1975: 1-21.

[182] Near Eastern religious ideas had possibly influenced the Greek as well as the Hebrew literature, although it has been proved extremely difficult to argue on specific linguistic or notional loans. It would not be an exaggeration to admit that the influence of Mesopotamian ideas was so pervasive that it had been assimilated by neighbouring civilisations to the level of a common cultural background; T. Jacobsen 1976: 152; G. Anderson 1993. Furthermore, archaeological evidence seems to confirm interaction between the Israelites and the Near Eastern cultures; the Nuzu tablets suggest that some of the stories in Genesis reflect the laws and customs of Mesopotamian society about the middle of the 2nd Millennium, e.g. Gen.31:19. Cultic representations of the Eastern fertility deities seem to have been adopted by the Patriarchs: the sacred Pillar (Gen.28:18 to 33:20), the sacred Tree (Gen.12:6, 13:18, 14:13, 21:33); the sacred Spring (Gen.16:14) etc.

The third scene seems to exhibit clearly the possibility that Theocritus and his contemporaries were aware not only of the classical literary material they would devoutly study, but of the religious practices still performed in their day and their origins.[183] This scene seems to have had numerous similarities with the *Song of Solomon*,[184] a Jewish poem included in the *Old Testament*.[185] The tradition in which this poem was included would go as back as Babylonian narrative literature.[186] The poem, which had an unusual

[183] D.M. Halperin 1983: 117: '…it is inconceivable that Callimachus, a native of Cyrene in Libya, where local pastoral festivals were still taking place more than six hundred years later…could be ignorant of such long-lived traditions reflected both in peasant culture and in art.'

[184] M.L. West 1997: 95: 'this is in fact a collection of two dozen or more disconnected love and wedding songs. In its present form it probably dates from the 3rd century BC, but many of the songs may be a good deal older.' The *Song* was included in the in the canon of 'Writings' possibly because it was regarded as an allegory of Yahweh's love towards Israel; cf. K. Cooper ²1999: 79-80 for the interpretation of the *Song* in late antiquity as the ideal relation between devotional females and the Lord. For pastoral and the *Song of Songs* as an early specimen of pastoral, see D.M. Halperin 1983: 22, 116.

[185] The first opposition to this approach could be that the *Old Testament* initially included the national literature of the Jews and hence, it would not include a new song, which had been influenced by the Greeks. This view is part of a long-established tradition according to which the Greeks had exercised undoubted influence on other cultures and were rarely influenced by them. However, the fact that the *Song of Solomon* is contemporary with Theocritus as well as the presence of a big Jewish community in Egypt of those days would rather encourage a Semitic influence over the Greeks than the other way round. After all, Adonis' name is of Semitic origin; therefore, it would be very difficult to explain how the Jews would have adopted from the Greeks the cult of a hero with a Jewish name. Likewise it has been found that divine titles in the patriarchal stories were likely to have been derived from Ras Shamra texts: El-Elyon[God most High] – Gen.14:18-20; El-Shaddai [God Almighty] - Gen.17:1, 28:3, 35:11; El-Roi [God of Seeing] - Gen.16:13; El-Olam [Everlasting God] - Gen.21:33; El-Bethel [God of Bethel] - Gen.31:13. The evidence suggests interaction between the eastern cultures on linguistic and cultic level.

[186] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 31-2 (also n4 quoting S. Stewart 1966, The Enclosed Garden, Madison): 'The Orientalising theory is very old. In Boccacio's *Genealogia* (bk14), the argument for the priority of the Greeks

and profound erotic character compared to the other poems of the Hebrew literature,[187] was dated in the third (at the latest) century BC and hence, it was contemporary with Theocritus and his work, if not a bit earlier. The poem was an explicit account of the love that a rather rustic maiden and the king felt for each other. Furthermore, it appears that Theocritus was not the only poet who affiliated his work with this kind of literature; other bucolic poets of the Hellenistic period employed in their poetry certain patterns derived from the eastern literary tradition. A comparison of the Hellenistic bucolic poetry with the *Song of Solomon* could confirm the identification of Adonis with Daphnis and it could point, if not to the origins of the bucolic, at least to the technique with which Hellenistic poets treated existent literary material, and of course, the range of their material.

The motif of a maiden running in the wild, also employed in the first *Idyll*, was already discussed in association with love and particularly with the nature of Daphnis' death.[188] In the *Song of*

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in poetry appears to be directed against a rival theory. Voices are still heard to claim that the *Song of Songs* is the prototype of the pastoral and that it was the source from which the Greeks derived their bucolic poetry.'

[187] The analysis following was designed as an exploration of the tradition which both the *Song of Solomon* and Theocritus' poetry possibly share. The similarities pointed out between the Hebrew tradition and the Greek pastoral poetry are only indicative of the motifs with a pastoral hue that seem to have been known and treated in that part of the ancient world. The arguments that will be employed form a further step toward the realisation of a more concrete Near Eastern background for the works of Greek and Latin poets.

[188] It has been argued that Daphnis may have died symbolically based on the employment of the motif in rites of passage discussed in the previous chapter (cf. n289). It is not accidental that herding was a task for young men before they had reached the age for marriage: Hom.Od.22.20-1, 14.64; [cf. the age of the young boy featured on the third image of the Cup. The notion was also recorded on the *Shield of Achilles*, Hom.Il.18.587-9]. In addition, the cult of Dionysus, particularly worshipped by women like that of Adonis, was widely associated with groups of females roaming the wilderness (*Maenads, Bacchae*: J.N. Bremmer 1984: 267-86; R. Osborne 1997: 187-212). Dionysus' substance as a fertility deity who had experienced death and rebirth according to the Orphics (see ch3p.219f.) could create an insightful parallel as to

Solomon, which plausibly belonged to the same tradition as the tale of Daphnis, a maiden was also depicted as looking for her lover (ll.3):[189]

"Upon my bed at night
I sought him whom my soul loves;
I sought him but found him not;
I called him, but he gave no answer.
I will rise now and go about the city,
In the streets and in the squares;
I will seek him whom my soul loves."

Similarly to the girl's intention to leave her bed and go in search for her lover,[190] Bion began his poem about the death of

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Theocritus' perception of Daphnis.

[189] W. Berg 1974: 19 and D.M. Halperin 1983: 96 noted that Anchises was approached by Aphrodite when left alone to wander in the mountains (Hom.h.Ven.5.76-80): "τὸν δ' εὗρε σταθμοῖσι λελειμμένον οἷον ἀπ' ἄλλων /Ἀγχίσην ἥρωα θεῶν ἄπο κάλλος ἔχοντα. /οἱ δ' ἅμα βουσὶν ἕποντο νομοὺς κάτα ποιήεντας /πάντες, ὁ δὲ σταθμοῖσι λελειμμένος οἷος ἀπ' ἄλλων /πωλεῖτ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διαπρύσιον κιθαρίζων." For shepherds and their important role in the religious life of the *polis*, attested from a very early period all the way until the figure of the Dionysian hierophant, see W. Berg ibid.: 15-22 and the relevant discussion in ch4. The shepherd was regarded as a mediator between the gods and the cities.

[190] The maiden employed the city as a possible distraction from the totally pastoral environment in which the two youths enjoyed their love, a motif also discussed in relation with the first image on the Cup. There the deceptive urban environment was reflected on the frivolous ways of the woman and her elegant and careful clothing. Theocritus cast particular light on the *peplos* with which the woman was veiled, while the girl in the *Song of Solomon* loudly asked (1.7) "why should I be like the one who is veiled /beside the flocks of your companion?" (yet, cf. 4.1 probably on a wedlock setting similar to the notion of sacred marriage: "your eyes are doves /behind your veil"). Generally, Near Eastern cultures showed a confidence in the value of life in cities, apart from the ancient Israelites; see D.M. Halperin 1983: 91. Also cf. Longus 1.16 where Dorcon praises his advantages over the blemishes of his rival Daphnis: "καὶ λευκός εἰμι ὡς γάλα καὶ πυρρὸς ὡς θέρος μέλλον /ἀμᾶσθαι, καὶ ἔθρεψέ <με> μήτηρ, οὐ θηρίον. οὗτος δέ ἐστι μικρός, καὶ ἀγένειος ὡς γυνή, καὶ μέλας ὡς λύκος" (cf. n179). In addition, Daphnis underlined the fact that he was dark like the hyacinth, while the girl in the *Song* was proud of being 'black and beautiful' (1.5) because the sun has gazed on her; cf. Appendix I. Taking into account the civic character of Adonis' cults from the Hellenistic period onwards, it could be argued that the white Adonis in Catullus' 29.6-9 alludes exactly to the civic aspect of his

Adonis with an address to Aphrodite to rise from her bed (ll.3-4). In the *Song*, the girl complained that she could not find her beloved whose loss was disquieting her sleep. When she managed to listen to his voice, his call was urging her to rise (2.10): "arise, my love, my fair one, and come away." In the same manner, Bion urged the goddess of Cyprus to wake up to her misery, the loss of Adonis:[191]

"μηκέτι πορφυρέοις ἐνὶ φάρεσι Κύπρι κάθευδε·
ἔγρεο δειλαία, κυανόστολα…"

In her speech the Jewish maiden employed the motif of contrasting the country with the city, which is further discussed in the first Appendix with regards to the first images carved on Theocritus' Cup (pp.445f.). The motif seems to have been essentially old and even implied in the Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh*.[192] This contrast can only be assumed in the poetry of

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cult; Catull.29.6-9: "et ille nunc superbus et superfluens/ perambulabit omnium cubilia/ ut albulus columbus aut Adoneus?" Also, cf. Long.1.16 where Daphnis described Dorcon as "λευκὸς ὡς ἐξ ἄστεος γυνή."

[191] The possibility that the *Song* belonged to the same fertility frame like the union of Aphrodite with Adonis is implied in the words of the king towards the girl (2.11-13): "[arise, my love] for now the winter is past, the rain is over and gone. The flowers appear on earth; the time of singing has come, and the voice of the turtledove is heard in our land. The fig tree puts forth its figs, and the vines are in blossom;" cf. Longus' book 3 where a harsh winter separated Daphnis and Chloe; B.D. MacQueen 1990: 64-5: 'winter must come, then, so that they may learn how love survives death. As winter is the season of death, so spring is the promise and fulfilment of resurgent life…both winter and spring bring their own discomforts to the lovers: winter separates them, confining them indoors, while spring subjects them to newly regenerated passions they still do not know how to assuage.'

[192] D.M. Halperin 1983: 89-97 and W. Berg 1974; in *the Epic of Gilgamesh*, Enkidu posed as the 'noble savage' who was introduced to civilisation as well as mortality through sexual experience with a female. His relations with the prostitute disassociated him from nature and the animals and subjected him to a first 'spiritual' death: "for six days and seven nights Enkidu comes forth, mating with the lass. After he had had his fill of her charms, he set his face toward his wild beasts. On seeing him the gazelles ran off, the wild beasts of the steppe drew away from his body. Startled was Enkidu as his body became taut, his knees were motionless-for his wild beasts had gone;" (A.R. George 2003: 549-551, ll.194-210).The narration entailed both the idea of sex as pollution (Hippolytus) as well as the notion of feebleness caused by love (Daphnis; cf. n119). However, it was stated that in exchange Enkidu gained *wisdom* (see n297); cf. Latin poets on wisdom after love; see for example, Prop.3.24.17-19 (Goold): "nunc demum vasto fessi resipiscimus aestu, /vulneraque ad sanum nunc coiere

Bion who underlined the fact that tender Aphrodite was running through the wilderness: "μηκέτ' ἐνὶ δρυμοῖσι τὸν ἀνερα μύρε Κύπρι" (ll.68). Yet Theocritus' *Idyll* fifteen had already attested that the festival had a clearly civic character during the Hellenistic years. In addition, later in the poem the young Jewess specified that although she was looking for her beloved in the streets of the city, she was thought of as running in the wilderness; when the king spoke he requested his bride to join him from Lebanon (4.8):

> "Come with me from Lebanon my bride;
> Come with me from Lebanon.
> Depart from the peak of Amana,
> From the peak of Senir and Hermon,
> From the dens of lions,
> From the mountains of leopards."[193]

The mutual erotic passion that the girl shared with her king made possible a comparison of the couple with the celebrated love of Aphrodite for Adonis. Furthermore, a second parallel could be sustained between the love that the maiden announced in purely bucolic terms towards her beloved in the Hebrew text and the obvious yearning of Daphnis' mortal mistress for the dying hero.[194]

In the Old Testament *Song*, the anonymous poet mentioned that for an unspecified reason the king[195] had to leave suddenly.[196]

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mea. /Mens Bona, si qua dea's, tua me in sacraria dono!"

[193] The association of mountain peaks with the fertility goddesses and the notion of the sacred marriage as in the case of Aphrodite and Anchises on Mt Ida have already been treated above (e.g. cf. nn119, 153, 181 and 189); also cf. Theoc.Id.3.15-6 quoted in ch1p.78. Also, see C. Segal 1992: 67-71 who commented on the baring of breasts in the representations of fertility goddesses and the beating of breasts in the mourning ceremonies of Adonis. Although, nothing is said about the beating of breasts in the *Song of Solomon*, the description of the maiden clearly intended to create an effect of abundance (7.1-5): "…your navel is a rounded bowl that never lacks mixed wine. Your belly is a heap of wheat, encircled with lilies. Your two breasts are like two fawns, twins of a gazelle." For the identification of Aphrodite with Cybele, see ch1p.33 (also cf. n263).

[194] D.M. Halperin 1983: 101 and S.N. Kramer 1963a: 51, 183, 207; In the Sumerian poetry there were hymns for the shepherdship of Inanna in which Dumuzi was addressed as a king, although it is still debatable whether the invocation was due to his role as a shepherd, a husband of Inanna or as a god.

[195] For a king and the duty of shepherd in the *Old Testament*, see Sam.16.1-13: Samuel anointed king one of the sons of Jesse, him who was

The girl who was left behind to await his return used to imagine him coming back to her but her illusions would only make her desperation even deeper.[197] Like Aphrodite who ran unkempt and unslippered in the woods, the girl was presented as defying every obstacle to the call of her beloved. She did not hid about her ornaments and she had no concern about her hair, her clothes, or her naked feet:[198]

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a shepherd; D.M. Halperin 1983: 96-7, argued that kingship was regarded as a 'corrupt urban institution' that could be purified if the king was derived from a rural environment. In addition, although it is still doubted whether Dumuzi was originally a historical figure (who was later deified) or a god (later given political authority), he was frequently addressed in the Sumerian tradition as 'king;' D.M. Halperin ibid.: 99-101. He was mentioned as the 5th ante-diluvian king of Sumer who reigned for 36 thousand years. Elsewhere he was recorded as the king of Uruk, the sacred city of Inanna (note that there he was a fisherman). The notion of a king as a shepherd of people was widespread in the East and Homer had applied it to Agamemnon. In the Sumerian *Hymn to Enlil*, the god was addresses as a shepherd; it seems that in the hymn the names 'my king,' 'my shepherd' and 'my god' have been identified with each other.

196 Perhaps due to a war (3.7-9): "Look, it is the litter of Solomon! /around it are sixty mighty men of Israel /of the mighty men of Israel, /all equipped with swords /and expert in war, /each with his sword at his thigh /because of alarms by night." Hence, even in the *Old Testament* pastoral duties and war could be combined.

197 *Song of Solomon* 5.2: "My soul failed me when he spoke. /I sought him but did not find him; /I called him but he gave no answer." Compare the silence of the maiden's beloved with the silence of Daphnis to the questions of his visitors as a motif that seems to reappear in fertility laments. The idea was also commented in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* [Sandars 92 = A.R. George 2003: 655 (ll.55-6)]: "O my young brother Enkidu, my dearest friend, what is this sleep, which holds you now? You are lost in the dark and cannot hear me." Note that here the city is employed as the place where the beloved might be withheld, just as in Ec.8 Vergil describes Daphnis as being enticed by the appeal of the city; cf. C. Faraone 1989: 294-300 and App.Inn2and 6 (also n223 below).

198 Cf. Bion's "λυσαμένα πλοκαμῖδας" (ll.20) referring to Aphrodite as well as his references to the goddess' slippers ("ἀσάνδαλος," 21); the *Song* has a negative structure: "how could I soil my feet?" [I could not, nevertheless I did], would be the implied answer. Also note the use of the verb "ἀλάληται" wander (cf. ch1p.80). Theoc.Id.15.132-7: "ἀῶθεν δ' ἄμμες νιν ἅμα δρόσῳ ἀθρόαι ἔξω /οἰσεῦμες ποτὶ κύματ' ἐπ' αἰόνι πτύοντα, /λύσασαι δὲ κόμαν καὶ ἐπὶ σφυρὰ κόλπον ἀνεῖσαι /στήθεσι φαινομένοις λιγυρᾶς ἀρξεύμεθ' ἀοιδᾶς· /'ἔρπεις, ὦ φίλ'Αδωνι, , καὶ ἐνθάδε κἠς' Αχέροντα /ἠμιθέων, ὡς φαντί, μονώτατος;'" cf. Cyril of Alexandria Patrologiae Cursus (Migne) who wrote

"…for my head is wet with dew,
My locks with the drops of the night.
I had put off my garment;
How could I put it on again?
I had bathed my feet;
How could I soil them?"

The young girl, who was characterised by the other maidens in the city as the "fairest among women,"[199] celebrated her passion for her lover, whom she compared to a king -obviously, king Solomon. She would exchange emotional compliments with her lover whose beauty was incomparable and the dialogue was varied by the girl's addresses to the maidens of the city and their replies.[200] Although the maiden repeatedly stated her failure to find her beloved, there are instances in the poem where a reunion with the beloved was celebrated and even plead for the 'chorus' that escorted her (6.13):

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that 'while Aphrodite wept Adonis' death, a choir moaned and lamented over her. When she came up from hell and said she had found him she sought, they rejoiced with her and began to dance. This scene has been played up to our days in the temples of Alexandria.' Also see Prop.2.13.53-6 where he describes Aphrodite's mourning for Adonis: "testis, cui niveum quondam percussit Adonem /venantem Idalio vertice durus aper; /illis formosum lavisse paludibus, illic /diceris effusa tu, Venus, isse coma;" cf. n190 for Catullus' perception of Adonis.

[199] SongSol.6.2; Aphrodite's supremacy in beauty among the other Olympian goddesses was also confirmed by the aforementioned judgement of Paris on the Mt Ida (cf. ch1n108). In addition, Helen, her most famous protégé was also renowned as the fairest among mortals. Sappho recorded it in poem 16 (Campbell): "πά]γχυ δ' εὔμαρες σύνετον πόησαι /π]άντι τ[ο]ῦτ', ἀγὰρ πόλυ περσκέθοισα /κάλλος ἀνθρώπων᾽Ελένα [τὸ]ν ἄνδρα /τὸν [πανάρ]ιστον /καλλ[ίποι]σ' ἔβα'ς Τροΐαν πλέοι[σα /κωὐδ[ὲ παῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων το[κ]ήων /πά[μπαν] ἐμνάσθη, ἀλλὰ παράγαγ' αὔταν /]σαν." It was also accepted in general that Love was responsible for leading Helen astray in mind, but also geographically (hence, the motif of wandering in the sea this time could be also implied here).

[200] See Aelian's description of Daphnis' youth (VH10.18): "…καὶ ὡμίλησε καλῷ ὄντι καὶ νέῳ καὶ πρῶτον ὑπηνητῃ, ἔνθα ἡ χαριεστάτη ἐστὶν ἥβη τῶν καλῶν μειρακίων, ὥς που φησι καὶ Ὅμηρος;" cf. Longus 1.13 where Chloe specifically described Daphnis as "καλός," an epithet also attributed to Adonis by Bion (1): "ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις." Achilles' beauty and his comparison to Daphnis is commented in App.Ip.445f.; also see Hymn.Ven.77 where Anchises was said to have had his beauty 'from the gods;' cf. the beauty of the naked Daphnis (1.24) and Chloe (1.32) in the novel of Longus; cf. ch1p41 on the beauty of young Hippomenes.

"Return, return, o Shulamite! /return, return, that we may look upon you."[201] It is remarkable that every expression of affection was rendered in totally bucolic terms, while the lover was clearly said to carry out pastoral duties.[202] Strangely, the girl began her erotic confession with an enigmatic reference to a vineyard:

"My mother's sons were angry with me;
They made me keeper of the vineyards,
But my own vineyard I have not kept!
Tell me, you whom my soul loves,
Where you pasture your flock,
Where you make it lie down at noon;
For why should I be like one who is veiled
Besides the flocks of your companions?"

It might be suggested that the image of the vineyard was employed metaphorically to signify the erotic disposition of the young Jewess who sounded rather lovelorn and delinquent.[203] In a playful mood, the girl addressed in particular the foxes that coveted the blooming vineyards (2.15):

"Catch us little foxes, the little foxes that ruin the vineyards-
For our vineyards are in blossom."

It might be argued that this description was of the same hue as the third image elaborated on the Cup that was promised as a reward to Thyrsis. Theocritus clarified that the young boy had been allotted to guard a vineyard although he, like the enamoured girl, was apparently unwilling to carry out his duties.[204] This clue could

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[201] Cf. SongSol.3.4 where the maiden admitted that she found her beloved right after she had met the sentinels of the walls: "scarcely had I passed them, /when I found him whom my soul loves." In addition, in 2.8 the beloved was described as arriving from over the mountains: "the voice of my beloved! /look, he comes, /leaping upon the mountains, /bounding over the hills."

[202] SongSol.1.8: "if you do not know /…follow the tracks of the flock, /and pasture your kids /beside the shepherd's tents". Also 4.2-3 (idem.6.5-6): "your hair is like a flock of goats, /moving down the slopes of Gilead. /your teeth are like a flock of shorn ewes /that have come up from the washing…."

[203] The girl specifically referred to the noontime of siesta as a typical feature of the pastoral daily routine, a motif also traced in the poem of Theocritus. For the sacredness of that time of the day, see ch1n224.

[204] P. Alpers 1990: 23: 'if the boy's situation and activity represent those of the shepherds within the poem, and if the plaiting in which he is absorbed represents the art of the cup itself, then it does not seem far-fetched to take the boy's pleasure and activity as representative of the pastoral art of Theocritus himself.' Alpers argued that Theocritus played

emphasise the possibility that the images depicted on the Cup in which Theocritus rendered the tradition of Daphnis. In addition, the multiple directions of influence that probably constructed the tradition around Daphnis are best displayed in the third image carved on the Cup to which Theocritus rendered a Homeric flair. Taking as a starting-point the central role that the description of the Cup had in the first *Idyll*, a correlation with the accounts of the *Shields of Achilles and of Heracles* had been assumed at least as far as the structure of the *ecphrasis* was concerned. Furthermore, several qualities, adduced in the heroic reputation of Heracles and Achilles, seem to create analogues with the tradition of Daphnis. It seems that the vineyard carved in the third image of the Cup bore explicitly the evidence of the Homeric coating that covers Theocritus' poetry.[205] As mentioned, the boy had been allotted to guard the vineyard; nevertheless, the youngster seemed more interested in plaiting a cricket-cage, although already two foxes coveted both his wallet and the grapes:[206]

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with the audience's awareness of his artistic revamp of Homeric material in the fashioning of the Cup; in addition, he also employed the image of *akris*, a generic name which included the cicada, Callimachus' symbol of his own poetic skill. Cf. C. Segal 1981: 27 who also argued that the grasshopper was a 'palpable symbol of poetry' and D.M. Halperin 1983: 181 who held that the boy symbolised the Alexandrian 'standards of artistic modesty.' S.F. Walker 1980: 36 referred to the boy as an allusion to 'free artistic creativity.' Finally, T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 55 suggested that Theocritus channelled his perplexed experience in an antithetical mode, through the paradigmatic inexperience of the young boy.

[205] See T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 55 where he argued that Tibullus distinguishes between an agricultural scene filled with toil (2.3.61) and the pre-agricultural primitivist utopia (2.3.68). In addition, he noted that the difference between Hesiod and bucolic was exactly that the Hesiodic tradition prized difficulties and pain, while it had little but suspicion for beauty and elegance; cf. E.W. Leach 1964: 142-154, who related the agricultural imagery of the *Georgics* with Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*. In addition, erotic and agricultural imagery was combined in Sumerian sacred marriage texts (cited by D.M. Halperin 1983: 105).

[206] The scene was imitated by Longus (2-6 AD) 1.9: "Ἡ μὲν ἀνθερίσκους ἀνελομένη ποθὲν ἐξελθοῦσα ἀκριδοθήκη ἔπλεκε καὶ τοῦτο πονουμένη τῶν ποιμνίων ἠμέλησεν, ὁ δὲ καλάμους ἐκτεμὼν λεπτοὺς καὶ τρήσας τὰς τῶν γονάτων διαφυὰς, ἀλλήλους τε κηρῷ μαλθακῷ συναρτήσας, μέχρι νυκτὸς συρίζειν ἐμελέτα" (Edmonds). Right after the poet remarked that while the two lovers were mindless of their duties, Love found the chance to contrive a

"περκναῖσι σταφυλαῖσι καλὸν βέβριθεν ἀλωά,
τὰν ὀλίγος τις κῶρος ἐφ' αἱμασιαῖσι φυλασσει
ἥμενος· ἀμφὶ δέ νιν δύ' ἀλώπεκες ἃ μὲν ἀν' ὄρχως
φοιτῇ σινομένα τὰν τρώξιμον, ἃ δ' ἐπὶ πήρᾳ
πάντα δόλον τεύχοισα τὸ παιδίον οὐ πρὶν ἀνησεῖν
φατὶ πρὶν ἢ ἀκράτιστον ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι καθίζῃ.
αὐτὰρ ὅγ' ἀνθερίκοισι καλὰν πλέκει ἀκριδοθήραν
σχοίνῳ ἐφαρμόσδων· μέλεται δὲ οἱ οὔτε τι πήρας
οὔτε φυτῶν τοσσῆνον ὅσον περὶ πλέγματι γαθεῖ."

A vineyard scene was wrought on both the *Shield of Heracles* and the *Shield of Achilles*, and the repetition of the motif could confirm the association of all three texts with fertility and ideas about fertility that originate in the Near East.[207] This realisation would comply with several recent voices which argue that Greek epic was heavily influenced by eastern traditions and even literary modes.[208] The scene that Theocritus created was rather peculiar: the young boy was depicted as preferring to plait wreaths of asphodels rather than to carry out his duties. However, asphodels used to have strong death connotations and Homer mentioned that Achilles after his death was wandering in the asphodel meadows of

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plot against them. Longus definitely underlined the negligence of the youngsters soon to be followed by mischief, while he also clarified that their misfortune was of erotic nature.

[207] Both shields celebrated the gifts of Dionysus. Note that wine was regarded as a mark of civilisation and the knowledge of drinking wine was a sign of sophistication. R. Buxton 1994: 200 interpreted Polyphemus' habit of drinking neat wine (Hom.Od.9.297) as stressing his lack of civilisation. In addition, in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* the prostitute that initiated Enkidu to civilisation taught him specifically how to drink wine before inviting him to the city (A.R. George 2003: 561, ll.51 and 175, ll.43-118; cf. pp.311-13 for a Middle Babylonian Tablet of the tale).

[208] See M.L. West 1997: chs 6 (pp.276-333), 7 (pp.334-401) and 8 (pp.402-437); in his conclusion on the influence of Near Eastern traditions on Homer, he wrote (p.400): 'we have seen that the Iliad, at least, is pervaded by themes and motifs of Near Eastern character. They are by no means evenly distributed. They are predominantly associated with two particular strands in the poem's fabric: the divine comedy, and *Achilles' tragedy*' (my emphasis). Also, see p.437 for an account of the Odyssey's debt to the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. Also see W. Burkert 1987b: 10-40 and 1983b: 51-6; J. Griffin 1992: 189-211 on Theocritus' treatment of epic and eastern material.

Hades.[209] Moreover, Theocritus described the grapes as "πυρναία" (ll.46), an epithet that gave evidence for a long dispute regarding the colour of the grapes. Gow suggested that the correct writing should be "περκναίσι," a conclusion he based on the epic examples since in both *Shields* the grapes were described as having a dark colour ("μελαναὶ, μελάνθησαν").[210] However, both Homer and Hesiod had also described their vineyards as golden, a meaning which the epithet "πυρναίος" could convey. The epithet, which was of the same root with "πύρνον," a short form of "πύρινον," used to describe the colour of the mature wheat.[211] Hence, the possibility that Theocritus might have actually used the adjective "πυρναίος" instead of the suggested "περκνός" cannot be

[209] Hom.Od.11.471-540; schol.Ap.Rhod.4.815; Apollod.Epit.5.5. Also, see A.S.F. Gow 1952: 12 and 477. Also ibid.: 149 for ancient quotations confirming the anti-aphrodisiac properties of the plant which was used at the Thesmophoria. The story of Aphrodite and Persephone disputing about Adonis' infantile beauty was already mentioned. Furthermore, in other versions, the young Adonis who had just been reared to manhood was also contested by the two goddesses: Ov.Met.10.119-28; Ant.Lib.34.5; Serv.Aen.5.72; Cyr.Alex.Comm. in Is.2.3 (70.440 Migne); Tzetzes on Lycoph.Alex.829. It might be assumed that the asphodels imply a deadly danger for the boy, who like Adonis was destined to perish before maturity.

[210] Theocritus' expression seems to claim close proximity to the Homeric version: "σταφυλαῖσι καλὸν βέβριθεν ἀλωά;" cf. Hom.Il.18.561: "σταφυλῇσι μέγα βρίθουσαν ἀλωήν /καλὴν χρυσείην" and Hes.[Sc.]296: "ὄρχος χρυσέος." Noticeably in both cases the vines were described as golden. See A.S.F. Gow 1952: 10.

[211] For "πύρνον," see Hom.Od.15.312 and 17.362. A similar adjective describing the same colour is "πυρρός" (first attested in Cypria fr.16 Davies) which Theocritus used with some variation in his poetry in order to describe the colour of the hair cf. *Idylls* 6.3, 8.3; Note that Deucalion's wife was called Pyrrha and Achilles' son was Pyrrhos. In addition, Pyrrha is the name by which Achilles himself was known in Skyros while hiding among the daughters of king Lycomedes; the hero was famous for dying young in the way Daphnis is wasting before his time. Also, see A.S.F. Gow 1952: 172 about the description of the young Theseus as blonde-haired. Furthermore, R. Hunter 1996: 130-8 commented on the use of the epithet in Theoc.Id.15.130 for the description of Adonis' lips, esp.137 for a comparison between Pyrrhos /Neoptolemos and Adonis. Also see Tib.2.8.31-2: "carior est auro iuvenis, cui levia fulgent /ora nex amplexus aspera barba terit." A.W. Bulloch 1973: 77 argued for Tibullus' debt to Theocritus.

disregarded. At the antipode of this intimation lies the argument that the epithet "περκνός" was also connected with age in the sense of maturity, while a third option could argue that Theocritus might have employed the adjective "πυρρός" as a mark of youth.[212] The poet specifically mentioned that the boy was of a young age and thus, he would be expected to avoid words, which had connotations of maturity. Furthermore, maybe the golden colour of the grapes was not at all designed as a mark of ripeness; according to the imagery of the *Song of Solomon*, a vineyard in full bloom could bear erotic connotations, a motif, which seems to have been quite widespread. Perhaps then the possibility that Theocritus wished to allude to the boy's substance from an erotic point of view, a notion sustained by the boy's appointment as guardian of the vineyard, should come to the foreground.[213] This explanation, of course, could further create an analogue with Daphnis' erotic disaster. A disaster that was rather to be expected if the ancient paroemiographer was to be proved right: "The watchman must keep his watch; the lover must love." This saying compares the different interests of the watchman and the lover who, however, might run into each other since they both tend to be out at night.[214]

The Hebrew text created a simile between a vineyard and

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[212] For "περκνός," see Callim.Hec.5.75; regarding the young age of the boy cf. nn196-7 above. In addition, cf. Adonis' age that according to Th.Id.15.129 was not more than eighteen or nineteen. Daphnis was also presented as young and inexperienced in the novel of Longus.

[213] Vines and pomegranate fields (for its magical and aphrodisiac use see ch1p.50, 63-6; cf. n202) were also in blossom in the *Song of Solomon* (7.11-12): "come, my beloved, /let us go forth into the fields, /and lodge in the villages; /let us go out early in the vineyards, /and see whether the vines have budded, /whether the pomegranates are in bloom. There I will give you my love."

[214] Note that in the *Song of Solomon* the maiden who was looking for her lover met the watchmen of the walls twice, in lines 3.3 and 5.7: "making their rounds in the city /the sentinels found me; /they beat me, they wounded me, /they took away my mantle, /those sentinels of the walls." This point was also made by M.L. West 1997: 524. On page 523 he also wrote: 'the juxtaposition of the two [the watchman and the lover] seems to have been a motif of oriental love poetry.' Here are some verses from a Sumerian poem: "O our son-in-law, as you let night fall…/I unfasten for you bolt and pure lock /from the door! Run! Come quickly! /there is (watch on its) round of the wall! /when the patrol has passed, /O our son-in-law, when the patrol has gone to rest, /seize the twilight by the hand…/ come to our house quickly!"

erotic disposition, a metaphor which was further illustrated in the text when the lover compared his mistress' endowments with vines (7.8.2):

> "O may your breasts be like clusters of the vine,
> And the scent of your breath like apples,[215]
> And your kisses like the best wine
> That goes down smoothly,
> Gliding over lips and teeth."[216]

Hence, the erotic eagerness of a youth could be compared to guarding a vineyard, a combination that must have found its origins in the notion that both mature fruits and young lovers are full of the juices of life. This notion seems to have been widespread in Greek literature although the comparison of youthfulness with a vineyard specifically was not commonly found.[217] However, other fruits like figs and apples were very common in the metaphors employed by the poets, while Pindar confirmed that the young boys who reached the age of ripeness could be considered as potential wooers of Aphrodite:

> "ὅστις ἐὼν καλὸς εἶχεν Ἀφροδίτας
> εὐθρόνου μνάστειραν ἄδισταν ὀπώραν."

In addition, the idea of erotic ripeness and danger was already

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[215] For the association of erotic eagerness with apples, see ch1p.46f. In addition, in the novel of Longus (3.33) Daphnis offered Chloe an apple after they had just been formally betrothed. In the *Song of Solomon* the beloved was said to be like an apple tree (2.3) and even to have been born under an apple tree (8.5): "Under the apple tree I awakened you. /there your mother was in labour with you." Finally, Inanna and Dumuzi were featured as copulating under an apple tree; cf. Polyphemus in Theocritus (ch1p.78-9) and Horace.

[216] Cf. The mourning of Dumuzi, in the Steppe of the Early Grass. (quoted by J. Griffin 1992: 207): "….my vine will never drink water in its garden bed,/ my vine which is uprooted." Also, Halperin 1983: 106: "Oh lady, your breast is your field, /Inanna, your breast is your field, /your wide field which "pours out" plants, /your wide field which "pours out" grain, /water flowing from on high -(for) the lord-bread, bread from on high, /[pour] out for the "commanded" lord, /I will drink it from you."

[217] Pind.Isthm.2.4-5. See A. Carson 1990: 145-8 researching exactly the sense of erotic ripeness in Greek literature; cf. Theophr.H.P.3.6.9; in Anth.Pal.12.185 young boys were described as figs ripe upon a tree and in danger of being despoiled. Another word employed for the fruit of virginity was "ὀπώρα;" cf. Aesch.Suppl.998, 1015; Alexis fr.165 (Kock). The comparison of a bride with an apple is very ancient and was employed already by Sappho; 105aLP, 105cLP; cf. Diog.Laert.3.32.

attested in Hellenistic literature. It would be plausible then to assume that Theocritus had analogous texts in mind when he composed this programmatic poem.[218] It might even be argued that he must have been aware of eastern traditions where the comparison of coming of age with a vineyard appears to have been more popular. Consequently, the young boy on the Cup should be interpreted as undertaking an erotic risk similar to that, which has led Daphnis to the brink of death.

As mentioned above in the *Song of Solomon* the girl was depicted as craving with love for her king to whose charms she had definitely yielded (2.3):

"With great delight I sat in his shadow,
And his fruit was sweet to my taste.
He brought me to the banqueting house,
And his intention towards me was love.
Sustain me with raisins, refresh me with apples;[219]
For I am faint with love".

Bion presented Aphrodite as yearning equally for Adonis' love. Her passion for the charming youth followed a dramatic crescendo when the goddess realised that Adonis would irrevocably perish.[220] Even when his spirit was about to depart form his body, the goddess desperately tried to snatch some last kisses (ll.12-14):[221]

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[218] See F. Cairn 1984: 89 for the definition of a programmatic poem: '…if it contains statements about poetry and the art of writing poetry, either implicit or explicit. Such statements can sometimes involve evaluations of poetry or of several different kinds of poetry….such poems can sometimes use an agreed symbolic language.'

[219] The opening of *Eclogue* 3 is based on Theocritus 4. Also compare *Eclogue* 8.37-42 with the *Song of Solomon*: "a child you were when I first beheld you-/our orchard fruit was chilled with dew- /you and your mother both apple-gathering: /just twelve I was but I took charge of you. /On tiptoe reaching the laden branches, /One glance I gave you, and utterly /My heart was ravished, my reason banished- /…/farewell, o my woods. I'll hurl myself into the sea /from yonder peak. This last song for Nysa-."

[220] Cf. Moschus' poem *Εἰς νεκρὸν Ἄδωνιν*, in which the boar that killed the hero admitted that it only wished to kiss him, taken by his beauty. J. Reed 1995: 335: 'A problem: his boar hunting death is not even hinted at until after 400 BC (Araros, fr.1PCG; Dionysius I of Syracuse, fr.1TrGF) and is not certainly attested until the early Hellenistic poets Lycophron (Alex.831-3) and Glycon (PMG1029).' Contamination with the tale of Attis should be suspected; W. Burkert 1979: 108.

[221] Similar wording could be found in Inanna's lament for Dumuzi which goes back to the idea of ill luck due to mating with a goddess; See

"θνᾴσκει καὶ τὸ φίλημα, τὸ μήποτε Κύπρις ἀνοίσει.
Κύπριδι μὲν τὸ φίλημα καὶ οὐ ζώοντος ἀρέσκει,
ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδεν Ἄδωνις, ὅ νιν θνᾴσκοντ' ἐφίλησεν."

Adonis had already fallen into a coma, as his senses did not respond to the divine kiss, a fact that only increased Aphrodite's anguish. In a mournful outburst that matched the sincerity with which the girl confessed her love to her king in Solomon's song, the goddess begged her lover to allow her a last memory, a final kiss (ll.40-9):

"*ὡς ἴδεν, ὡς ἐνόησεν* Ἀδώνιδος ἄσχετον ἕλκος,
ὡς ἴδε φοίνιον αἷμα μαραινομένῳ περὶ μηρῷ,[222]
πάχεας ἀμπετάσασα κινύρετο· "μεῖνον Ἄδωνι, δύσποτμε
μεῖνον Ἄδωνι, πανύστατον ὥς σε κιχείω,
ὥς σε περιπτύξω καὶ χείλεα χείλεσι μίξω.
ἔγρεο τυτθὸν Ἄδωνι, τὸ δ' αὖ πύματόν με φίλησον,
τοσσοῦτόν με φίλησον, ὅσον ζώῃ τὸ φίλημα,
ἄχρις ἀποψύχῃς ἐς ἐμὸν στόμα κεἰς ἐμὸν ἦπαρ
πνεῦμα τεὸν ῥεύσῃ, τὸ δέ σευ γλυκὺ φίλτρον
ἀμέλξω,
ἐκ δὲ πίω τὸν ἔρωτα, φίλημα δὲ τοῦτο φυλάξω…"

Aphrodite characterised the kiss as a "φίλτρον," a magical potion, obviously liquid because immediately afterwards she declared that she will 'drink' love.[223] Moreover, she drew on bucolic language in order to create an image of milking love. Similarly, the girl in the *Song of Solomon* asked to be allowed to kiss her beloved whose kisses she compares to liquids such as wine and perfume (1.1):

"Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth
For your love is better than wine,
Your anointing oils are fragrant,
Your name is perfume poured out."

C. Penglase 1994: 47 (18-26; S.N. Kramer 1969: 104-6): "*my beloved*, *my man* [*of my heart*], /I will bring an evil fate for you, /*my brother of fairest face*, /your right hand you have placed on my vulva, /your left hand you have stretched toward my head. /*having approached your mouth to mine*, /having held my lips toward your head, /you, for this reason, have been decreed an evil fate, /thus it is, 'dragon' of women, *my brother of fairest face*."

[222] Note the same syntax in Theocritus' description of the myth of Atalanta, ch1p.54. For Vergil's imitation of this structure, see n289 below.

[223] Cf. magic against Dumuzi: "they [the sorcerers of Arali] were seven /they are those who know (how to practice) witchcraft in /heaven, who know how to practice witchcraft on earth, /in heaven they stretch for him the gu-bad-Du /on earth they stretch for him the gu-bad-Du." See G. Anderson 1993: 73. Also cf. Vergil *Eclogue* 8 and Theocritus *Idyll* 2; see nn197 and p.194f.

In both texts an insistence on the physical side of kissing can be detected, while the girl had already asked to be refreshed with apples and raisins, fruits often used in magical love spells.[224] The notion of being drunk with love, which was discussed as a possible allusion in the first image on the Cup, was also treated in the Hebrew tradition casting more light in the bucolic simile of milking love from a lover's lips. This time the king addressed his passionate love (4.11-5.1):

"Your lips distil nectar, my bride;
Honey and milk are under your tongue.
The scent of your garments is like
The scent of Lebanon.
A garden locked is my sister, my bride,
A garden locked, a fountain sealed.

Come to my garden, my sister, my bride,
I gather my myrrh with my spice,[225]
I eat my honeycomb with my honey,
I drink my wine with milk.
Eat friends, drink,
And be drunk with love."

Hence, it could be argued that Theocritus in his first *Idyll* treated the story of Daphnis in the way Bion treated the story of the death of Adonis and it would be plausible that they both had in mind texts similar to the Hebrew *Song* discussed here. In addition, the girl in the *Song of Solomon* clearly referred to the garden of her beloved which could be compared with the custom of the 'gardens of Adonis', a kind of pots which were especially planted in order to grow quickly and then left to wither.[226]

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[224] Cf. the Sumerian text of mourning for the death of Dumuzi; S.N. Kramer 1979: 80 and 1969: 82-3. Inanna lamented her consort in similar terms with Aphrodite (according to Bion) and the maiden in the *Song of Solomon*: "you have placed your lips to mine, /you have pressed my lips to your head."

[225] Note that in the *Song* often the advantages of the beloved were compared with spices, frankincense, and myrrh. It might not be accidental that myrrh was one of the most essential ingredients in the celebration of Adonis' festival and that his mother was also named Smyrna by the Greeks (Panyasis fr.22a Davies). Adonis was also reputed to have been born by a myrrh tree into which his mother was transformed. The same motif was found in a Sumerian text were the mother of Damu /Dumuzi put him to sleep in the bark of a tree; C. Penglase 1994: 179.

[226] In the Sumerian lamentation of Dumuzi called in the Steppe of the

"My beloved has gone down to his garden,
To the bed of spices,
To pasture his flock in the gardens."[227]

Theognis compared the gardens of Adonis with the hero himself in order to comment on his possible age: 'Like his suddenly and violently growing plants, Adonis himself dies before maturity.'[228] The same remark was made about Daphnis and the young boy depicted in the third image of the Cup. Hence, the comparison between Daphnis and Adonis goes deeper and Theocritus seems to have drawn images for both heroes from the Near Eastern tradition.[229] In the *Song*, the women even suggested

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Early Grass the hero was lamented as such: "my tamarisk which will never drink water in its garden bed, /whose crown formed no foliage in the steppe! /my poplar which will never drink its channel of water dry, /my poplar torn out by the roots!/ My vine which will never drink water in its garden bed, /my vine which is uprooted!;" see J. Griffin 1992: 207; cf. T. Jacobsen 1987: 61. Similar images of the beloved as a fountain of living water, as an (apple) tree and as a garden are also found in the *Song of Solomon* confirming the association of the poem with Near Eastern religious traditions.

[227] Also: "O you who dwell in the gardens, /My companions are listening for your voice; /Let me hear it." J. Reed 1995: 317-347 referred to the Adonia. For ancient testimonies on the gardens of Adonis, see the Suda, Theophr.Hist.Plant.6.7.3 and Hesych. s.v. "᾽Αδώνιδος κῆποι"; also see Pl.Phdr.276B.

[228] G. Nagy 1985: 62 also quoted by J. Reed 1995: 324. The gardens of Adonis gave the instigation for a metaphor regarding all things of 'great promise that never reach fruition;' see N. Weill 1966: 390-1; Theophr.Caus.Plant.1.12.2; schol.Pl.Phdr.276B; Epict.4.8.36; Zenob.1.49; Plut.Mor.560C; Phot.Bibl. s.v. "᾽Αδώνιδος κῆποι," etc. J. Reed 1985: 320 suggested that the original importance of the gardens in the Near Eastern context must have been agricultural. Reed also cited works compiling analogues from Palestine and Egypt; see M. Delcor 1978: 371-94; J.G. Griffiths 1970: 37.

[229] In the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the hero also refers to the love of Ishtar for Ishullalu: "and did you not love Ishullalu, the gardener of your father's palmgrove? He brought you baskets filled with dates without end; every day he loaded your table. Then you turned your eyes on him and said: dearest Ishullalu, come here to me, let us enjoy your manhood, come forward and take me, I am yours. Ishullalu answered 'what are you asking from me? My mother has baked and I have eaten; why should I come to such as you for food that is tainted and rotten? For when was a screen of rushes sufficient protection from frosts? But when you had heard his answer you struck him. He has changed to a blind mole deep in the earth, one whose desire is always beyond his reach." Cf. the adventures of Polyphemus in *Idylls* 11 and particularly in 6 where Galatea woes Polyphemus with apples and he denies her. Also, see Vergil Ec.8.34 and

that they help the girl in finding her lover, which could be understood as a ritual search similar to the search for Hylas or even to Adonis' mourning by the women (6.1):[230]

"Where has your beloved gone,
O fairest among women?
Which way has your beloved turned,
That we may seek him with you?"

Sappho in her version of the story presented the women, to whom the festival of Adonis as well as similar eastern rites had been entrusted, as asking Aphrodite how they should lament the loss of Adonis. In the Sapphic imagery (140a Loeb) Aphrodite was depicted as setting the pace of the dirge. The focus that both the Hebrew and the Sapphic lament seem to have placed on the breasts of the mourners could underline the ancient associations of these rites with fertility:[231]

"κατθνάσκει, Κυθέρη', ἄβρος Ἄδωνις τί κε
θεῖμεν;
καττύπτεσθε, κόραι, καὶ κατερείκεσθε κίθωνας."[232]

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the *Song of Solomon* 8.5 cited above.

[230] Ap.Rh.1354. See J. Winkler 1990: 199 argued that the women would gather for the Adonia (as well as the Thesmophoria) in order to celebrate the excellence of male farmers in comparison to their own female tawdriness. W. Burkert 1979: 107 underlined the possible apotropaic character of the festival that was entrusted to the women.

[231] See Th.Id.3.46-8 where Aphrodite continued to keep the dead Adonis to her breast: "τὰν δὲ καλὰν Κυθέρειαν ἐν ὤρεσι μῆλα νομεύων /οὐχ οὕτως Ὤδωνις ἐπὶ πλέον ἄγαγε λύσσας /ὥστ' οὐδὲ φθίμενόν νιν ἄτερ μαζοῖο τίθητι;" The scene appeared in Bion (ll.70-3) as well, although the latter does not mention the breast of Aphrodite (cf. SongSol.8.8-9 where in a rather teasing way the girl complained about her young sister who had no breasts). However, as C. Segal 1981: 71 argued, both poets 'exploited to the full the antithesis between the joys of love and the sadness of death.' In the SongSol.8.6 the maiden sang the power of love which can overcome even death: 'for love is as strong as death, passion as fierce as the grave.' It seems that despite the obvious language barrier between Greek and Hebrew the same notions and expressive ways are repeated in the texts. Also, see SongSol.4.8 cited above where the king urged his queen to come to him over the wild mountains.

[232] See Diosc.Anth.Pal.7.407.7-8; Paus.9.29.8. M.L. West 1992: 339-40. cf. the SongSol.1.4 where the maiden declared on behalf of her companions: "We will exult and rejoice in you; /we will extol your love more /than wine; rightly they do love you." A hint of a cult might be hidden in the above lines,

In the *Song of Solomon*, a dialogue between the most beautiful girl and a chorus of other women also seems to have taken place. In addition, the *Song* could be regarded as evidence of the existence of the cult of Adonis or of a similar deity in Hebrew society and literature.[233]

It would not be irrational to assume that the *Song of Solomon* or most probably texts similar to it had exercised their influence on the structure and style of the ritual lamentation of Adonis -whose Semitic appeal the Greeks mistook for his actual name.[234] As attested, the women would normally worship the Assyrian god in Palestine. In addition, in the *Song* itself many clues could suggest that the couple taking up the dialogue could be identified with Aphrodite and Adonis.[235] A papyrus found in Fayûm and dated not later than 250 BC included a shopping list for the celebration of the Adonia as depicted in Theocritus' *Idyll* fifteen.[236] Apart from the

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especially as we know that Adonis also was publicly mourned in the city streets even in Classical Athens: Ar.Lys.393-6; Plut.Alcib.18.5; Nic.13.7.

[233] As argued in the previous chapter, this image of Aphrodite running in the wilderness in search for Daphnis was passed to Latin elegiac poets as well. In addition, cf. the SongSol.8.5: "who is that coming up from the wilderness, /leaning upon her beloved?"

[234] Similar dirges existed in the Egyptian religion which often depicted Isis and her sister Nephthys as mourning Osiris. See S.K. Heyob 1975: 38-9: 'A series of chanted solos or duets which were part of the dialogue used in the enactment of the passion of Osiris' was called 'the Songs.' These songs which were dated at least since the Middle Kingdom Isis expressed her suffering for the loss of Osiris in terms quite similar to the maiden depicted in the Hebrew literature: "I am your sister Isis, the desire of your heart, /(yearning) after your love while you are far away… (3.14-16);" "…come you to me quickly, /since I desire to see your face after not having seen your face…my heart is hot at your separation;…I yearn for your love toward me. /come! Be not alone! Be not far off!"

[235] For the identification of Adonis and Aphrodite with a Phoenician divine couple worshipped at Byblos, see n154. M. Detienne 1994: 143 admitted in the end that the Attic Adonia, the festival of Byblos during the Roman times and the Adonia of Alexandria share certain essential characteristics despite differences that the historical circumstances could explain. One is inclined to accept that in Byblos the Romans, as it was their practice for the places they would conquer, they adapted to the local cults; therefore, the Adonia of Byblos would have probably maintained some of its original Phoenician character.

[236] See A.S.F. Gow 1952: 262. Note that Longus placed his novel in an equally idyllic landscape set in the second already sentence of his

wreaths of Adonis, this list included wine, woods, oil and fruits such as nuts and figs, references to which were found extensively in the *Song* either as comparisons suitable to express the beauty of the lovers or as means of comforting them (2.13):

"The fig tree puts forth its figs
And the vines are in blossom;
They give forth fragrance…"

Special emphasis was given to fruits and annointed oils (4.13):[237]

"Your channel is an orchard of pomegranates[238]
With all choicest fruits
Henna with nard, nard and saffron,
Calamus and cinnamon,
With all trees of frankincense,
Myrrh and aloes, with chief spices-
A garden fountain, a well of living water,
And flowing streams from Lebanon."

The girl was compared with living water, a metaphor already discussed in the first *Idyll* of Theocritus,[239] and generally, love seems to have been also expressed in liquid terms in the *Song of Solomon*. The comparison of a lover with a spring seems to have

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Prologue: "καλὸν μὲν καὶ τὸ ἄλσος, πολύδεντρον, ἀνθηρόν, κατάρρυτον μία πηγὴ πάντα ἔτρεφε, καὶ τὰ ἄνθη καὶ τὰ δέντρα."

[237] Praxilla has been mentioned as one of the possible predecessors of the pastoralists. In a fragment from a *Hymn to Adonis*, the latter is asked what he most hated to leave behind when he died. His answer: "the finest thing I leave behind is the light of the sun; /next come the bright stars, and the face of the moon; and after that-ripe figs, and apples, and pears." T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 57. For the comparison of young men with plants, see J. Griffin 1992: 208-9.

[238] C. Penglase 1994: 33. When Inanna was lamenting for the death of Dumuzi she addressed him as a tamarisk that "drinks not water in the orchard bed, /the crown of which forms not leafage in the desert."

[239] The comparison of women with water, which was very old, had survived in the Hellenistic period as well. An example is given by an anonymous Hellenistic epigram (Anth.Pal.11.220): "᾽Αλφειοῦ στόμα φεῦγε· φιλεῖ κόλπους ᾽Αρεθούσης, /πρηνὴς ἐμπίπτων ἁλμυρὸν ἐς πέλαγος;" cf. Mosch.Lament for Bion (ll.77) about Alpheios and Arethusa; in Moschus the river featured as a bewitched lover transformed to a deep-sea diver (trans. A.S. Way); see D.M. Halperin 1983: 129-30. Also, in Id.1.117 Daphnis before disappearing in the waters offered farewell to this very spring. J. Griffin 1992: 209 cited a lament of Dumuzi for himself where the dead hero is compared with grass and water: "I am not grass; I shall never sprout for her; I am not water; I shall never spring for her."

been established throughout the eastern part of the ancient world and Theognis among the Greek elegiac poets had made extensive use of this particular imagery.[240] It could also be argued that the imaginary setting created by this comparison would match perfectly the ideal bucolic scenery in which Daphnis was destined to meet his death.[241] In addition, the king was presented as lying on a couch similarly to Theocritus' Adonis in *Idyll* fifteen as well as the depiction of the hero in Bion's poem (1.12 and 1.17):

"while the king was on his couch
my nard gave forth its fragrance
my beloved is to me a bag of myrrh
that lies between my breasts."

"our couch is green,
the beams of our house are cedar,
our rafters are pine."[242]

Bion also urged Aphrodite to let Adonis have her couch in death as he used to when he was in life (ll.70-9):

"λέκτρον ἔχοι Κυθέρεια τὸ σὸν καὶ νεκρὸς Ἄδωνις.
καὶ νέκυς ὢν καλός ἐστι, καλὸς νέκυς, οἷα καθεύδων,
κάτθεό νιν μαλακοῖς ἐνὶ φάρεσιν οἷς ἐνίαυεν,
ᾧ μετὰ τεῦς ἀνὰ νύκτα τὸν ἱερὸν ὕπνον ἐμόχθει
παγχρυσέῳ κλιντῆρι· ποθεῖ καὶ στυμνὸν Ἄδωνιν.
βάλλε δέ νιν στεφάνοισι καὶ ἄνθεσι· πάντα σὺν αὐτῷ,
ὡς τῆνος τέθνακε καὶ ἄνθεα πάντα θανόντων.
ῥαῖνε δέ νιν Συρίοισιν ἀλείφασι, ῥαῖνε μύροισιν·
ὀλλύσθω μύρα πάντα· τὸ σὸν μύρον ὤλετ' Ἄδωνις.
κέκλιται ἁβρὸς Ἄδωνις ἐν εἵμασι πορφυρέοισιν."

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[240] Thgn.959-62. This motif appears elsewhere in Hebrew literature; cf. Prov.5.15-6 discussed by J.P. Brown 1995: 293 and also quoted by M.L. West 1997: 521n71.

[241] The setting described by Theocritus included also many water sources. Note that in Attica Dionysus' arrival from the sea was celebrated at the festivals of Theoinia and Iobacchia (Dem.59.78) during spring time; cf. his cult in Argos. C. Gallini 1963: 61-90 discussed drowning as a symbol of transition in Greek myth and ritual.

[242] Cf. Ovid.Met. and his description of Aphrodite in the arms of Adonis cited in ch1n105. Also cf. The *Epic of Gilgamesh* where the hero after realising that Enkidu had died with no hope of return announced [Sandars 93 = A.R. George 2003: 657 (ll.65 and 84-91)]: "In the first light of dawn Gilgamesh cried out, I made you rest on a royal bed, you reclined on a couch at my left hand, the princes of the earth kissed your feet. I will cause all the people of Uruk to weep over you and raise the dirge of the dead. The joyful people will stoop with sorrow; and when you have gone to the earth I will let my hair grow long for your sake, I will wander through the wilderness in a skin of a lion;" cf. n190 where Catullus describes Adonis on his deathbed.

Bion confirmed the importance of perfume and /or anointed oils in the cult of Adonis, a detail that the poet of the *Song of Solomon* had often employed and emphasised. It could be suggested that the above lines bore much resemblance with the description of Solomon's palanquin in the *Song* named after him, especially as far the reference to purple sheets and gold is concerned:

"King Solomon made himself a palanquin
From the wood of Lebanon.
He made its posts of silver,
Its back of gold, its seat of purple;
Its interior was inlaid with love."

In Theocritus' poetry the *Adoniazousai* who addressed Aphrodite as 'the lady of many names and many shrines' (ll.105-111), also claim that the goddess has made Berenice immortal by dropping ambrosia into her mortal breast.[243] This image has already been traced in the *Song* where the king was amazed at the nectar that drips from the lips of his beloved. Theocritus also specifies the importance of Adonis for vegetation and he even refers to honey and perfume which women include in their preparations (15.113-7):

"πὰρ μέν οἱ ὥρια κεῖται, ὅσα δρυὸς ἄκρα φέροντι,
πὰρ δ' ἁπαλοὶ κᾆποι πεφυλαγμένοι ἐν ταλαρίσκοις
ἀργυρέοις, *Συρίῳ δὲ μύρῳ* χρύσει' ἀλάβαστρα,
εἴδατά θ' ὅσσα γυναῖκες ἐπὶ πλανθάνῳ πονέονται
ἄνθεα μίσγοισαι λευκῷ παντοῖα μαλεύρῳ,
ὅσσα τ' ἀπὸ *γλυκερῶ μέλιτος τά τ' ἐν ὑγρῷ ἐλαίῳ*."

In addition, he also presented Adonis as lying on a couch. In the image cited below, Miletus and Samos, two localities in which the influence of the East was profound due to their geographical

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[243] Isis was also addressed as "πολύμορφος," "πολυώνυμος" and "μυριώνυμος" (cf. ch1n137). Cf. S.K. Heyob 1975: 37 and 47-52. Isis was often described as representing herself through a series of numerous self-predications and her identification with Aphrodite was established already in the antiquity. See Heyob ibid.: 49: 'from an early time the cult of Isis-Aphrodite was in evidence at Alexandria, at Delos and in many villages of Egypt and Greece;' cf. Catull.36.11-17 where he addresses Aphrodite: "nunc, o caeruleo creata ponto, /quae sanctum Idalium Uriosque apertos /quaequae Ancona Cnidumque harundinosam /colis quaeque Amathunta quaeque Golgos /quaeque Dyrachium Hadriae tabernam, /acceptum face redditumque votum, /si non illepidum neque invenustumst." In addition, Adonis was attributed an Assyrian origin as was the art of magic, and both notions were clearly understood already since the Greek lyric poets; see C. Faraone 1999: 36-38 and cf. 102-105.

position, used to take pride in having woven the coverlets for Adonis' couch (ll.127): "ἔστρωται κλίνα τωὐδώνιδι τῷ καλῷ ἄμμιν." Furthermore, the poet described the divine couple as resting in each other's arms (ll.128):[244]

"τὸν μὲν Κύπρις ἔχει, τὰν δ' ὁ ῥοδόπαχυς Ἄδωνις."

Although it appears that Theocritus' statement might have indicated more an expression of mutual love than physical contact, the girl in the *Song of Solomon* had also expressed her wish to have been in her lover's arms.[245] Especially the structure of the sentence of *Idyll* fifteen seems to resemble much a statement often repeated in the Hebrew *Song*: "I am my beloved's and my beloved is mine." Ovid in Augustan period described the affair of Aphrodite with Adonis in very similar terms by having Aphrodite invite Adonis to spend some time in her embrace. The goddess spoke (ll.554-559):[246]

"'sed labor insolitus iam me lassavit, et, ecce,
opportuna sua blanditur populus umbra,
datque torum caespes: libet hac requiescere tecum'
(et requievit) 'humo' pressitque et gramen et ipsum
inque sinu iuvenis posita cervice reclinis
sic ait ac mediis interserit oscula verbis:"

In addition, in the Hebrew *Song* doves, which have long ago been recognised as the goddess' sacred birds,[247] were often

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[244] Edmonds (Loeb, 1912) mistranslated the verse as referring to the coverlets, but just a few lines below (ll.131) Theocritus wrote: "νῦν μὲν Κύπρις ἔχοισα τὸν αὑτᾶς χαιρέτω ἄνδρα." The mood used is the optative, and it would be rational to assume that he had already described the fact in the indicative. Moreover, the plural masculine "τάπης" is quite remote and the noun "κλίνα" (feminine, singular) has come in between. He follows Codex E while the mss agree on "τὰν μὲν" and "τὰν δ'."

[245] SongSol.2.6: "O that his left hand were under my head and that his right hand embraced me." In art the scene of Aphrodite's last sight of the dying Adonis, popular on sarcophagi, has been compared to Orpheus' glimpse of Eurydice when the two met in the Underworld; see M. Koortbojian 1995: 38n58 quoting P. Devambez, *Un fragment de fresque antique au Louvre*, MonPiot 65, 1951.

[246] Ov.Met.10.553ff. Of course, Ovid's representation might draw heavily on Theocritus' *Idyll* 15, but Ovid specifically mentions a couch and not a "κλίνα."

[247] C. Penglase 1994: 163. A standard feature of the iconography of Aphrodite was doves. Sacrifices of doves were made only to Aphrodite in Greece and Astarte in Phoenicia. Also see Ael.NA4.2; Ath.Deipn.9.394-5 (quoting Aristotle); Solin.27.8 for the annual visit of Aphrodite Erycina to

compared with the eyes of the girl. Myrrh, which was traditionally connected with Adonis as the name of his mother,[248] has also been frequently employed in order to underline the beauty of the lovers. Adonis and Daphnis seem to have shared a birth associated with trees: according to Ovid Adonis was born from the trunk of the myrrh tree to which his mother was transformed, while Daphnis had been exposed by his mother under a laurel tree. The motif has significant parallels in eastern tales associated with representations of the creatrix goddess.[249]

As argued, poets seem to have drawn on the same tradition for the mythical adventures of Daphnis and Adonis. Both heroes were lamented in the same context and even their iconography was matching. Hence, Daphnis and Adonis were described as hunters.[250] Although in the first *Idyll* of Theocritus not much

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her sister sanctuary of the Libyan Sicca Veneria, marked by the disappearance of the goddess' sacred doves in an underground pit.

[248] Myrrh was a well-known aphrodisiac in the Hellenistic period. See J. Reed 1995: 329 who argued that Adonis' mother was named Myrrha /Smyrna due to the eastern origins of Adonis: 'Because the Greeks purchased myrrh (which grows in southern Arabia) from Phoenician merchants and originally thought it native to the Levant.' Also see his n51 for the version in which Smyrna (instead of the Assyrian Theias) fell in love with the Cypriot king Cinyras; Theodor.SH749; Ovd.Met.10; schol.Theoc.Id.1.109A; Xenoph.FGrH755. Although Adonis' birth from the myrrh tree has not been traced to any Near Eastern source, the motif of leaving a baby in a tree trunk was also found in the Sumerian version of the story of Damu; C. Penglase 1994: 179.

[249] Cf. the tale of Isis and the trunk in which her husband was reported to have been closed at Byblos. K.S. Heyob 1975: 42. Isis learned that the chest, in which Typhon had enclosed Osiris before throwing him to the river, had been cast up at Byblos on a heath tree, which had grown rapidly and concealed it. The tree was then used as a pillar in the house of the king. J. Griffiths ²1980: 319-22.

[250] Even if Epigram 2 was spurious and the legacy of the hunter was given to Daphnis in imitation of Adonis, this would still reveal the associations that the poets used to make between the two heroes. See A.S.F. Gow 1952: ad hoc and T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 135-7 and 241; Adonis' death while hunting was also interpreted symbolically in the framework of a coming of age rite where the initiator acted out what he actually had to avoid in reality. See D.D. Leitao 1993: 86-141 argued that hunting should be regarded as an initiatory idiom in Greek mythology; cf.

reference was made to the hunting skills of Daphnis, the poet went through his equipment in one his Epigrams (Ep.2, Gow):

"Δάφνις ὁ λευκόχρως, ὁ καλᾶ σύριγγι μελίσδων
βουκολικοὺς ὕμνους, ἄνθετο Πανὶ τάδε,
τοὺς τρητοὺς δόνακας, τὸ λαγωβόλον, ὀξὺν ἄκοντα,
νεβρίδα, τὰν πήραν ᾇ ποκ' ἐμαλοφόρει."

As a hunter, Daphnis would kill only small animals like hares that seem to have had erotic connotations in later literature. Propertius addressing Cynthia in one of his elegies explained how relieved he was that she would visit the countryside where she would be protected from the vices of the city (2.19.1-6):

"Etsi me invito discedis, Cynthia, Roma,
Laetor quod sine me devia rura coles.
Nullus erit castis iuvenis corruptor in agris,
Qui te blanditiis non sinat esse probam;
Nulla neque ante tuas orietur rixa fenestras,
Nec tibi clamatae somnus amarus erit."

In this quiet environment, which was conductive to reflection and moral good, he would join her and he would even go hunting; by prescribing himself to Diana, he would start "captare feras" (ll.19). A few lines further (ll.21-26) Propertius admits that wild animals would not suit his lover-image and that he would be content with chasing hares or birds near the stream of the river Clitumnus, a scene reminiscent of Daphnis' Theocritean surroundings:[251]

"non tamen ut vastos ausim temptare leones
aut celer agrestis comminus ire sues.
Haec igitur mihi sit lepores audacia mollis
Excipere et structo fallere avem calamo,
Qua formosa suo Clitumnus flumina luco
Integit, et niveos abluit unda boves."

However, while Daphnis seems to have fit the image of an enamoured hunter, and, therefore, he was not effective in the hunting of wild animals, Adonis was also perceived as a failed

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A. Schnapp 1989: 82-6; M. Detienne 1979: 48-9.

[251] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 136 continued his argument: 'ironically then the torment of the lover, translated into the *ponos* of the huntsman, readies him for a finer appreciation of what nature has to offer.' Also, note the contrast of city and countryside, employed here by Propertius, in relation to the discussion concerning the first image on the Cup (App.Inn2 and 6; cf. n197above, ch3nn122-3 and 221).

hunter killed by the boar that should have been his prey.[252]

In Dionysius' tragedy *Adonis*, a boar hunter, probably Adonis himself, sounded over confident and rather arrogant.[253] This implied that the death of Adonis could be interpreted as a hotheaded young man's *hubris* and hence, Ate should be suspected to have played a role in the death of Adonis[254]. However, it seems that this version of Adonis' death became more common after the fourth century BC and it has often been suggested that syncretism with the story of Attis should be suspected. Attis, a consort of Cybele and the first of her eunuch devotees, was also killed by a boar according to a Lydian version.[255] Although Attis was rarely celebrated in Greece, he became very popular in Rome after 150 BC, which could signify not as much a phenomenon of syncretism but of rediscovering the ancient tradition. The fact that this version survived in Bion who lived and composed in the first century BC could support the argument that the association of Adonis with hunting is earlier than the fourth century BC. After all both Attis and Adonis were considered as consorts of Cybele and it would not be surprising if the same fate had befallen them both.[256] In

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[252] J. Reed 1995: 337 discussed the image of Adonis as a failed hunter. He argued that 'Adonis' boar hunt might brand him as the pathetic antithesis of all a boy must do to become a man. On the other hand, death is also a common motif in initiation rituals and related myths: symbolic death in the rituals themselves, mythopoetically transformed into the actual demise of fictional youths like Dionysus, Hyacinthus and Orion, followed by resurrection, posthumous honours or translation to a higher existence.'

[253] TrGFfr.1; cf. Bion 1.60-1. In his hunting skills and his preference to roam the wilderness Adonis resembled figures of Greek myth such as Melanion (Milanio in Latin) and Meleager; cf. ch1pp.68-9.

[254] Ate rests her feet on the heads of mortals the same way often in Hellenistic period love is depicted to implant his feet on the heads of his victims. Anth.Pal.12.101, Prop.1.1.

[255] The story of Atys, son of Croesus, who was killed by the Phrygian Adrastus in a boar hunt is an adaptation of this and is so attested in antiquity, though the Phrygian is probably the older version. See Hdt.1.34-45. For Attis, who was mentioned as consort of Agdistis, a clear parallel for Cybele and the case of contamination with the tradition of Adonis, see J. Reed 1995: 335. See T. Mettinger 2001: ch2 where he compares Attis with the Syrian god Esmounos.

[256] Cf. Daphnis speech to Aphrodite as well as Gilgamesh's address to

addition, they belonged to a series of heroic names associated with ancient fertility goddesses and in this aspect they were joined by the hunting image of Daphnis as well. In art, Attis had always been depicted as an effeminate youth in the same way that Adonis was normally thought of as a tender youth. The verification of this conception of Adonis came by Theocritus who described him as "ῥοδόπαχυς."[257] This notion, although it was an ideal in private life, was strongly scorned by the Greeks in its public manifestation. It has been argued that the status of Adonis as a failed hunter would exclude him from the society of adult men:

> *'since the Stone Age, hunting is the manly activity par excellence, and it successful execution the supreme test of manhood, both where it is still practiced as a source of livelihood and even where it has become merely emblematic. Soft Adonis, grown effeminate in the chambers of Aphrodite, would naturally loose his prey, in binary opposition to the stalwart ephebes who battle boars in solitary combat on red-figured vases.'*[258]

Adonis was received as a failed hunter and the fact that Daphnis shared his hunting equipment would offer an additional confirmation of the two heroes' identification with each other.[259] In

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Ishtar: they both list several heroes and shepherds who had similar unfortunate fate due to their relation with the goddess. In addition, in Sicily in particular, the homeland of the Theocritean bucolic, Cybele was associated with Attis and Hermes from a quite early period; see M.J. Vermaseren 1977: 67-8 and cf. P.A. Johnston 1996: 101-116 who speaks about a similar association of Hermes with Cybele in the area of the Black Sea.

[257] In some versions Adonis was presented as the lover of Aphrodite over whom she had a dispute with Persephone -not a charming baby anymore (see n104 above), but a young man. See J. Reed 1995: 344 (esp.n105) on Adonis' representation as a boy in the Athenian society.

[258] J. Reed 1995: 335; cf. S. Ribichini 1981: 108-44; M. Detienne 1994: 66-67 argued that the nature of the gardens of Adonis should be interpreted as a symbol of his infertility; his view was further developed by G. Piccaluga 1977: 33-48. The latter argued that Adonis' tale symbolises the end of the hero's life as a hunter and its beginning as a farmer reflecting perhaps an evolution in human development.

[259] Perhaps the comparison between Daphnis and the boy depicted in the third image on the Cup could be further sustained when one bears in mind the representation of the mythical pastoral singer in the epigram;

addition, this notion seems to have sustained another hint that Daphnis had surrendered to Love in the manner of Adonis' submission to Aphrodite because the idea of Love depriving people from their manliness was very old and well attested in literature.[260] The much later novel of Longus, which treated the story of Daphnis in his pastoral romance *Daphnis and Chloe*, could also advance the possibilities drawn up to this point.

Longus would give the impression that he had access to the same or similar literary sources as Theocritus and that he continued a bucolic tradition that was well established and therefore, remained uncorrupted during antiquity. It is worth examining the following episode: in his novel Longus presented Chloe as inviting Daphnis to spent the night at her parents' house. However, this motif seems to have had Near Eastern origins since in the Akkadian story of Dumuzi Inanna invited him to spend the night at her parents' home.[261] In the Akkadian text Dumuzi was described as a fowler, a clue that would create a clear parallel with Daphnis who was mentioned as hunting in the area. The very same image of hosting the lover at the girl's house was found in the *Song of Solomon*. Hence, it could be argued that Longus also must have been aware of the general tradition in which the Hebrew song belonged, especially as he treated an image that is not found in the Theocritean corpus.[262] The relevant lines from the *Song of Solomon*

Daphnis was described as carrying the same hunting equipment as the mindless youth.

[260] Cf. that Enkidu was convinced to be introduced to civilisation and hence, to join mortal destiny in death thanks to a harlot sent by Gilgamesh (A.R. George 2003: 175, ll.43-118; cf. ibid.: 299, ll.39-40). Equally Heracles became shockingly effeminate when in love with Omphale; see N. Loraux 1990: 33-40.

[261] Long.3.6-11; Also cf. G. Anderson 1993: 71 quoting a similar incident for Dumuzi, the lover of Ishtar: "come in shepherd, Ishtar's lover, /spend the night here, Shepherd, Ishtar's lover, /as your entering my father is delighted with you. My mother Ningal invites you to recline. She offers you oil in a bowl…the women divided up the mirsu-cake in a bowl…/loosen, loosen your sandals/…unpack your fowling nets…/we shall eat, o lusty one…." The text recalls strongly the enthusiasm with which Daphnis was accepted in Chloe's house where he shared dinner with the family.

[262] The motif is repeated in 3.4: "I held him and I would not let him go /until I brought him into my mother's house, /and into the chamber of her that conceived me." SongSol.1.7, 2.16. D.M. Halperin 1983: 111 quoted a similar text from the

are cited below:

> "O that you were like a brother to me,
> Who nursed at my mother's breast!
> If I met you outside, I would kiss you,
> And no one would despise me.
> I would lead you and bring you
> Into the house of my mother,
> And into the chamber of the one who bore me.
> I would give you spiced wine to drink,
> The juice of my pomegranates."[263]

Longus in his text also employed the kisses which Daphnis and Chloe exchanged in the presence of others who had not realised the youth's secret love. In addition, he specified that when invited to spend the night at home, Daphnis shared the bed of Daphnis' father while she slept with her mother.[264]

Up to this point, Theocritus' affinity with contemporary eastern literature has been sufficiently argued. It seems that all bucolic poets in the Hellenistic period were familiar with the tradition in which the *Song of Solomon* belonged. It could also be suggested that the images on the Cup described by Theocritus were designed in order to allude to the tradition of Daphnis as a fertility deity and possibly to his death.

THE DEATH OF DAPHNIS

According to some mythic versions, Daphnis, blinded by the Nymph, fell off a rock accidentally.[265] However, Theocritus seems

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Near Eastern sacred marriage of Dumuzi with Inanna: "last night, as I, the queen, was shining bright, /last night, as I, the queen if heaven, was shining bright, /as I was shining bright, as I was dancing about, as I was uttering a song at the brightening of the oncoming night, /he met me, he met me, /the Lord Kuli-Anna met me, /the lord put his hand into my hand, Ushumgalanna embraced me. Come now wild bull, set me free, I must go home, /Kuli-Enlil, set me free, I must go home, what shall I say to deceive my mother! /what shall I say to deceive my mother Ningal!"

[263] Cf. The story of Hades and Persephone in which the latter was depicted as been seduced with a consecrated pomegranate seed. For a more detailed discussion, see ch1p.64.

[264] Long.3.6-8 and 9 respectively: "μικροῦ μὲν ἰδόντες ἀλλήλους εἰς τὴν γῆν κατερρύησαν, μεῖναι δὲ καρτερήσαντες ὀρθοὶ προσηγόρευσάν τε καὶ κατεφίλησαν, καὶ τοῦτο οἱονεὶ ἔρεισμα αὐτοῖς τοῦ μὴ πεσεῖν ἐγένετο. τυχὼν δὲ ὁ Δάφνις παρ' ἐλπίδας καὶ φιλήματος καὶ Χλόης, τοῦ τε πυρὸς ἐκαθέσθη πλησίον. μεθ' ἣν τὰ μὲν μυθολογήσαντες, τὰ δὲ ᾄσαντες εἰς ὕπνον ἐχώρουν, Χλόην μετὰ τῆς μητρός, Δρύας ἅμα Δάφνιδι…Δάφνις δὲ κενὴν τέρψιν ἐτέρπετο· τερπνὸν γὰρ ἐνόμιζε καὶ πατρὶ συγκοιμηθῆναι Χλόης."

[265] See schol.Theoc.Id.8.93: "οἱ δὲ λοιποί φασι τυφλωθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ

to allude to a death by drowning,[266] a variant also supported by the contemporary version of Hermesianax.[267] The latter presented Menalcas as suffering with love for Daphnis who scorned him for a Nymph. Menalcas, in despair for his unresponsive love, got drowned after jumping off a rock.[268] As mentioned above (ch1n236), leaping off a rock seems to have been a symbolic expression for the entanglement that female sexuality used to cause to ancient societies.[269] The pattern is first attested in lyric poetry, in Anacreon, and its antiquity is confirmed by its use in Euripides' satyr drama *Cyclops* (ll.163-8):[270]

ἀλώμενον κατακριμνισθῆναι;" cf. the tale of Polyphemus in Id.11.60-2 where the Cyclops expressed his willingness to learn swimming in order to follow Galatea in the depths of the sea (ch1n238). See G. Nagy 1990: 223-62 (esp.227-34) where he argued that the motif of jumping off a rock had connotations of sexual satisfaction and the subconscious. Hence, even in his death Daphnis proved to be lustful. This section of the book on the death of Daphnis has also appeared with slight alterations in the *LISA 2002 Cult and Death Conference Proceedings*, 2004: 77-86. D. Konstan generously offered me his accurate comments on this article for which I am grateful.

[266] M.S. Cyrino 1995: 163n64: L. Rissman 1983: 80 compared the erotic symptom of sweat (and later that 'death sensation,' ll.15-6) in Sappho to the sweat of Ajax in Hom.Il.16.109-10. Also cf. Diomedes Hom.Il.5.796 and Eurypylos Hom.Il.11.811-12; also see n241.

[267] Theseus' father, Aegeus, is also said to have thrown himself from a cliff when he saw the black sails of his son's ship. The daughters of Cecrops are also said in some accounts to have done so when they opened the wooden box, which Athena had entrusted to them with the order not to open it. Erechthion was kept in this box, the baby born by Hephaestus' semen when he tried to rape Athena.

[268] See Callim.Epigr.22 where, according to R.M. Ogilvie 1962: 109-110, Daphnis was assumed to have fallen from a cliff to the water. Compare this with the later version of Sappho's death. Ov.Her.15, says that Phaon was a charming ferryman of Lesbos whom Sappho had fallen in love with. For his sake, she jumped from the Leucadian rock.

[269] Hes.Th.27.27-8. Hesiod's view of women had found its successors among many Hellenistic poets. Palladas of Alexandria (Anth.Pal.9.165.1-5) for example seems to share Hesiod's poetic tradition as quoted above (n123).

[270] See Kovacs for Euripides' *Cyclops*; cf. Anacreon PMG376 and Menander Leuk.ll.11-16 (Arnott): "οὗ δὴ λέγεται πρώτη Σαπφὼ /τὸν ὑπέρκομπον θηρῶσα Φάων' /οἰστρῶντι πόθῳ ῥίψαι πέτρας /ἀπὸ τηλεφανοῦς.

"ὡς ἐκπιεῖν κἂν κύλικα βουλοίμην μίαν
πάντων Κυκλώπων ἀντιδοὺς βοσκήματα
ῥῖψαί τ' ἐς ἅλμην Λευκάδος πέτρας ἄπο
ἅπαξ μεθυσθεὶς καταβαλών τε τὰς ὀφρῦς.
ὡς ὅς γε πίνων μὴ γέγηθε μαίνεται."

In addition, death by drowning had been a common fate for fertility deities, which originated in the East. According to some versions, Dumuzi was depicted as being carried away by the stream of the Underworld, while in Argos Dionysus was ceremonially summoned 'from the water' with the call of a trumpet hidden in *thyrsi* 'after throwing a lamp into the abyss for the gatekeeper.'[271] This practice of sacrificing valuable things by throwing them to the sea originated in the belief in a marine paradise discussed in Appendix II (pp.465f.) in association with the fisherman carved on the Cup.

As Appendixes I and II argue with regard to the role of the images on the Cup, Theocritus had already created a sense of erotic danger based on the figure of a pretentious veiled woman and on the mythic implications that used to follow the icon of a fisherman. Therefore, since Daphnis was destined to perish by drowning, according to the connotations that water had in association with women, Theocritus must have intended to emphasise that the hero was in love.[272] In particular the myth had it that Daphnis got

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ἀλλὰ κατ' εὐχὴν /σήν δέσποτ' ἄναξ, εὐφημείσθω /τέμενος πέρι Λευκάδος ἀκτῆς." The text is discussed along with the fragment of Euripides' satyr drama, *Cyclops*: 163-8, cited above, by G. Nagy 1990: 227-8 (slightly different edition, i.e. "μαινοίμην" instead of "βουλοίμην"). Also cf. the discussion on Polyphemus as elegiac lover at the beginning of the chapter.

[271] G. Anderson 1993: 74 esp.nn 27 and 28. In one of the versions, Dumuzi was depicted as swimming for his life while Inanna watched him. The goddess in agony for his fate was encouraging him from the bank. Anderson argued that this version might be also implied in *Dumuzi's Dream* in which pirates were reported to have come by water. They kidnapped and murdered Dumuzi like the pirates that abducted Chloe in Longus' novel or Daphnis' beloved in Sositheus' version of the tale. Cf. A.R. George 2003: 697, ll.316 where Shamash (Sun-god) describes the Netherworld to Gilgamesh: "the abducted and the dead, how alike they are." Also, note that Dionysus as well had adventures with pirates. For Dionysus, see the [3]OCD (1999) s.v. Dionysus; Plut.DeIs.etOs.35.364f.

[272] At Ephesos, the rule of Artemis had replaced the rule of Pan. In the novel *Leucippe and Cleitophon* of Ach.Tatius (8.11-14) the story of Rhodope was narrated. The unfortunate heroine was transformed into the

drowned in a river,[273] a version which Theocritus seems to follow ("ἔκλυσε δίνα"). [274]

However, Theocritus' lines have raised many doubts regarding their exact meaning (ll.138-41):

"χὠ μὲν τόσσ' εἰπὼν ἀπεπαύσετο· τὸν δ' Αφροδίτα

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spring of Styx. However, before her change she was a huntress devoted to Artemis. Aphrodite wished to punish her for her arrogance with an irresistible passion. The goddess' burst of laughter at the spectacle of the virgin brought low by the arrow of *Eros* enraged Artemis who interrupted the pleasures of Rhodope and her lover. On the spot where she yielded her parthenia, the young woman melted into water and from that time on she has verified oaths related to sexual misconduct. See n14: 'yield' and 'melt' are expressed by the same verb *luein* and Artemis' cruel word-play can be understood in terms of the tales of deflowering by a river (Hom.Od.11.254; Diod.Sic.6.7) and the collective sacrifice of *parthenia* to the river Scamandros at Troy (Aeschines letter 10). Also see R.M. Ogilvie 1962: 107; it has been argued that Aphrodite's smile in Theocritus is similar to Sapph.1.13-5; also G. Zuntz 1960: 37-40.

[273] There was an actual river Acheron in Thesprotia and another in South Italy. However, the Acheron in Sappho and Alcaeus is a mythical stream beyond which lies the land of the dead. The etymology of the name Acheron is 'flowing with woe,' but is not sufficient. Is it a coincidence that there is a Hebrew word ăharôn -almost identical in sound to Acheron- which means among other things 'western,' and is applied in this sense to the western sea? We have seen that both Greeks and Semites sometimes associated dying with 'going to the sunset' (M.L. West 1997: 153-6), and from the Semitic point of view that meant crossing the western sea.

[274] Osiris travels in a boat when he dies and the Sun as well is said to travel on the sea in a cup when he sets. M.L. West 1997: 155: From Homer onwards we find the motif that it is necessary to cross a river or some other body of water in order to reach the land of the dead; Hom.Od.10.508, 11.13-22 and 639-40. Sapph.95.11-13, Alc.38a.2-3, 8; Aesch.Sept.856. In Aristophanes' *Ranae* the passage to the Underworld was a bottomless lake that the dead had to cross. A river crossed by the dead also appears sporadically in Babylonian literature, named Hubur. Sometimes it stands for death, or the metaphorical condition of death experienced by the anguished. In the *Old Testament*, the infernal river is to be found only in the book of Job, which contains many remarkable mythical motifs. See 33.18.28 (MSS.), 36.12: "He keeps back his soul from the Pit, and his life from crossing the Watercourse. He has redeemed my soul from crossing the Watercourse, and my life will see the light. But if they do not listen, they cross the watercourse, and die without knowledge."

ἤθελ' ἀνορθῶσαι· τὰ γε μὰν λίνα πάντα λελοίπει
ἐκ Μοιρᾶν, χὠ Δάφνις ἔβα ῥόον. ἔκλυσε δίνα
τὸν Μοίσαις φίλον ἄνδρα, τὸν οὐ Νύμφαισιν ἀπεχθῆ."

It has been argued that Theocritus followed a tradition according to which the hero was believed to have been drowned in reality: The words "ἔβα ῥόον" have defied elucidation, yet they could mean no more than 'he went to the river;' that is, Daphnis dies by drowning –literally.[275] However, it might be argued that this interpretation rather failed to take into account the figurative style of the poet and the substance of the poem as a unit, which would presuppose the coherence of its lines. It should be noted that up to this point Daphnis was specifically described as lying passive and unable to overcome his torturing passion.[276] It would not be illogical to assume that Theocritus used the traditional material in a metaphoric manner to state that Daphnis was totally consumed by his liquid emotions. Anacreon and Sappho were also rumoured, as examined, to have found similar deaths when fired with erotic passion. Love was regarded as a major natural force and therefore, Daphnis, a fertility deity, would be merited with a death in natural terms.

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[275] R.M. Ogilvie 1962: 108-9. The author compared the two mainstream interpretations in his days: 'the school of thought which believes Daphnis to have faded away takes the words as no more than a poetical periphrasis for died "ἔβα ῥόον"…if that solution fails, the stream must be a real and not an infernal stream. A second approach is to translate "ἔβα ῥόον" as 'he passed away into a stream,' i.e., 'he turned into a flood' but here the accusative construction is unendurable.' Based on his theory Ogilvie went on to explain the absence of the Nymphs as an allusion to the hero's death by drowning because the only death that the Nymphs could prevent was that one (cf. Theoc.Id.13.43f.).

[276] W.G. Arnott 1996: 63: 'This account of Daphnis' death does not agree with any other known version of the legend, nor can it be satisfactorily interpreted as a poetical variation of a dead man's need to reach Hades by crossing Acheron in Charon's boat…The one explanation of Theocritus' words here that makes sense of logic and the Greek is simply this: Daphnis threw himself into some Sicilian stream, and was drowned when the waters closed over his head.' Arnott interpreted the scene as Daphnis' desperate effort to consummate his love for a Naiad by simply joining her in her realm. However, Arnott does not take into account the possible parallelism that Thecoritus draws between Daphnis and his eastern counterparts.

It might be suggested that with the expression "ἔκλυσε δίνα" Theocritus simply wished to render poetically a phrase along the lines of 'and then he just died' or 'then he left his last breath.' Hence, Theocritus employed a metaphor and as argued above, a rather common one. Apparently, Theocritus expected the audience to recognise the metaphor because not much was said for their enlightenment. The key to the interpretation of the metaphor lies possibly a few lines above in Daphnis' anxious address of Aphrodite. In anger, he said (ll.102):

"ἦδη γὰρ φράσδῃ πάνθ' ἅλιον ἄμμι δεδύκειν;"

In translation this question would be: 'do you think that all my suns have already set?' The expression, still powerful in Modern Greek for things that decline, is a loan from the actual daily solar course. The journey had a central role in the worship of Osiris whose funeral ship was believed to follow the course of the sun.[277] Osiris was often compared with Adonis and Tammuz as the divine consort of Isis.[278] According to the religion of Osiris, the

[277] A common Modern Greek expression, employed to describe euphemistically someone's death, refers to his or her 'star that has set.' E. Neumann [2]1963: 138 (Heracles travelling on the night sea journey) and 85 (the solar barge passing into the mountains of the West). cf. the journey of Oceanus who crosses the sea every night in his Cup. Mimnermus and Aeschylus talk about the "δέπας," the Cup, in which the sun was believed to travel during the night. See G. Anderson 1993: 72 who compared the Sun associations for Daphnis and Dumuzi: '…Dumuzi is brother in law of Utu, the sun-god, and at one point reminds the latter that he supplies milk and cream to Utu's mother Ningal's house.' According to Aelian again, Daphnis looked after the cattle of the Apollo. Also S.N. Kramer 1981: 164-7.

[278] The Sun withdraws every night but thanks to his cup, he avoids contact with the water, which as explained has connotations of death. This is the very cup, which Heracles borrowed during his adventure in the Garden of the Hesperides, which is located beyond the Atlas Mountains at the western border of the Ocean. Hesiod mentioned that the Hesperides were the daughters of night and Erebos. According to the Old Babylonian Tablets, the Sun-god Shamash talks to Gilgamesh who is desperately trying to find Enkidu in the Netherworld, in a journey very reminiscent of Demeter's search for Persephone; A.R. George 2003: 277, ll.9-19: "Shamash became worried, so he bent down to him, /He spoke to Gilgamesh /O, Gilgamesh where are you wandering? /You cannot find the life that you seek /Gilgamesh spoke to him, to the hero Shamash /After roaming, wandering through the wild /within the Netherworld will rest be scarce? /I shall lie asleep down all the years /but now let my eyes

experience of the Underworld was symbolised by the nocturnal sea voyage of the sun or the hero.[279] The sea sank down to the west where it would die before entering the womb of the Underworld that was reported to devour it. Furthermore, a Babylonian prayer for the exorcism of a malevolent ghost contained the wish: "Let it go to the sunset, /let it be entrusted [to Nedu], the chief [gate] keeper of the earth." A Hittite ritual designed to appease the god Telepinu said: "let it go to the road of the Sun-god of the earth. The doorkeeper has opened the seven doors, drawn back the seven bolts. Down in the dark earth bronze cauldrons stand…what goes in does not come out again, it perishes therein." [280] The idea that the sun would set and die in the west before rising the following morning was later passed in the mysteries of late antiquity. The candidate for initiation should take a dangerous journey through the Underworld in order to achieve rebirth and to this purpose, he had to follow the path of the Sun. Thus, in Apuleius the initiate into the mysteries of Isis had

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look on the sun so I am sated with light /the darkness is hidden, how much light is there? /When may a dead man see the rays of the sun?"

[279] It has long been suspected that Heracles' adventure in the Garden of the Hesperides is an allegory for the hero's journey to the land of the dead. The western location of the Garden implies an association with the Underworld, which is always located in the West. Also, cf. the quest of Gilgamesh for the plant of everlasting life [N.K. Sandars 1960: 94-104 = A.R. George 2003: 667-725 (Tablets IX-XI); cf. ibid.: 131 on the ferry crossing and 279, ll.24 on crossing the Ocean] which has striking similarities with Heracles' adventure; both heroes have to cross the Ocean and both do it in a barge that keeps them safe from touching the waters of death; Gilgamesh has an encounter with Shamash, the Sun, in the *Garden of the Gods*, located at the edge of the sea. Finally, during the entire journey Gilgamesh is repeatedly said to wear animal skins which include the skin of a *lion* [cf. N.K. Sandars ibid.: 93 = A.R. George 2003: 643 (ll.146-7); cf. ibid.: 277 (ll.1́-2́)]; also n242 above).

[280] In the Ugaritic *Epic of Keret*, the hero's wife foresees his death: "Keret will certainly come to the goin-in of the sun/ your lord and mine to the hiding of the sun." The idea might be implied in the Odyssey, where the souls of the suitors (Hom.Od.20.356) are described as hastening to the lower darkness. In Soph.Oed.Tyr.175-8, the souls of the dead are depicted as flying to the western horizon: "you'll see one after another, like a fleet-winged bird /speeding stringer than furious fire /to the shore of the god of the west." For a possible etymology of Erebos from Hebrew with the meaning sunset /evening which corresponds to the Ugaritic and Akkadian words translated as the goin-in of the sunset, see D. West 1997: 154 (cf. C. Penglase 1994: 130, 143).

to pass through the twelve hours of the night corresponding to the Egyptian conception of the Underworld journey of the sun bark. Ishtar also had to pass through seven or sometimes fourteen gates on her journey to hell.[281] It would be interesting to allow the possibility that Theocritus drew on a well-established tradition referring to the sea as the realm of the dead for his phraseology regarding the death of Daphnis.[282] For the Egyptians 'drowning functioned as an apotheosis, elevating the creature to divine status.' Perhaps that is the reason the Theocritus need not be more explicit on Daphnis' consequent apotheosis which was clearly celebrated by Vergil. Generally, the idea of a primitive, marine-paradise was very popular in antiquity and several myths confirm the association of the sea with renewed hope.[283]

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[281] In the religion of Osiris rebirth is promised to everyone although initially it was confined to the Pharaoh. This can also be explained by the solar course. As the Sun re-emerges from the realm of the dead every day, in the same way the faithful will be resurrected. For Dumuzi's implied apotheosis, see G. Anderson 1993: 73 and T. Mettinger 2001: ch1; also see C. Penglase 1994: 28 (also see p.27nn33 and 36) where he quotes a passage from *Inanna's Descent* according to which Dumuzi enjoys rising from the Netherworld: "When Dumuzi rises, and when the lapis lazuli flute and /carnelian ring rise with him /when male and female mourners rise with him /then let the dead come up and smell the incense."

[282] A clue towards this view also indicated by the fact that in early years people would place the Elysium, a type of ancient paradise, somewhere under the sea. This belief survives in the story of Enalos as rendered by Plutarch. The people of Lesbos ordered by an oracle had to offer a foundation sacrifice involving a human being. The daughter of the king had been chosen to fulfil this lamentable but necessary role. She was decorated with jewelry and thrown into the sea. Enalos, who was in love with her, decided to join her by diving into the sea. Amazingly enough, Enalos reappeared after some time to tell people that the princess was living with the Nereids and that he himself was pasturing the horses of Poseidon. Then in order to prove the truth of his words he dived into the sea again and when he emerged he was holding a gold cup 'so magnificent, that human gold by comparison was just copper' (L. Gernet 1981: 111-146). Plutarch adds in his version that a bull was also thrown into the sea (Plut.Conv.sept.sap.20.163. Also, Anticlides in FGrH140F4, Ath.Deipn.11.15.466c). See I. Moyer 2003: 221 for the quotation describing the Egyptian beliefs about drowning.

[283] Theseus was reputed to have had a quarrel with Minos when they were both travelling to Crete with the ship, which was carrying the

Moribund Daphnis compared his situation with the sunset. A learned reader would understand that like the sun in his daily trip, Daphnis has 'set sails' for the Underworld.[284] The metaphor becomes more plausible since the Sun as well as Osiris was venerated like a vegetation god. Hence, Theocritus seems to have applied to Daphnis elements of a tradition, which affiliated him with deities such as Osiris, who has long been recognised as the Egyptian version of Adonis. Since the last journey of Daphnis was set on the sea, or at least on a water-source, then it would only make sense to say that the 'whirlpool had washed him away,' he perished. As for the expression "ἔβα ῥόον" with which the poet climaxed the last moments in Daphnis' life it could be argued that the interpretation of the phrase has not been sufficient. Theocritus wrote (Id.1.139-40):

"τά γε μὰν λίνα πάντα λελοίπει ἐκ Μοιρᾶν,
χὠ Δάφνις ἔβα ῥόον."

Athenian victims chosen for the Minotaur. In this struggle for prestige between the two kings, Minos boasts that Zeus, his father, had granted him a ring that confirmed his divine descent. He challenged Theseus to prove that Poseidon was his real father by throwing the ring into the sea and asking him to dive and find it. Theseus indeed accepted the challenge and dived into the sea in order to find not only the ring, but also a precious gown and a magnificent crown. Amphitrite, Poseidon's wife, gave the latter to Theseus for Ariadne, his future bride. Theseus' funerary ship was also a parallel of the Cup of the Sun.

[284] This kind of funeral ship, with which Ariadne chose to travel, is similar to the ship of Osiris, the dying vegetation god of Egypt with whom all Egyptian men were identified and who also was reigning at the realm of the Underworld. For archaeological founding to support this argument, see L. Goodison 1989: 92. The cup of the sun, which Heracles used in order to travel to the Garden of the Hesperides, is another parallel; cf. T. Mettinger 2001: ch6 of his work where he brings Osiris into discussion, the Egyptian counterpart of Adonis and Dumuzi. Mettinger is careful to underline that although Osiris' tradition might have influenced the profiles of the Near Eastern dying and rising gods, he resists religious syncretism considerably. From this point of view, Daphnis' position is unique because his tradition is allowed to freely borrow from the Alexandrian and the Near Eastern cultic backgrounds because of Theocritus' scholarly interests; cf. J. Ferguson 1970: 144 and 176 (Pl.65) where he examines the motif of sea waves on Christian sarcophagi as 'a symbol of the journey to bliss;' of course, the motif is discussed as a borrowing from Egyptian imagery.

The stereotypical translation of the phrase has been more or less this: 'for the thread of his life was spun and Daphnis went to the River.' Indeed the reader would expect to hear about the River because Theocritus at the beginning of the poem set the scenery next to the river Anapos.[285] In addition, Theocritus wrote about the "λίνα" of Daphnis' life which could mean the thread of the Fates.[286] However, the word was used in the plural and it may be assumed that the poet intended to render an additional colouring in the meaning of his verses. It seems that the word in the plural signified the sailcloth, a clue that could sustain the metaphor as explained above. In addition, the verb "λείπω" (=leave, desert) would make more sense because although according to the translation the thread of Daphnis' life was spun, the actual verb for spinning is not found in the text. Hence, an alternative translation of the verse would be that the Fate had deserted Daphnis' sails.[287] Since the hero was thought to be on a barge, the phrase 'Daphnis went to the stream' sounds rather odd. It seems that the intended

[285] The identification of the river with Acheron suggested by J.M. Edmonds 1912: 23 would be plausible if the rest of the phraseology could support it. However, I think that Daphnis is described as making a trip of his own and not as joining the boat of Acheron. Also, see R.M. Ogilvie 1962: 109. C. Segal 1981: 180 believed that the setting of the poem next to 'songfully plashing water' was 'itself symbolic of song.' Also see A. Kambylis 1965: 23-30.

[286] It could also signify fishing net, which can be paralleled with the fisherman in image two as well as with the image of a marine paradise. Cf. Catull.64.383: "carmina divino cecinerunt pectore Parcae" and Tib.1.7.1: "hunc cecinere diem Parcae fatalia nentes." For a discussion of the two lines, see J.H. Gaisser 1971: 223.

[287] The concept becomes more convincing when the absence of the Nymphs and the role of Aphrodite as Moira are taken into account (cf. n.84). For Daphnis and magic, see nn197 and 223. It is rather striking that in Mesopotamian religion Dumuzi's absence is mourned by the people who see their crops wasting without any water. Dumuzi's return is therefore magnificently celebrated by the kings of Ur who personify Dumuzi. C. Penglase 1994: 135, who compared this myth with the Eleusinian story of Demeter and Persephone wrote: 'in the ninth song of TRS 8, the king Ur-nammu, the first king of the third dynasty of Ur, and later rulers in the list, function in the ritual as Damu (i.e. Dumuzi), sailing on the river to the city. In another form of this emergence Damu '*comes out of the river*"; cf. S.N. Kramer 1963a: 45, 140-1 and T. Jacobsen 1976: 69ff.

metaphor was that of life with the journey of the sun over the sea. Therefore, a sensible way of rendering the phrase "ἔβα ῥόον" would be to maintain that Daphnis 'crossed the stream,' in the sense that he reached the end of the journey of life.

Interestingly the motif of crossing rivers has been associated in Near Eastern literature not only with the journey to the Underworld, but also with erotic devotion. In a Neo-Assyrian prophecy modelled after Gilgamesh quest for the Netherworld, Ishtar declares her love for King Assurbanipal:[288]

> "Out of desire for your [well]-being I shall roam the
> wild, I shall keep crossing rivers
> And oceans, I shall keep traversing mountains (and)
> highlands, I shall keep
> Crossing all rivers! Sunshine and frosts will keep
> consuming me, attacking my
> Beauteous form (until) I am weary and my body is
> exhausted on your behalf."

Therefore, it seems that the perception of love as death, so common throughout Greek literature, was anticipated in Near Eastern texts.

DAPHNIS, A BEWITCHED LOVER?

In the beginning of the chapter (pp.121f.) Daphnis, burning with love and lying helpless on the banks of Anapos, was examined as a rather farsical version of the elegiac lover, the victim of his mistress' magical powers (ch1p.83f.). Although, Theocritus was never explicit about the bewitchment of Daphnis, Vergil undoubtedly referred to it in his eighth *Eclogue*.[289] After referring to the overbearing powers of cruel Love and alluding to the tale of Medea, Damon, who is passionately enamoured, concludes his

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[288] See A.R. George 2003: 503 compares the prophecy cited above with the Epic of Gilgamesh (ll.249-53) where the hero goes on to tell how he wandered the world looking for Utnapishti.

[289] For Theocritus' possible allusion to erotic magic, see App.IIp.465f. Note that Vergil imitates in his lines, Theocritus' version of Atalanta's erotic madness (Ec.8.41): "ut vidi, ut perii! ut me malus abstulit error!" Also, see ch1p.54. In addition, Vergil is employing the motif of pathetic phallacy and refers to the charms of singer Orpheus (ll.52-6) with whom Daphnis will be compared in ch3p.219f. Generally, it is accepted that *Eclogue* 8 corresponds to Theocritus' *Idyll* 2 where the Hellenistic poet had Simaetha practise magic against her unfaithful lover Delphis (cf. n193 above).

song with the familiar motif of jumping into the sea (ll.58-60):

"omnia vel medium fiat mare. vivite silvae;
praeceps aerii specula de montis in undas
deferar; extremum hoc munus morientis habeto."

The bucolic song is then taken up by Alphesiboeus who describes how he practised witchcraft against Daphnis because he was seduced by the charms of the city and had forgotten his rustic beloved (Ec.8.66-7):

"coniugis ut magicis sanos avertere sacris
experiar sensus;"

Alphesiboeus is confident that his spells, called "carmina" throughout the poem have the power to bring Daphnis back. After all, "carmina vel caelo possunt deducere lunam" (ll.69), an image that corresponds to Propertius' beliefs about the powers of the witches (ch1p.81f.). He makes a clay effigy of Daphnis that proceeds to burn in the flames in the same way that Daphnis will soon be burning with love for the amateur magician (ll.80-3). The eastern image of running in the wild and of dipping oneself in water is here also associated with pastoral erotic frenzy. In ll.85-89 Vergil wrote:

"talis amor Daphnim, quails cum fessa iuvencum
per nemora atque altos quaerendo bucula lucos
propter aquae rivum viridi procumbit in ulva,
perdita…"

However, the practice of witchcraft in the Near East seems to borrow sometimes images from the journey to death through water.[290] In Babylonian sources, Gilgamesh is invoked as a dominant power in the struggle against sorcery: "Gilgamesh is the controller of your (the witches') curse." In a fragmentary therapeutic prescription which mentions Gilgamesh, a man suffers from a whole range of symptoms, recognised as the doings of witchcraft:

"That [man] is bewitched, the *waters of the cutting off of his*

[290] See A.R. George 2003: 133 where also a prostration in front of Shamash, Gilgamesh and the Anunnaki is described for those who want the power to avert magic; cf. n223 above and ch3n48 for Dumuzi as victim of witchcraft. Also, see I. Moyer 2003: 221 for the tradition of drowning someone in Egypt: 'The Demotic magical papyri, moreover, make it explicit that the process of drowning a creature is intended to create a *hesy*.' *Hesy* means a 'praised one,' someone who enjoyed special, almost divine, status and is also found in the Greek magical papyri. Also see his n16 citing the tale of Naneferkaptah and his family who were proclaimed 'praised ones of Re' upon falling in the Nile and drowning.

> *life* are drawn [for him, hair from his] body [they handed over] to Gilgamesh, at the beginning of Abu they fashioned figurines of him […] He will languish for one hundred days and then [the spells that afflict him] will be undone."

Although, it is not specified whether the magical rites performed against this man constituted erotic magic, the reference to clay effigies and the weakness that wastes the victim away are similar to Daphnis' symptoms in Theocritus and Vergil. In addition, the mention of the waters of death in association with magic seems to point out to a tradition where love, death and magic were interlocked as similar to each other. Finally, the fact that the magic is doomed to fail after a certain period could be seen as a kind of reviving similar to the resurrection that Eastern deities like Adonis and Dumuzi experience. These deities often pose as the pastoral consorts of eastern goddesses and some times witchcraft is also part of their legends; for example, Dumuzi has magic pracised against him by sorcerer-shepherds.[291] This tradition seems to have roots in the Near East although it was never limited there. This comparison of Greco-Roman and Near Eastern sources indicates that syncretism of Greek and eastern heroic mythologies and cults was re-enforced in the Hellenistic and Augustan periods.

In this chapter, a detailed analysis of the first *Idyll* of Theocritus seems to encourage the possibility that the bucolic genre was not the invention of a poet (Theocritus), but rather the literary development of longstanding ideas and motifs derived from the Near East. The association of Daphnis, the legendary bucolic singer, with Adonis places him in the pantheon of divine consorts such as Tammuz or Dumuzi. Theocritus who was probably aware of their common background did not hesitate to take interest in eastern cults and literature, although we cannot be sure whether he heard the songs in a ritual festival of those years or perhaps read a Greek translation of Hebrew cultic hymns. Nevertheless, the poet

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[291] G. Anderson 1993: 73 assumed that Inanna must have been somehow associated with the practice of magic against Dumuzi since the goddess is always charged with the death of the shepherd lover. In addition, he compared the scenario of Theocritus' *Idyll* 2 and Vergil's *Eclogue* 8 with an Old Akkadian tale in which love-magic is performed against an unwilling mistress. See J. and A. Westenholz 1977: 198-219 quoted by Anderson on p.73.

drew heavily on works like the *Song of the Solomon*, a Hebrew poem of unusual erotic context which appears to have striking similarities with the third image carved on the Cup of Theocritus.

Furthermore, light is cast on the tradition of Daphnis whose obscure death in the first *Idyll* had led many scholars to compare him with Hippolytus. Unlike chaste Hippolytus, our evidence shows that Daphnis died because of his exaggerated passion and that Theocritus wished to allude precisely to this version of the myth. The poet used figurative speech to convey his ideas and it is suggested that by the expression 'Daphnis went [to the] river' he just meant that the hero had passed away. A comparison of Near Eastern texts with Theocritus' and Vergil's account of Daphnis' adventures seems to consolidate further the existence of a long and popular eastern tradition of associating death, love and witchcraft. The imagery is heavily influenced by images of crossing the 'waters of death.'

CHAPTER THREE.

THE PASTORALS OF VERGIL—*ECLOGUES* AND THE *GEORGICS*

VERGIL VERSUS THEOCRITUS

As discussed in the previous chapter, Vergil had a prominent position[1] among the successors of Theocritus,[2] and it has been accepted that his 'pastoralisation' of bucolic poetry may be seen as the continuation of a 'previously established interpretative tendency.'[3] This is not to deny either originality[4] or allusiveness[5] on

[1] J. Van Sickle 1976: 35n91 agreed with G. Kaibel whom he quoted (*Sententiarum Liber Primus*, Hermes 15, 1880: 456) that possibly Vergil read Theocritus' poetry in one place (i.e. Artemidorus' edition). On the influence of Theocritus, see S.F. Walker 1980: 133-49. Vergil recovered directly essential Theocritean motifs at the centre of *Eclogue* 1 which could justify his claim, at the centre of the second, to be Theocritus' direct heir. However, Vergil formed a tradition in which the old master bequeathed his art on a young, talented disciple (Ec.2.38-9), while in Theocritus' *Idyll* 1 the dying Daphnis offered his pipe to Pan, his master (Ec.1.123-6); see F. Cairns 1999: 291-2 and J. Van Sickle 2000: 41-2esp.n86.

[2] In the formation of the post-Theocritean pastoral tradition, it is important to mention that initially Calpurnius and Nemesianus were largely ignored. E.J. Champlin 1978: 95-110; G.B. Townend 1980: 166-74 and R. Mayer 1980: 175-6. For their influence in later years, see W.L. Grant 1965: 74, 112, 371-2. D.M. Halperin 1983: 2; Theocritus' popularity in the centuries that followed kept varying depending on the literary fashion. The audience has shown an increased interest in his work since the turn of the 19th century and the success of the Romantic Movement.

[3] The lines cited above sum up the pastoralist interpretation of bucolic poetry: even in the latter half of the 3rd century BC, readers began to place a disproportionate emphasis on the rustic setting of certain *Idylls* and to reduce the multiplicity of bucolic themes to a set of pastoral conventions. See B. Effe 1978: 48 and J. Van Sickle 1976: 25.

Vergil's part, notions that often recur in the course of the study of Vergil. The poet, who was deeply indebted to Theocritus regarding the framework and thematic range of his *Eclogues*,[6] introduced into Latin literature the rustic adventures and pastimes of herdsmen such as Menalcas and Simichidas.[7] Furthermore, his treatment of

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[4] D.M. Halperin 1983: 17. In addition, it seems that Vergil's conception of bucolic was undoubtedly affected by the post-Theocritean critical tradition as a reading of *Idylls* 8 and 9 would suggest. Cf. J. Van Sickle 1969: 942-6 and J.R.G. Wright 1983: 107-60.

[5] P. Fedeli 1986: 17-30 on the art of allusiveness in Roman poetry in general. J. Farrell 1991: 17 asserted that allusion in Vergil frequently serves ideological purposes and therefore offers useful literary-historical evidence that 'make the past anew' and 'call into being a tradition to which he wishes to be heir.' Farrell seems to agree with D.O. Ross 1975 who expressed best the views of the so-called Harvard school. In addition, see J. Van Sickle 1967: 492-3 who wrote: 'pastoral poetry is symbolist in the sense that, far from representing country matters, it uses country matters to represent a kind of art, to mediate experience;' also, see P. Alpers 1996 and T.K. Hubbard 1998; R. Thomas 2001: 55ff.

[6] The original title of Vergil's collection was *Bucolica*, which clearly alludes to the Hellenistic pastoral production in which Theocritus played a pivotal role. See N. Horsfall 1981: 108; M. Geymonat 1982: 17-8. On speculations about the circulation of Theocritus' corpus in Rome, see A.S.F. Gow 1952: 59-62 and 66-72. Specific structural imitation or implications to particular verses of Theocritus thrive in the *Eclogues* [the word actually means selections from a larger corpus]; Pliny the Younger Epist.4.14.9: "epigrammata sive idyllia sive eclogas sive, ut multi, poematia;" W. Clausen 1994: 20 argued that possibly Vergil had in mind the collected edition of Artemidorus of Tarsus (1st century BC) (he actually repeated G. Kaibel 1880 quoted above n1). At the same time Vergil integrated in his poetry the Roman tradition of the generations before him; for instance, the influence of Lucretius is evident in the *Eclogues*; see P.E. Knox 1986: 11-26; D.O. Ross 1975: 25.

[7] Generally, Vergil was perceived as a committed artist: he composed the *Eclogues* between 42 and 39 BC in which the anxiety of the small landowner -the "colonus"- of loosing his land to some discharged soldiers was dramatically sketched; see C. Segal 1965: 237-66 commenting on the historical background of *Eclogue* 1; also L.A. Mackay 1961: 156-8. Vergil was deeply concerned about the political situation of the Empire and his worries found their way into his poetry. His work contained several chronological clues, which allowed his poems to be dated more accurately; see W. Clausen 1994: 22. Hence, it was not accidental that Vergil employed in his work the threat that the veterans represented for Italian

the bucolic material he inherited has been regarded as the catalyst,[8] which formed the generic perception of all European pastoral poetry in later centuries.[9] Vergil was a truly erudite poet and he did not restrict his sources to Theocritus; the long Greek and Roman tradition that pervades the Vergilian corpus[10] has rendered an intriguing tone to the interpretation of his work.[11] In his poetic

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agriculture, especially since after the formation of the second triumvirate Octavian was given the task of finding land to settle former soldiers. L.P. Wilkinson 1969: 49-55; L. Keppie 1981: 367-70. Obviously, people who had spent their lives fighting had little if any knowledge at all of agriculture. To them property was a sign of status and a place for their honoured retirement. They were not interested in making any profit of it and normally slaves were put in charge of the agricultural tasks.

[8] P. Alpers 1972: 352-371; Vergil composed under the spell of the simple mimetic conception as far as Theocritus is concerned. Alpers argued that Vergil thus amplified a Theocritean hint into a new idea of the genre, yet presented novelty as a return to the mythic origins – Pan's home. Vergil was given the pre-eminence in European pastoral tradition and this functioned as a major impediment to the understanding of Theocritus; D.M. Halperin 1983: 5-6 quoted E. Rohde 1932: 73 to assert that the influence of Vergil in poetry is seen as a milestone which divides the bucolic works in those written before and after him. E.R. Curtius 1953: 190 observed that anyone unfamiliar with the first poem of the *Eclogues* 'lacks one key to the literary tradition of Europe.'

[9] D.M. Halperin 1983: 3: 'Recently T.G. Rosenmeyer has attempted to demonstrate the prefiguration in Theocritus of the generic concept of the European pastoral lyric, but he has been unable to dislodge Vergil from pre-eminence.' For the opposite view, see F. Muecke 1975: 169-80. Halperin continued: 'The dominant position of Vergil in the pastoral tradition is the result, then, not of any unchallenged authority or permanent and unvarying favour among his readers throughout the centuries, but of his overpowering influence and prestige during three specific periods of great formative significance in the history of pastoral taste' [late antiquity (see n1) - early Italian Rennaisance (G. Martellotti 1966: 335-46) - Neo Classisism (J.E. Congleton 1952 *passim*)].

[10] R.M. Rosen and J. Farrell 1986: 242: 'Specifically, one finds that Vergil's bucolic Muse accommodates with ease Callimachus, Apollonius of Rhodes, Hesiod, and even Homer- not to mention a succession of Roman poets culminating in Gallus himself;' also see Z. Stewart 1959: 179-205; J.P. Elder 1961: 109-125; cf. K. Gutzwiller 1991: 155.

[11] Scholars throughout the years have impeded an accurate appreciation of Vergil himself by obscuring the sources of his inspiration

course Vergil was traditionally regarded as having grown gradually to maturity with each of his compositions;[12] the *Eclogues* have been thought of as a juvenile work followed by the more skilful *Georgics* until the poet fully mastered his art in the *Aeneid*. Hence, it might be argued that Vergil attempted a journey in time and through his compositions, he seems to have personified his predecessors from the most recent to the very ancient ones.[13] Theocritus has been acknowledged as the positive model for the *Eclogues*;[14] in addition,

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and the literary context of his own far-reaching experiments. D.M. Halperin 1983: 6: 'But Vergil, emerging as he did from the Hellenistic tradition, may have had something altogether different in mind when he set out to compose his liber bucolicon, and in blurring over the Greek background of his poetry we forfeit the possibility of understanding what Vergilian pastoral actually was and instead reduce it to what it later became.' On Vergilian intertextuality, see S. Hinds 1998: 17-25 and R. Thomas 1999: 12-32 (= 1982: 144-164), 114-141 (=1986: 171-198), 209-14 and *passim* (esp.ch7).

[12] It has been assumed that individual *Eclogues* were given to friends for comments after they were written and scholars have often attempted to argue on certain dates for the composition of each of the poems: K. Büchner 1961: 234; A. La Penna 1963: 491. The problem seems to have lacked an answer since antiquity because Servius wrote in the prooemium of his commentary: "De eclogis multi dubitant, quae licet decem sint, incertum tamen est quo ordinae scriptae sint."

[13] Vergil did announce in his poetry that the focus of his aspirations was Greece (2.486-9); cf. M.C.J. Putnam 1979: 148, who argued that Vergil explicitly desired to be transported to Greece, his spiritual homeland, where he hoped to become intimate with the sources of his passion /"amor:" G.2.470; 3.285, 292. J. Farrell 1991: 133-4 argued that Vergil's plan was, through this pattern of allusion, to reintegrate Homer into the line of didactic or natural philosophical poetry, based on the ancient allegorical interpretation of Homer. Farrell claims that the *Georgics* should be seen as 'a tripartite poem as determined by a pattern of allusion, that we have in book 1 a 'Hesiodic /Aratean' *Georgics*, in books 2-3 a 'Lucretian' and in book 4 a 'Homeric' one.' Also, see P.R. Hardie 1986: 157-67.

[14] A.S.F. Gow 1952: 60n4 and J. Van Sickle 1976: 36 argued that Vergil was familiar with poems 1-11, perhaps 16-18 and 24 as well as with the works of Moschus and Bion. *Eclogues* 2 and 7 are regarded as the most Theocritean; for their position in the collection, see C. Gotoff 1967: 67n2. Generally, critics seem to agree that although the influence of Theocritus on Vergil is not to be doubted, it was the latter that reinforced the motifs that made the genre recognisable to his successors. F. Muecke 1975: 170.

due to his Callimachean orientation,[15] Vergil's affinity with the work of Hesiod is beyond question.[16] In the *Georgics* Vergil, having established himself through the *Eclogues* as the Roman Theocritus,[17]

Alexander Pope (*A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry*, 1717) quoted by Halperin 1983: 5, decreed that in 'nature and simplicity' Theocritus 'excells all others' and that 'Dialect alone has a secret charm in it which no other could ever attain;' yet, he also praised Vergil for refining upon his original.

[15] In *Eclogue* 6, Silenus was introduced with rustic and Dionysian associations. According to R.O.A.M. Lyne, Vergil wished Silenus to reveal the proper subjects for an 'epic' poet, but we are talking about a poet of epyllia and not long Homeric epics – Vergil accepts the terms of Callimachus: learned didactic, exquisite epyllia on romantic and grotesque themes; see W.V. Clausen 1964: 193-6 regarding Vergil's adoption of the Callimachean 'slender style' and D.O. Ross 1975: 18-38; also see R. Thomas 1999: 288-296 (=1998: 669-676). J. Tzetzes in Anec.Est.6 who commented on the bucolic genre in antiquity, mentioned three types of discourse, *hadron*, *meson*, and *ischnon* which would be exemplified by Thucydides, Demosthenes and Lysias respectively. Tzetzes said that bucolic welcomes the slight discourse as more suitable for it rustic characters; otherwise the discourse would be inconsistent with itself ("non sibi conveniens"). Latin commentators on Vergil applied this hierarchy of style on the three works of Vergil; see C. Wendel 1914: 55. However, also see J. Farrell 1991: 318 who argued that the approach which sees Callimacheanism as practically the sole motivating force behind Vergil's poetry 'makes facile assumptions about the nature of Vergil's attitude towards Homer, Ennius, and Lucretius and leaves unexplained the philosophical element [of] his poetry;' cf. J. Van Sickle 1977: 107-8 (cf. pp. 206, 223-4 and 228 below as well as ch4p.300f.) and ibid.: 2000: 38-9.

[16] See R. Thomas 1988: ad 2.176; D.O. Ross 1975: 119-20 argued that for the Roman poets Hesiod stood as an emblem of Alexandrian poetic ideology. J. Farrell 1991: 165 suggested that the simultaneous presence of Aratus, the poet signalled by Callimachus as the most Hesiodic poet in Epigr.27 (Pfeiffer), in G.1 is 'an affirmation of the Alexandrian position and a declaration of membership in that tradition.' J. Van Sickle 1976: 23-4 felt that the use of Hesiod by Theocritus and Vergil was radically antithetical: Theocritus employed Hesiodic patterns with the intention to affiliate his work with *epos* and give some clues to the generic identity of the bucolic. On the contrary, Vergil echoed both Theocritus and Hesiod to empower his role as a "vates" who recorded the "fata" of Rome to eternity (see ch4n89); see J. Van Sickle 1975: 5-72 and 1984a: 124-147; (cf. n5 above).

[17] Theocritus works were edited later by Artemidorus, while Vergil conceived his book as a whole, and wrote *Eclogues* for their respective

wished to become the Roman Hesiod, and the *Works and Days* have been recognised as the immediate model for his work (G.2.174-6):[18]

> "…tibi res antiquae laudis et artem
> ingredior sanctos ausus recludere fontis,
> Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen."

In the *Georgics*[19] Vergil promoted the image of the farmer as a symbol of a peaceful Roman society, which was regarded as fundamentally agricultural.[20] Cato had proudly expressed the idea in

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places and roles in the collection. For the importance of the publication of Artemidorus' famous distich thanks to which the rustic subject of bucolic poetry 'becomes a token of the literary design,' see J. Van Sickle 1975: 25-7. For the book of the *Eclogues* cf. B. Otis 1964: 131 who is in contrast with J. Van Sickle 1967: 492-3.

[18] J. Van Sickle 1976: 36: 'Vergil echoes Theocritus and Hesiod to signal an opening toward expansion and greater ambition: his authority not a reeking goatherd but Roman political figure in divine disguise;' cf. J. Van Sickle 1975: 26-8. Despite such general definitions on Vergil's work, it should be accepted that one could not isolate the influences he had and which included both contemporary and older authors. J. Farrell 1991: chs2, 3, and 4 (esp.316-17). Farrell argued that the "Ascraeum carmen" at G.2.176 signalled the end of Hesiodic influence on the poem; cf. J. Van Sickle 2000: 27 and 37 where he writes: 'Against Theocritus, the Lucretian critique of pastoral myth makes Virgil's project appear less natural, more self-consciously invented and imposed. But against Lucretius, Virgil rehabilitates the demystified mythology, assigning Tityrus [in Ec.4.580-89] the music of Pan, the pipe's inventor, and opening the way to further mythologizing in Tityrus' tie to Rome.'

[19] The *Georgics* is a didactic poem in 4 books on farming. In this case also the Hellenistic models of Vergil should not be disregarded; although Nicander's homonymous work has not survived, Callimachus in his *Aetia* recognised it as an influential work. See R. Thomas 1983: 92-113. Cicero and P. Terentius Varro Atacinus had even translated Aratus' *Phaenomena* into Latin. See J. Farrell 1991: 8 on the influence of epic in the *Georgics*: 'an essay which renders much more intelligible the course that Vergil followed in his career;' on page 188 Farrell emphasised that Hesiod is more than a mere symbol for Alexandrian and didactic poetry. Vergil engages directly with the text of the 'authentic' archaic Hesiod and in G.1 'Vergil's deployment of allusive contexts suggests a structural correspondence with both *Works and Days* and *Phaenomena* in their entirety.'

[20] W. Richter 1957: ad G.4.125-48 saw in the figure of the Corycian Gardener a rural ideal of the "vir bonus Romanus agricola" and therefore an exemplar of the "laudes Italiae" (G.2.136ff.) and of the fundamental value of

his writings: "Et virum bonum quom <maiores nostri> laudabant, ita laudabant, bonum agricolam bonumque colonum."[21] The poet advanced the idea of the moral life as being peaceful in compliance with the Epicurean and Stoic doctrines that were thriving in Rome during his time.[22] Vergil suggested that morality should be defined as a virtue that accompanied those who would manage to dispel all of their fears and desires into a well-balanced serenity.[23] The farmer, who stood for the then contemporary "civis" facing the challenges of the times and the opening of Rome to the world, was able to admit his violent instincts, which, nevertheless, he managed to channel into peaceful work.[24] Vergil infused the Epicurean

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agricultural life. Richter argued that the gardener could be seen as a symbol that balances the agricultural labour described in G.1.121-46 with the human vulnerability depicted at the end of *Georgics* 3 (ll.531-66). It seems that Vergil prepared the ground for the emergence of this new Roman figure that combined pastoral and agricultural elements already in the *Eclogues*; R. Thomas 1999: ch6 suggested a Philetean model for the Corycian gardener.

[21] Cato Agr.2; note the identification between "agricola" and "colonus" implied by the structure of Cato. Similarly Intr.4: "At ex agricolis et viri fortissimi et milites strenuissimi gignuntur, maximeque pius quaestus stabilissimusque consequitur minimeque invidiosus, minimeque male cogitantes sunt qui in eo studio occupati sunt."

[22] For an outline of the two doctrines, see below n62. F. Klinger 1967: 309 argued that the farmers of *Georgics* 2 (as well as the gardener discussed in n20) were primarily designed as models of wisdom that managed to overcome poverty through serenity and skill. Serenity was the desired status proclaimed by the Epicureans and on this basis A. La Penna 1977: 57 thought that Vergil promoted the gardener as an embodiment of the Epicurean sage. The gardener conformed to the Epicurean ideal of identifying utility and beauty. For the opposite view, see C. Perkell 1981: 168; A. Bradley 1969: 350-3.

[23] The final expression of this idea was perhaps achieved in G.2.490-4 which recalls the Lucretian style: "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas /atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum /subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari. /fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestis /Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores;" cf. Verg.Ec.6.31-40 and Lucr.DRN.4.580f.

[24] Vergil addressed the problem in *Eclogue* 1 (cf. n6) in which the unfortunate Meliboeus faced exile from his pastures in contrast with Tityrus who was granted the privilege of enjoying his idyllic world. It is remarkable that although Tityrus has been often perceived as morally insensitive (P. Alpers 1979: 67n3), he finally seemed to be moved by the drama of Meliboeus and offer him hospitality (even for one night only).

apathy that Lucretius had also adopted in his *De Rerum Natura*, into a more complete and tangible proposal, because he presented a detailed project of how apathy could be acquired. Vergil seems to have suggested that moral appeasement could succeed through devotion to domestic work. He as much as Lucretius had strong feelings against civil strife and in the *Georgics* war was presented as the destructive alternative to moral life.[25] Lucretius, who exercised a palpable influence on Vergil, shows 'almost incidentally' how Roman ideological and poetic vision can complicate the bucolic ideal.[26] Lucretius discards the 'bucolic mythology,' which accounts for exotic deities inhabiting the countryside.[27] Nevertheless, in his

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M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 65-8 and A.J. Boyle 1986: 17 believed that the poem depicted the tragic collision of the individual and the empire, with the ascendancy of Rome marking the loss of creative freedom. Others read the poem as an example of the moral development to which Vergil aimed; see C. Perkell 1990: 179; cf. V. Pöschl 1964: 63 who regarded the end of the *Eclogue* as peaceful, yet dark in the sense that Tityrus' sympathy towards Meliboeus meant that he acknowledged the affinity between them as herdsmen and possibly the easy change from one situation to the other. See J. Van Sickle 2000: 46-56 (esp.52-3) for the programmatic character of *Eclogue* 1 and Vergil's poetic ambitions (cf. n18). On p.52 Van Sickle wrote: 'In Vergil's poetic equation, the god serves to secure a new literary domain against the heritage represented by Meliboeus' flight.' Tityrus is to be seen as the new foundational figure of Roman pastoral.

[25] The influence of Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 BC), a distinctive Roman politician and later scholar, on Augustan poets should be also stressed. Varro who was a determined Stoic completed a great number of books including one on agriculture. *De Re Rustica* was often assumed to have been a major influence on Vergil's *Georgics* (esp.books 3 and 4). T. Baier 1997: 152-64 pointed out some interesting structural similarities between the *Georgics* and *De Re Rustica*. The author went as far as questioning whether Vergil added *Georgics* 3 and 4 because he was inspired by Varro's work.

[26] J. Van Sickle 1976: 35; for a 'Lucretian version of pastoral,' see A. Betensky 1976: 45: 'on the infrequent occasions when *De Rerum Natura* is discussed in terms of pastoral, it is assumed that Lucretius describes the typical *locus amoenus* familiar since Plato's *Phaedrus*….' Betensky was not satisfied by the then evaluation of Lucretian pastoral and she alternatively suggested that pastoral should be thought as an 'unfulfillable longing for a simpler and happier life' if the Lucretian pastoral was to claim any sense of originality; cf. nn53 and 205.

[27] For Lucretius' rejection of the pastoral, see DRN4.565-594: Pan,

fifth book he encourages the idea that bucolic music and life reflected a more pleasurable and primitive stage in the history of civilisation.[28]

The emphatic interplay between the texts of Vergil and Theocritus as well as Vergil's documented familiarity with the broader Theocritean and pastoral tradition could encourage the idea that Vergil has the key or some of the keys to the understanding of Theocritus.[29] Beyond the mimetic attitude of Vergil towards the Theocritean corpus, possibly the two poets shared common or similar cultural inputs (despite the time gap between their compositions), especially after Rome's opening to the world. Vergil was probably familiar not only with the work of Theocritus, but perhaps even with his sources.[30] As mentioned,

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Nymphs, Satyrs, "silvestris musa," 'wild' or 'woodland' music were invented by man and falsify nature; cf. Ec.1.1-2 where Meliboeus, having lost his property to some retired soldiers, addressed carefree Tityrus: "Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi /silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena;" a hint to the unrealistic world of Tityrus might lie in these lines; cf. J.R.G. Wright 1983: 109.

[28] Lucretius posed the Stoic philosophical ideal for mental serenity and recreation in similar terms. J. Van Sickle 1976: 36 wrote: 'His imagination thus links timeless ease with an early stage in an imagined process of linear development through time, and the bucolic conception with a philosophical commonplace. In the expanse of Lucretius' work, the contradiction between philosophical-poetic change remains potential.'

[29] Yet see A. Patterson 1987: 6: 'Vergil bequeathed to us…a dialectical structure, an ancient poetics no less elliptical than those of Plato and Aristotle, and one that has been, I would argue at least as influential;' cf. W. Berg 1965: 11-23.

[30] For the importance of the anonymous Lament for Bion as a medium step between the Theocritean and the Vergilian pastoral, see T.K. Hubbard 1998: ch1. E.g. see Ec.8.37-41: "saepibus in nostris parvam te roscida mala /(dux ego vester eram) vidi cum matrem legentem. /alter ab undecimo tum me iam acceperat annus, /iam fragilis poteram a terra contingere ramos: /ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error!" The lines have been recognised as a mimesis of Theoc.Id.11.25-7; yet it might be argued that they belong to a wider tradition that could even include the *Song of Solomon*; cf. 4.9: "you have ravished my heart, my sister my bride, you have ravished my heart with a glance of your eyes;" 4.13: "your channel is an orchard of pomegranates with all choicest fruits;" 8.7: "Under the apple tree I awakened you. There your mother was in labour with you." In Ec.8 the repeated appeal to Daphnis to come back and the whole treatment of the city-country antagonism could indicate some direct

although Vergil was credited with the composition of Rome's national saga,[31] his Hellenistic orientation is not to be doubted. Vergil placed himself in the ranks of the Hellenistic poets and embraced their literary principles in his work.[32] Consequently, although he intentionally emphasised the Theocritean hybrid in his poems,[33] he seems to have based his poetic individuality in the details of the treatment of his pastoral characters.[34] In the previous chapter Daphnis' religious and ritual aspects were discussed in association with Theocritus' poetical sources and the poet's own conception of the hero. As argued, Theocritus seems to have classified Daphnis among the dying and reviving gods of the type

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knowledge of eastern material; see ch2nn219 and 223.

[31] Another reason that Vergil holds an important share in the poetic guidance of western thought in more recent days would probably be because he lived in a historical period that exhibited much resemblance to the present social and political nexus. For Vergil's influence in the Renaissance, see H. Smith 1952: 1-63; also cf. Dante's *Inferno* where Vergil was imagined as guiding the poet in the Underworld; also cf. the English pastoral poetry of the 17th-19th century, e.g. T.S. Elliot or C. Williams. The political nexus of Vergil's days was monopolised by the imposing figure of Augustus, a monarch, and an emperor, whose rule could be easily paralleled with the royal English court of the later years.

[32] G.B. Conte 1992: 147-59 commented on Ec.6.5, which he paralleled with the opening lines of Callimachus' *Aetia*. Conte underlined the correspondence between the phrase "deductum carmen" and "Μοῦσα Λεπταλέη," which once accepted proves the affiliation of Vergil with Hellenistic scholars (cf. ch1n5); also S. Shechter 1975: 350 who discussed a possible allusion to the Callimachean *aetion* in Ec.6.72; cf. Horace's characterisation of Vergil's poetic persona as "molle atque facetum" (Serm.1.10.44-5), which agrees perfectly with the Hellenistic ideal of poetic composition. Also, see W. Clausen 1994: 181-96.

[33] B. Snell 1953: 290 commented on Vergil's sources of inspiration: 'he admired and acknowledged the work of Theocritus, he dwelt lovingly on his scenes; but because he read them with the eyes of the new classicistic age, he slowly came back to the Classical Greek poetry, with its eagerness, its deep feeling, its drama.'

[34] W. Clausen 1994: 19: 'yet these few references in Theocritus, together with his own sense of the sufficiency of the country, enabled Virgil, apparently to include a wider range of experience- politics and politicians, the ravages of civil war, religion, poetry, literary criticism- in a pastoral definition. And it was this less stringent definition of pastoral, with its manifold possibilities that ultimately prevailed.'

of Adonis, Osiris, and Dumuzi. Vergil proved to be more purposeful in his writing and incorporated the tradition of Daphnis in the *Eclogues* in order to expand it and project it as a mode of moral life.[35] The character of the revamped Vergilian Daphnis will be outlined in this chapter along with the poet's understanding of the life that could lead to salvation.

DAPHNIS IN VERGIL

The most representative hero of Theocritean bucolic poetry was apparently Daphnis, the Sicilian initiator of pastoral singing.[36] The death of Daphnis, famously treated by Theocritus and placed at the beginning of his poetic oeuvre, excited the interest of the Roman poets and especially Vergil,[37] who treated his pastoral suffering in the *Eclogues* (1.5).[38] According to the literary rules outlined above,

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[35] A. Patterson 1987: 7 almost compared Tityrus of *Eclogue* 1 (cf. n16) with the modern reader: 'what people think of Vergil's *Eclogues* is a key to their own cultural assumptions, because the text was so structured as to provoke, consciously or unconsciously, an ideological response.' Also, see P.L. Smith 1965: 298-504 and P. Fedeli 1972: 273-300. [cf. Servius ad 1.1: "et hoc lococ Tityri sub persona Vergilium debemus accipere; non tamen ubique, sed tantum ubi exigit ratio"].

[36] W. Berg 1965: 11 quoted M. Desport 1952: 111-118 who argued the prevalence of Daphnis as the typical bucolic poet among Greeks and Romans alike. For Vergil's Daphnis he wrote: 'The Daphnis of *Eclogue* 5 not only assimilates the characteristics of his Greek forebear; he surpassed and transcends them as well. The novelty of Vergil's conception of Daphnis lies in the harvesting of so many ideas from earlier literary, religious and mythological traditions into a harmonious whole, the incorporation of several disparate elements into a single symbol which embodies all that is significant in the Vergilian bucolic world.'

[37] Vergil was born in Mantua around 70 BC; therefore, he must have been around eighteen when he followed his poetical ambition to Rome. Rome had already witnessed the first triumvirate in 60 BC formed by Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus and by the end of the 50s Vergil had joined its variegated crowd. By then Crassus was dead and civil war between Caesar and Pompey seemed very possible. In 44 BC Caesar was assassinated and the next year a second triumvirate was formed by Mark Antony, Lepidus and Octavian. In 42 BC at the battle of Philippi, Antony and Octavian won laurels as the avengers of Caesar when they defeated Brutus and Cassius.

[38] The *Eclogues* consist of 10 poems arranged symmetrically around the central poem 5; see B. Otis 1964: ch4; *Eclogue* 5 was an *amoebean* exchange

Vergil[39] should be expected to carry on the tradition of Daphnis as employed by Theocritus and his followers Moschus and Bion with special reference to aspects of the hero that had been overlooked by them.[40] Indeed Theocritus only implied the apotheosis of Daphnis which became more explicit in Vergil. Karl Büchner wrote [my translation]:[41]

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that described the apotheosis of Daphnis. Note that in *Eclogue* 10 Vergil presented the elegiac poet Cornelius Gallus as dying of love in the way Daphnis had expired in Theocritus' *Idyll* 1. J. Van Sickle 1978 suggested a series of numerological correspondences regarding the position of the poems in the collection and /or the structure of certain poems; also W. Clausen 1976: 37-43 argued that Vergil might have followed Catullus in the arrangement of his poems; N. Rudd 1976: 119-44 and C. Gotoff 1967: 76n2. Note that, according to a scholarly fashion, the deified Daphnis might have symbolised the recently assassinated J. Caesar (see n42 below). See H.J. Rose 1942: 124-135. (cf. M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 188-9); for another division of the poems by three, see T.K. Hubbard 1998: ch2.

[39] Donatus (Vita Don.8) mentioned that Vergil had the physic of a countryman: "facie rusticana." However, this information was dealt with suspicion as a possible inference from his poetry; G. Brugnoli 1997 ad Enc.Virg. s.v. *Vitae Vergilianae*.

[40] M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 5: 'The *Eclogues* are no more mere variations on Theocritean themes than they are veiled allegories. It is true that the relationship between the Alexandrian master and his Roman disciple is an intricate one: Vergil has often absorbed the matter and wording of his predecessor. But a close analysis of the parallels reveals that Theocritus was only a stepping-stone for Vergil's new approach, which pays little attention to Theocritus' ethical and aesthetic ideas.' Putnam quoted F. Klingner's work 1956: 131-55 on the influence Vergil received from Theocritus; cf. J. Van Sickle 2000: 22: 'By matching the poem that stood first in Theocritus' collections, Virgil signals the start of a new collection; and this implies an idea of the book as a hallmark of tradition.'

[41] K. Büchner 1961: 197. Theocritus possibly alluded to Daphnis' apotheosis by comparing the hero with Adonis, whose resurrection was part of his rites. *Idyll* 15 offers valuable material in this direction. Anchises and Diomedes with whom Daphnis was likewise compared in *Idyll* 1 were also worshipped as heroes. In addition, if Daphnis' identification with Adonis and his eastern counterparts was to be accepted, then Daphnis' substance as a fertility deity who dies and returns to life according to the seasons becomes almost self-evident. W. Berg 1965: 13 wrote: 'The shepherds who had met tragic deaths, but survived in various Greek cults, such as Adonis and Linus, offered a background for Daphnis as receiver of worship from the rural population.'

> *Daphnis as the embodiment of beauty, the essence of the pastoral world, who had tamed the Wild, left the world bereft of a god, sterile and ugly on his parting. A great symbol that bears its own meaning and sees in death the boundary beyond which only memory perseveres.*

Daphnis' apotheosis was clearly celebrated by Vergil and even interpreted as an allusion to the deification of the recently assassinated Caesar.[42] Vergil belonged to the generations of poets who dedicated themselves entirely to poetic composition thanks to the generosity of a patron, and would therefore be liable to such implications in his work;[43] in this respect, also Vergil had an affinity with the poetic mentality of Theocritus.[44] At the end of Mopsus'

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[42] It was even suggested that the apotheosis of Daphnis alluded to the apotheosis of the Caesar (see n38 above); W. Berg 1965: 20-23: 'Excursus on Daphnis and Caesar.' H.J. Rose 1942: 124-34 presented the arguments that prevent a direct comparison of Daphnis with Julius Caesar. E. Pfeiffer 1933: 65 did not attempt a direct comparison, but said that Daphnis was the 'instrument' through which Vergil expressed his ideas about the deification of the Caesar. Vergil explicitly described the incident in the Ecl.9.47-9: "Daphni, quid antiquos signorum suspicis ortus? /ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum;" the reference was to the comet which appeared in the sky in 43 BC while Augustus was celebrating games in honour of his adoptive father; see Suet.Caes.88. On the basis of Daphnis and Caesar's comparison, see also n32. W. Clausen 1994: 282-283; see also J.T. Ramsey and A.L. Licht 1997. In general, historical criticism of the *Eclogues* seeks to read individual verses and allusions within a political framework and to identity the characters in the poems as actual personages. E.g. J.J.H. Savage 1966: 431-57 and 1967: 415-30.

[43] In 39/8 BC, Vergil became a member of the poetic circle around Maecenas who introduced him to Augustus. Vergil became very close to the emperor and he was even favoured as 'Minister of the Arts.' From that time and until 29 BC, he was engaged with the *Georgics*. By the end of the *Georgics* Vergil had already expressed his intention to undertake a more ambitious project. The *Aeneid* was designed to praise the glory of Rome and of course, the glory of Augustus. He was the undoubted victor of the battle in Actium (31 BC) and the pioneer of a new era of peace and prosperity in Roman history. Augustus was officially declared Emperor in 27 BC after the battle in Actium. Vergil died in 19 BC and he had not yet finished his most admired work, the *Aeneid*.

[44] Theocritus wrote his bucolic *Idylls* in the 3rd century BC partly in Syracuse where he tried to win the favour of the tyrant Hieron II and partly in the Alexandrian royal court. Theocritus actually shared a lot with

song, the singer almost under divine inspiration addressed the pastoral world, urging them to raise a tomb in memory of Daphnis. Through an ambitious assimilation of the voices of Mopsus and Daphnis,[45] the singer uttered the will of Daphnis, as he would wish it to be inscribed on his grave. Even in this conclusion of the otherwise poignant song of Mopsus, Daphnis stated that his fame would live in the stars (Ec.5.40-4):

> "spargite humum foliis, inducite fontibus umbras,
> pastores (mandat fieri sibi talia Daphnis),
> et tumulum facite, et tumulo superaddite carmen:
> 'Daphnis ego in silvis, hinc usque ad sidera notus,
> formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse.'"[46]

Immediately after Mopsus concluded his lament on the death of Daphnis, Menalcas praised his rival's poetic talent and announced the subject of his poetry: his song would also engage with the adventures of Daphnis; Menalcas admitted his intention to deliver poetry in his opponent's footsteps almost as Vergil employed Theocritean material in his compositions. However, Menalcas was also very conscious of his own contribution to Mopsus' poetic image (Ec.5.51-2):

> "dicemus, Daphnimque tuum tollemus ad astra;
> Daphnin ad astra feremus: amavit nos quoque Daphnis."

Menalcas presented in his song a vision of Daphnis arriving at the gate of Heaven radiant like a star, while the pastoral world

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Vergil as he also wished to celebrate his patron in his poetry, Ptolemy Philadelphus.

[45] This overlap of poetic voices, that of Daphnis, the *magister*, and of Mopsus who, according to Menalcas, had achieved the poetic standard of his master in both instruments and voice, encouraged the scholars to argue that the apotheosis of Daphnis should be primarily examined as that of the 'ideal poet.' W. Berg 1974: 123 cited E. Rohde, L. Herrmann and M. Desport among them.

[46] The obvious model of these lines would be Theoc.Id.1.120-1 (also cf. Id.6.1-5, 44; 7.73-7; 8; Epigr.2, 3, 4.14, 5; Mosch.7.7). Hence, Vergil indeed based much of the character of his Daphnis on his Hellenistic treatment. He also referred to the beauty of Daphnis in the Ec.2.26 where he was presented as the ideal bucolic youth with whom the poet-lover Corydon compared his own beauty. Daphnis also posed as the ideal beloved in the second song of *Eclogue* 8 in which Vergil seemed much influenced by Meleager (Anth.Pal.7.535; 12.128) and Callimachus (Epigr.22).

rejoiced in his ascent (Ec.5.56-64).[47] Hence, it was not only Daphnis' fame that would live in the stars; Daphnis himself was accepted in Heaven:[48]

> "Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi
> sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis.
> ergo alacris silvas et cetera rura voluptas
> Panaque pastoresque tenet Dryadasque puellas."[49]

Vergil's reformation of the character of Daphnis was accomplished by the rising of the shepherd-hero to the level of Heracles who was famously accepted amongst the Olympians, and with whom the Theocritean Daphnis shared a common background.[50] The song of Menalcas had as a starting point the

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[47] W. Clausen 1994: 167 ad 56 cited examples of the word "candidus" employed to express the radiance of stars; Plaut.Rud.3-4: "splendens stella candida /signum;" Verg.G.1.217-18 "candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum /Taurus". For the Lucretian (5.163) and Homeric (Il.1.591-3) echoes of this passage, see W. Clausen ibid.

[48] Varro, LL7.20: "caelum dicunt Graeci Olympum;" cf. Aen.8.280 and Callim.h.6.58. Note that in Mesopotamian mythology Ninurta, a hero identified with Heracles, was promised supreme power by the father of the gods if he restored to him the stolen Tablets of Destinies: when successful Ninurta acquired a magnificent, divine radiance that proved his new status; see C. Penglase 1994: 53-5, 215. Penglase comes repeatedly to the theme of divine radiance in his work: 98-9, 102, 110, 112, 174-5 (about Inanna's radiance), 186-8 (Apollo) and 231-3 (Athena). In all instances radiance seems to denote the presence of a god; cf. ch1n157 and ch2nn14. For Dumuzi's apotheosis, see ch2n281. Also, Dumuzi had magic practised against him (precisely on his way to Heaven) and similarly Daphnis was subjected to magic in Ec.8 (cf. ch2nn223 and 197, and ch5n86).

[49] Also, see Ec.5.51: "Me: Daphninque tuum tollemus ad astra," where Menalcas stated his intention to place the dead Daphnis, mourned in the song of Mopsus, among the stars.

[50] For a discussion of the similarities between the tradition of Heracles and that of Daphnis, see App.Ip.445f. and ch2n133 referring to my recent post-doctoral research. Since Daphnis died of love almost in the same dramatic way that Heracles was punished for his excessive lust, they could possibly share deification. It might be argued that Vergil understood the tradition with which Theocritus wished to associate Daphnis and he advanced it by forcing the comparison. Cf. Od.11.601-4 where Odysseus sees only the *eidolon* of Heracles in the Underworld, because the actual Heracles had gone to Olympus: "τὸν δὲ μέτ' εἰσενόησα βίην

Theocritean tradition about Daphnis as it was re-echoed in the lament of Mopsus. However, in his lyrics he managed to reverse the fate of the dead hero and consequently the impact of his death on the pastoral world. As Putnam puts it,

> *in terms of the most obvious distinctions, Menalcas changed death to life, mortality to divinity, earth to heaven, elegy to eulogy. The narrow enclosed elegiac context, tied to a dying world whose central symbol is a tomb, is changed into a sphere wide without limit.*[51]

As argued in the previous chapter, Theocritus seems to have focused on the erotic element that ruled the temperament and fate of Daphnis and he presented the hero as ascribing his death to *Eros* himself.[52] In the fifth *Eclogue* Vergil seems to have expanded the nature of this erotic disposition to the whole of the pastoral world, and it might be argued that Vergil identified his hero with the environment in which he lived.[53] Therefore a glance of Daphnis

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῾Ηρακληείην, /εἴδωλον· αὐτὸς δὲ μετ᾽ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι /τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον῎Ηβην /παῖδα Διὸς μεγάλοιο /καὶ῎Ηρης χρυσοπεδίλου."

[51] M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 181.

[52] Vergil did not ignore the amatory character of the Theocritean pastoral tradition, but he made a conscious effort to underline its vanity. Hence, Tityrus in *Eclogue* 1 admitted that once he was a victim of Galatea's love, a relation often interpreted in the framework of "servitium amoris;" However, Tityrus was proud to announce that he managed to free himself from passion and the position of an ill-omened lover; As B.F. Dick 1968: 286-7 argued, 'he has found a more congenial partner in Amaryllis, who directed his energies from passion to practicality…she has afforded Tityrus a contact with reality which he never experienced with Galatea and introduced him to a world where the values of the practical life supplant the pangs of amatory debasement;' cf. J. Van Sickle 2000: 46.

[53] C. Calame 1999: 177-8 noted that from the *Homeric Hymns* to the Greek novel, *eros*' power extends to the entire universe. In fact, Calame asserts that 'it was no doubt on the basis of the institutional role played by *Eros* in practices relating to education of an initiatory nature and in the rite of passage leading to feminine maturity that a deified *Eros* acquired a place and a function in first theogonic, then philosophical representations of the cosmos;' Calame referred to Hesiod's *Theogony* where *Eros* united Gaia and Ouranos creating a bond of *philotês* which enabled them to produce offspring. He also discussed Plato's *Symposium*, in which the characters reviewed narrative, poetic, and philosophical traditions about *Eros*, and his *Phaedrus*, a dialogue about the nature of the state of being in love. Both works propose initiatory ways of progressing toward Beauty or Truth

effected in the woods and the rest of the countryside a reaction characterised as "alacris voluptas;"[54] the very essence of this "voluptas" seems to have shifted significantly compared with the passion Daphnis experienced in the first *Idyll*. As noted, in the Alexandrian world Daphnis' lust and promiscuity were stressed as the main causes of his suffering.[55] It would not be unfair to argue that Theocritus treated Daphnis as a purely mythological persona and he did not aim at exploring a new world order through the understanding of his drama.[56] On the contrary, Vergil would give the impression of having replaced Man in his cosmic theory with Daphnis as a kind of proto-man whose ascent to divinity could pave the way to salvation for the followers of his example.[57] The

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through *eros*' mediation. Calame also mentioned the role of *Eros* at the mysteries of Eleusis and in Orphism (cf. nn26 and 205).

[54] The word was employed only in the *Eclogues* and never in the *Georgics*. See M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 184. In Ec.2.65 "voluptas" was said to have dragged Corydon along. He seemed to experience "voluptas" as an urge for search, which could lead either to fulfilment or destruction. His passion was compared with that of a lioness for wolf, wolf for goat and goat for clover. Cf. Plaut.Amph.245 "impetu alacri" and Cic.Att.1.16.7 "alacris…improbitas" (cf. "Amor improbus" in Prop.1.1.6): Daphnis' glance seems to be in accordance with the traditional view of arousing love through the eyes, but in his divine status his glance affects the nature around him; cf. Theoc.Id.7.55-60 for a bucolic example of divine effect on nature.

[55] It has even been argued that Vergil faced with irony the melodramatic situation of the lover as depicted in the erotic poetry of the neoterics often embellished with pastoral details. See C. Fantazzi 1966: 181 who explored the similarities between the Vergilian pastoral and the elegiac production of the Augustan years.

[56] C. Perkell 1981: 180 argued that Vergil's pastoral as posed in *Eclogue* 1 '…has a fuller and more complex vision. Although he too sees a beauty in pathos and loss as reflected in Meliboeus' songs, he also suggests something positive as well as in Tityrus' invitation and in the birth of his beautiful new tone.' The *Eclogue* begins with Tityrus' idyllic existence and finishes with his hopeful and encouraging words; hence, a positive frame engulfs Meliboeus' drama. Perkell spotted the same pleasant atmosphere, which seems to surround the death of Daphnis in Theocritus' *Idyll* 1. The poem begins with the mutual compliments of the singers and ends with an intense scene of animal vitality.

[57] As discussed further on, Vergil seems to have explored the cultic associations of Daphnis with similar 'natural' deities of the past in order

lustful urge that pushed Daphnis to his death in the first *Idyll* was transformed in the *Eclogues* to a positive and restorative force, which dictated spiritual awareness;[58] in addition, Vergil seems to have decisively placed the cradle of this spiritual evolution in the pastoral world.[59] In the Vergilian view of the world, herdsmen still suffer as the plot of the first and ninth *Eclogues* dramatically sketched out, but their struggle was mostly related to the unfairness of the political tumult in which their world saw its destruction.[60] Vergil suggested that these shepherds who used to live in close harmony with the natural world would probably hold the practical methods of putting philosophical theory into practice.[61] Therefore, the serenity and 'indifference' that the Epicureans[62] and the Stoics[63]

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to sustain his vision and the potential of his divine Daphnis.

[58] C. Perkell 1981: 179 wrote regarding the end of *Eclogue* 1: 'if, however, Tityrus' final speech does reflect moral development and aesthetic responsiveness, then the tragedy of Meliboeus' exile and the loss to the country of his voice is somewhat mitigated by Tityrus' awakened sensibility. Pastoral would have a new voice.' Hence, pastoral poetry has the power to effect response and even change values. Cf. C. Segal 1965: 243-44 who comments on the positive account of poetry strategically placed by Vergil at the end of *Eclogue* 10 perhaps to balance impressions after the description of Gallus' absolute despair.

[59] Cf. Lucr.DRN.3.18-22 where he gave a description of Olympus influenced by and large by Homer's apposite passage in Od.6.42-6. A few lines below (3.27-8) Lucretius spoke of a 'spiritual voluptas,' which possibly formed the nucleus of Vergil's understanding of the idea: "su pedibus quaecumque infra per inane geruntur. /his ii me rebus quaedam *divina voluptas* /percipit atque horror" [my italics].

[60] See L. Keppie 1981: 367f.; G. Williams 1968: 313-27.

[61] M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 190: 'It is perhaps the poet's greatest achievement in *Eclogue* 5 to turn the idea of a literal apotheosis to specifically intellectual purposes. Vergil takes Theocritus' Daphnis of *Idyll* 1, victim of a Liebestod, and turns him into a symbol of a grand scheme of things; this Daphnis is not incomparable to the "paulo maiora" of the preceding poem and in many respects more humanely inspiriting. Out of love may come death, but from death comes a higher love.'

[62] (Epicurus 341 – 270 BC) The Epicureans believed that man is mortal and the cosmos is the result of accident. There is no providential god. The criterion of the good life is pleasure although it is necessary to distinguish between pleasures because some can cause pain later. Pain is caused by unsatisfied desire. Desires, which are natural and necessary, are easily satisfied. Others are unnecessary and if one views them properly,

would advise their adherents to adopt during the Augustan period were reflected in the "otium"[64] that the blissful Tityrus was allowed to enjoy in the first *Eclogue*.[65] In the fifth *Eclogue* Daphnis seems to

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they do not cause distress. The limit of pleasure is the removal of pain. To seek for more pleasure spoils the present satisfaction by creating the pain of an unsatisfied desire. The ideal is *ataraxia*, freedom from disturbance. The best way to achieve the ideal is the study of philosophy. If we accept that the soul dies with the body then we are not afraid of death or of life after death. The gods do not interfere in our lives, the physical world is explained by natural causes, and so we are not afraid of the supernatural. We must keep out of competitive life in politics and administration, so we avoid jealousy and fear of failure. We avoid emotional commitments so we avoid the pain of emotional turmoil ("λάθε βιώσας"); see J. Ferguson 1970: ch11 and J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz 1979: 109-119 and in S.M. Braud and C. Gill 1997 the following: D.P. Fowler: 17-36, A. Erskine: 37-48, M. Wilson: 49-68, S.M. Braud: 69-89, A. Schiesaro: 91-112, M.R. Wright: 169-184, E. Fantham: 185-212.

[63] The Stoa was founded by Zeno of Citium (300 BC) and is divided into three eras: The Early Stoa (Zeno through first half of 2nd century BC). The Middle Stoa (2nd and 1st century BC), and the Late Stoa (Roman Empire). The Stoics believed that virtue is based on knowledge. Knowledge was defined as the agreement of one's mental conceptions with reality. The aim of the philosopher is to live in harmony with nature. The main principle in nature is the logos (reason), which is identified with God and manifests itself as "εἰμαρμένη" (fate, necessity) and "πρόνοια" (divine providence). To be virtuous, that is to live in harmony with reason, is the only good, not to be virtuous the only evil. Everything else is indifferent ("ἀδιάφορον"). Zeno of Tarsus said that the duty of the philosopher is to help those who without aspiring to absolute wisdom are making progress in wisdom and virtue. He tried to adapt Stoic ethics to the needs of active statesmen and soldiers.

[64] Note that in *Eclogue* 4 the pastoral "otium" is replaced with labour which is necessary for the care of the cattle and the tilling of lands. Daphnis incorporates the idea of "decus," of beauty which functions as a life giving force over nature. *Eclogue* 4 signifies the awakening of the intellectual world through the impetus of the poet's charm. Diana officiates at this spiritual rebirth and Apollo reigns; justice returns and the Saturnian age is renewed. Mopsus' theme in *Eclogue* 5 is exactly the opposite: instead of birth, death comes to nature. With Daphnis' demise, Pales and Apollo also depart.

[65] Ec.1.4-5: "…tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra /formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas." *Eclogue* 1 fired a number of discussions regarding social order in the Augustan times; see L. Marx 1959: 90-5 for this notion, also developed in

have exhibited all the creative attributes ascribed to the leader whom Vergil had welcomed to life in his previous poem, a point to be further illustrated in the following pages. It might be argued that the prophecy regarding the birth of this saviour of humanity actually represented a search for a more meaningful order in human life, an order that would perhaps satisfy the displaced "colonus" of the first and ninth *Eclogue*s. According to Vergil's portrayal, this new order could be assumed in the apotheosis of Daphnis, an idea which would comply with Theocritus' classification of Daphnis among ancient fertility deities whose mysteries promised a better lot after death.[66] Hence, the substance of Daphnis seems to have shifted significantly, since his appearance in Theocritus or Vergil was perhaps much more glossy about aspects of Daphnis that Theocritus regarded as self-evident.[67] He was no more just a legendary lover, and although his Hellenistic tradition focused on his erotic suffering, Vergil conveyed his religious drama in higher tones.[68] He appears to have suggested

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a work of 1964: 19-24; R. Poggioli 1963: 3-24 was also intrigued by the projection of society in the pastoral world in Vergilian terms. For the identification of the *locus amoenus* in which "otium" is achievable with Arcadia, see C. Segal 1965: 237-66.

[66] According to the prophecy delivered in *Eclogue* 4, the new-born leader was destined to enjoy the love of a goddess, a motif traditionally associated with deities such as Osiris, Adonis and Tammuz who were always presented as consorts of the fertility goddess. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the three deities mentioned above should be considered of one kind (cf. ch2esp.nn137, 165, 281 and 284). For a detailed discussion of *Eclogue* 4, see below p.250f.

[67] As discussed in the previous chapter, Vergil even seems to have been aware of the eastern sources to which Theocritus alluded in his treatment of the death of Daphnis. Hence, the difference between city and countryside, evident already in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, was also employed by Vergil in *Eclogue* 8 as well as in the tale of the Corycian gardener in *Georgics* 4 (see App.Inn2 and 6; ch2n197 and ch3nn123 and 221; also cf. ch4n46).

[68] Cf. Ec.1.1-5 where Meliboeus contemplated on his misfortune and violent exile from his pastures. Cf. Aen.4.347: "hic amor, haec patria est." E.W. Leach 1974: 36 wrote about Vergil's pastoral vision embodied exemplarily by Tityrus in *Eclogue* 1: '…garden is not an end in itself but an opportunity. Its function is not to satisfy but to breed a restlessness that impels man toward some higher end.' Also see J. Van Sickle 2000: 49: 'He imagines Meliboeus, like Aeneas, as forced to flee the old. By colouring

that the passion of Daphnis could release the beneficial energy that mobilises the world: his suffering would secure progress and his death would proclaim rebirth as inevitable.[69] In addition, the pastoral "otium" could provide the necessary spiritual clarity to enable the individuals to take up the conscious effort of harmonising themselves with nature, a notion that Vergil put forth more openly in the *Georgics*.[70] Although, as argued in the previous chapter, Daphnis was regarded as the ideal of soft and inert beauty, Vergil portrayed him as a patron of agriculture.

DAPHNIS-ORPHEUS

In the fifth *Eclogue*, Vergil employed pathetic fallacy possibly as a point of reference to Theocritus and as the basis for acknowledging the hero's mythological background.[71]

> *Like Daphnis and other shepherds and loved ones of the pastoral-epigrammatic tradition, the Vergilian shepherd is given the opportunity to die, to be mourned, and to find commemoration in nature.*[72]

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change with the pain of exile caused by revolution at Rome, with all the attendant immediacy and gravity, Virgil gives his project the literary advantage of historical disadvantage over against the traditions from which he comes.'

[69] F.A. Sullivan 1961: 162 and *passim*.

[70] C. Perkell 1981: 171-3 argued that the old Corycian gardener featured in *Georgics* 4 stood by Catonian standards for sterility and uselessness; cf. G.4.127-9 where the land of the gardener was described as "[cui] pauca relicti /iugera ruris erant, nec fertilis illa iuvencis /nec pecori opportuna seges nec commoda Baccho." However, although he does not produce anything useful, the gardener could be seen as an idealised figure alluding to the Golden Age because his garden flourishes with various beautiful trees and flowers (G.4.130-8). Also, see P.J. Davis 1979: 30. In 4.141-3 the gardener was described as the only one who could transplant trees: 'and in his transplanting of full-grown trees, he anticipates and parallels the poet-singer Orpheus -a clear suggestion that he is a poetic figure.'

[71] For a discussion on Vergilian "umbra," see B.F. Dick 1968: 35. On the dramatic effect that Vergil achieved by employing pathetic fallacy in his poetry, see M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 173-4.

[72] W. Berg 1965: 12. In Eur.Alc.568-87 the god was presented as shepherding the flocks of Admetus while composing pastoral music. In ll.579-87 the Chorus sang: "σὺν δ' ἐποιμαίνοντο χαρᾷ μελέων βαλιαί τε λύγκες, ἔβα δὲ λιποῦσ'Ὄθρυος νάπαν λεόντων ἁ δαφοινὸς ἴλα· χόρευσε δ' ἀμφὶ

According to Berg, Vergil did not stick to the traditional image of the shepherd poet as found in Hesiod,[73] but incorporated in his representation of Daphnis a number of mythological shepherds whose model could be traced back to Apollo Nomius.[74] Vergil wrote (Ec.5.20-28):[75]

> "extinctum Nymphae crudeli funere Daphnin
> flebant (vos coryli testes et flumina Nymphis),
> cum complexa sui corpus miserabile nati
> atque deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater.[76]
> non ulli pastos illis egere diebus
> frigida, Daphni, boves ad flumina; nulla neque amnem
> libavit quadripes nec graminis attigit herbam.
> Daphni, tuum Poenos etiam ingemuisse leones
> interitum montesque feri silvaeque loquuntur."

Daphnis' introduction in the company of Apollo could be regarded as a positive step towards his attribution of a more

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σὰν κιθάραν, Φοῖβε, ποικιλόθριξ νεβρὸς ὑψικόμων πέραν βαίνουσ' ἐλατᾶν σφυρῷ κούφῳ, χαίρουσ' εὔφρονι μολπᾷ."

[73] It could be perhaps argued that, according to Hesiod, shepherds endowed with the gifts of the Muses could become the link between mortals and the divine; see M.Ch. Leclerc 1993: 181-232 and S. O' Bryhim 1996: 131-9.

[74] An early model of the handsome shepherd-singer was Paris and his looks had become proverbial among shepherds in antiquity as a phrase from Attic comedy cited by Diog.Laert.7.67 can assert: "ὡς Πριαμίδαισιν ἐμφερὴς ὁ βουκόλος;" Vergil treated Paris in Ec.2.60-1: "habitarunt di quoque silvas /Dardaniusque Paris;" also, cf. Anon.Anth.Pal.16.166 and Hermod.Anth.Pal.16.170. For the Mesopotamian notion of divine shepherds, see ch2n195.

[75] Servius, Proem.ad Buc.1.12-3 (Thilo and Hagen) recognised Vergil's poetic intention and wrote: "Alii…Apollini Nomio consecratum carmen hoc volunt, quo tempore Admeti regis pavit armenta." In Buc.5.35 Servius also said: "Apollinem Nomium dicit, id est pastoralem: nam Admeto regi pavit armenta."

[76] E. Rohde 1960: 125-6 suggested with some probability that Vergil was thinking of the death of Orpheus; cf. Antipater of Sidon whose work was available to Vergil through the *Garland of Meleager*, Anth.Pal.7.8: "ὤλεο γὰρ· σὲ δὲ πολλὰ κατωδύραντο θύγατρες /Μναμοσύνας, μάτηρ δ' ἔξοχα Καλλιόπα." However, also compare the death of Achilles discussed in Appendix I. Although the image of Orpheus as the 'good shepherd' seems to emerge in late antiquity and especially during the first Christian centuries, it is my belief that the origins of Orpheus' profile as a shepherd-prophet are to be found in the East.

spiritual and religious aura.[77] Furthermore, pathetic fallacy was notoriously employed in the myth of Orpheus who was well known for the establishment of the Apolline religion.[78] Orpheus who was regarded as the first poet[79] among the Greeks could tame with his music wild animals and change the course of rivers.[80]

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[77] Until the time of Augustus, there was only one temple of Apollo in Rome; see Livy 3.63.7 ("Apollo Medicus") and Macrob.Sat.1.17.15. Augustus made Apollo his special god either mainly in response to Mark Antony's adoption of Dionysus or perhaps because of the victory of Philippi that the Caesar's heirs had won in the name of Apollo; see P. Zanker 1988: 48-53. In 31 BC, after the battle of Actium, Augustus vowed to build a second temple to the god in Rome because the god was rumoured to have helped him against Mark Antony and Cleopatra. The temple was built in 28 BC; see Hor.1.2.29-36 where Apollo and Venus consent to Augustus' victory: "cui dabit partis scelus expiandi /Iuppiter? Tandem venias precamur /nube candentis umeros amictus, augur Apollo; /sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens, /quam Iocus circum volat et Cupido; sive neglectum genus et nepotes respicis auctor."

[78] For Orpheus as singer, lover and hierophant, see W.K.C. Guthrie 1952 and I.M. Linforth 1973 quoted in detail in the following chapter. For the antiquity of the figure of a herdsman as prophet and theologian which seems to originate in the cultures of the Near East, see W. Berg 1974: 15-22 where he compared Daphnis with Enkidu, David, Tammuz, Adonis, Attis, Anchises, Paris and Orpheus. Berg underlined the role that women (goddesses or not) often played in casting an ill fate on these shepherds-poets; a notion which confirms more to the point Theocritus' interpretation of Daphnis. Furthermore, it seems that Vergil understood the Hellenistic version of Daphnis as part of this ancient tradition, of which he made use in order to serve his own poetic ambitions.

[79] W. Berg 1974: 116 suggested that the use of a cave in *Eclogue* 5 as a symbol for poetic inspiration was a distinct allusion to Vergil's Greek sources. Euripides and Homer were rumoured to compose poetry in isolated cavities in Salamis and Smyrna respectively. See Philochor.FGrH328F219 or Aul.Gell.15.20.5 (Euripides) and Paus.7.5.12 (Homer). The motif was not at all unknown to Philetas and Callimachus and their influence on the Romans is confirmed by Prop.3.1.5; also Hor.Od.2.1.37-40 and 3.4.37-40.

[80] Cf. Ec.3.46: "Orphea…silvestris sequentis…" where Orpheus was first introduced in Latin poetry; see P.E. Knox 1986: 48. Pathetic fallacy was also observed upon the death of Julius Caesar; according to Sueton.Iul.81.2, the horses which Caesar had consecrated and released at the Rubicon refused to eat shortly before his death and wept copiously. Cf. n42; Eur.Alc.568-85 gives a fitting image of Apollo as shepherd and singer whose music could tame wild animals.

According to Vergil, Daphnis' presence seems to have had a similar effect on the natural world (Ec.5.60-4):[81]

> "nec lupus insidias pecori, nec retia cervis
> ulla dolum meditantur: amat bonus otia Daphnis.
> ipsi laetitia voces ad sidera iactant
> intonsi montes; ipsae iam carmina rupes,
> ipsa sonant arbusta: 'deus, deus ille, Menalca!'"

Hence, Vergil after rehearsing Daphnis as Heracles in the scene of his apotheosis moved further in stressing the possible Orphic elements in the character of Daphnis. In addition, a great number of Orphic tablets seem to have a bucolic pretext since they compare the *mystai* to 'kids that fell in milk;' often the initiate has to utter the phrase "Γᾶς υἱός ἠμι καὶ ὠρανῶ ἀστερόεντος" or a similar phrase which sounds close to Daphnis' claim that he is known "hinc usque ad sidera notus" (Ec.3.43).[82] The third *Eclogue*, in which Vergil offered ample evidence on the agricultural side of his pastoral vision, seems to have alluded considerably to the association of Daphnis with major religious movements of the past.[83] According to the scenario of the *Eclogue*, Menalcas and Damoetas, two shepherds engaged in a singing contest, were

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[81] Similar powers were also attributed to other shepherds in the *Eclogues*; cf. Ec.6.27; 8.71; 10.16.

[82] Heracles was reported to have been initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, while Orpheus' relation with this famous religious institution was well established during antiquity. P. Bonnechere 2003: 169-172 and S. Cole 2003: 193ff. For a detailed discussion on the religious movement of Orpheus, its rivalry and its agreement with other religious institutions, see ch5p.393f. For Heracles' initiation, see n193. Note that Heracles was presented in the company of Orpheus in Verg.Aen.6.119-123. For the Orphic tablets and their Dionysian context, which matches Daphnis' representation in Vergil, see S. Cole 2003: 204-9. According to Cole (p.200), 'the tablets cluster in three far-flung geographic areas: Thessaly-Macedonia, western Crete, and Sicily-S. Italy.' Cf. tablets D3-D8 cited by G. Zuntz 1971: 362ff; the ideas expressed on the leaves seem to have Egyptian analogies (G. Zuntz ibid.: 370-376).

[83] W. Clausen 1994: 88; *Eclogue* 3 was modelled on Theocritus' *Idyll* 5 with occasional references to *Idylls* 1, 3, 4 and 8; cf. C. Segal 1967: 279-308. R. Thomas 1983: 175-84 commented on Vergil's innovations in the *ecphrasis* of a beechwood cup in *Eclogue* 3 apparently in the footsteps of Theocritus [Vergil created a word play with the word "medio" which alluded to the traditional location of an image on ancient descriptions of artefacts, that is in the middle].

debating about the winner's reward; out of fear of his harsh father and stepmother Menalcas hesitated to offer any livestock and instead he suggested that he give Damoetas his beechwood cup, a motif clearly drawn from the first *Idyll* of Theocritus. Hence, on the one hand, the employment of the cup alluded to the mythical surroundings of Daphnis and seems to have been stressed by the reference to Dionysian symbols of feasting and idleness such as the vine and ivy wreaths.[84] On the other hand, Vergil employed this very Theocritean symbol to refer to agricultural labour;[85] Conon and Eudoxus of Cnidus,[86] the figures carved on the cup, were

[84] Ivy patterns were significantly described in Theocritus' cup as well; Dionysus' traditional representation as young, tender and beautiful, somewhat feminine in appearance, seems to create a parallel with Daphnis' mythic image. In addition, the god seems to have had a special relation with wild nature, which he could easily enchant. His association with Orpheus is further established by the Orphic story of the dismemberment of Zagreus by the Titans; he was restored and given new birth. Dionysus had instituted a very mystic religious in Greece (see Eur.Bacch.*passim*), traces of which can be found even in the Mycenaean years. F. Nietzsche, emphasised the opposition between Dionysos and Apollo, and viewed the former as 'the emotional-intuitive force of creativity, as opposed to cool rationality;' see D. Morgan 1999: conclusion (web page). This viewpoint seems actually to comply both with Daphnis' depiction in Theocritus and the traditional image of Orpheus as a sentimental and inconsolable lover. Also, see N. Robertson 2003: 218ff. and S. Cole 2003 in n82 above.

[85] On a possible symbolic interpretation of *Eclogue* 3, see C. Segal 1967: 279f. In my view, Daphnis was an obvious choice for Vergil because of his literary background and of course, because of his eastern associations, explained in the previous chapter, that made him comparable to Orpheus and Dionysus. After all, as a consort of the calibre of Adonis or Dumuzi, he experiences an Underworld *Katabasis* similar to that of Orpheus whose eastern tradition will be emphasised in ch5p.388f and App.IVn4 (also cf. ch4n39). Also, despite their immediate differences that perhaps Vergil tries to reverse /correct both Daphnis and Orpheus had the reputation of lovers who met their death because of the intensity of their passion. Cf. Pl.Symp.210a cited by K. Clinton 2003: 59 where Diotima makes a world-play between erotic instruction and mystery terminology.

[86] Conon was a Samian mathematician and astronomer. He lived in Alexandria, from where he observed in 245 BC a dishevelled brightness in the sky between Leo and Boötes. He named the brightness the missing

regarded as master advisers on agricultural tasks (Ec.3.35-43):

"verum, id quod multo tute ipse fatebere maius
(insanire libet quoniam tibi), pocula ponam
fagina, caelatum divini opus Alcimedontis,
lenta quibus torno facili superaddita vitis
diffusos hedera vestit pallente corymbos.
in medio duo signa, Conon et-quis fuit alter,
descripsit radio totum qui gentibus orbem,
tempora quae messor, quae curuus arator haberet?
necdum illis labra admovi, sed condita servo."

Furthermore, Vergil clearly seems to have understood Daphnis as the ideal hero who could incorporate in his character the musical skill of Apollo (and surely, of Orpheus, Apollo's famous disciple) and the agricultural concerns of the Corn-god (Ec.5.32-5):

"vitis ut arboribus decori est, ut vitibus vuae,
ut gregibus tauri, segetes ut pinguibus arvis,
tu decus omne tuis. Postquam te fata tulerunt,
ipsa Pales agros atque ipse reliquit Apollo."

His death was followed by the fleeing of Pales and Apollo from earth and it could be argued that these inversions of the natural world suggest the Golden Age which Vergil described in detail in the fourth *Eclogue*.[87] It has been argued that Vergil was apparently deeply discontent with the present, a notion confirmed by the repetition of the vision of the Golden Age both in the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*.[88] It seems that in the withdrawal of Pales and Apollo, Vergil alluded to a distinctive Hesiodic motif, that of

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lock of hair of Queen Berenice, an incident that Callimachus referred to in his poetry. The poem was translated by Catullus (poem 66.1-8: "idem me ille Conon caelesti in lumine vidit /e Bereniceo vertice caesariem"). As for the second person to which Meliboeus referred to seven names have been put forward; among them that of Eudoxus; see D.E.W. Wormell 1960: 29-32; C. Springer 1983-4: 131-4 and R.S. Fisher 1982: 803-14.

[87] Cf. 4.2; Vergil specifically referred to the absence of any trap ("dolum") in this New Age, a word which alludes to the Promethean deception; also see Pind.Nem.3.51: "κτείνοντ' ἐλάφους ἄνευ κυνῶν δολίων θ'ἑρκέων." In Latin literature the phrase was found in Plaut.Pseud.941: "meditati sunt mihi doli" and Hor.Epod.2.33-4: "tendit retia, /turdis edacibus dolos."

[88] For example, G.1.125-28; 2.336-42, 536-40. There have been efforts to argue that Vergil might have personally experienced the loss of property that he describes in *Eclogues* 1 and 9, see W. Clausen 1994: 30 and 267 (esp.n4).

the fleeing of Justice from the people during the Iron Age. In addition, justice was believed to be an important preoccupation of mystery rites; their hierophants including Oprheus were seen as protectors against injustice and performers of *soteric acts* during wars.[89] This clue makes Vergil's choice more meaningful in association with *Eclogue* four where he envisages the birth of the divine child that will put an end to wars and sea expeditions.

In addition, Vergil introduced into this reformed pastoral and agricultural environment Orpheus, a mythical singer who would easily fit into the idyllic setting of the Sicilian countryside, but with no obvious associations with agriculture.[90] Nevertheless, Orpheus, who was renowned for the introduction of mysteries in Greece, was habitually worshipped at Eleusis along with Demeter and Persephone, the goddesses who traditionally presided over

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[89] For a detailed discussion on the Golden Age as anticipated and depicted in Vergil's poems, see below (p.233f.); it seems that Greek authors during ancient and Hellenistic times had identified the Golden Age that their primitive predecessors had experienced with the presence of Justice among them. Theognis commenting on this period referred to Hope, perhaps the hope that Lycidas tried to inspire to Moeris in the *Eclogue* 9 (ll.1135ff., Hudson-Williams): "Ἐλπὶς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μόνη θεὸς ἐσθλὴ ἔνεστιν, /ἄλλοι δ' Οὔλυμπον δ' ἐκπρολιπόντες ἔβαν. /ᾤχετο μὲν Πίστις, μεγάλη θεός. ᾤχετο δ' ἀνδρῶν /Σωφροσύνη· Χάριτές σ', ὦ φίλε, γῆν ἔλιπον. /ὅρκοι δ' ουκέτι πιστοὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιοι, /οὐδὲ θεοὺς οὐδεὶς ἅζεται ἀθανάτους. /εὐσεβέων δ' ἀνδρῶν γένος ἔφθιται, οὐδὲ θέμιστας /οὐκέτι γιγνώσκουσ' οὐδὲ μὲν εὐσεβίας." For mystery deities as Saviours at war or sea, see P. Bonnechere 2003: 171-2 with notes. For Persephone /Kore Soteira in Arcadia, who is worshipped along Heracles Dactylos, see M. Jost 2003: 152 and ibid. 1994: 119-129.

[90] Although there is no support in classical evidence for Orpheus as the culture hero who changed men from savages to agriculturists, Themist.Or.30.349B included in his work this very legend. O. Kern 1922 thought that the legend was engendered in later times by late Orphic poems on agriculture. However, Vergil certainly played with the Hesiodic and philosophical connotations that by that time Orpheus had been attributed. See P. Kyriakou 1994: 309-19, esp.312. The song of Orpheus in Ap.Rhod.Arg.1.498-511 ends with a succession myth, which combines both Hesiodic and Pherecydean elements. Hesiod's succession myth, to which Apollonius undoubtedly alludes, is bristling with generational violence and it cannot be accidental that generational violence is used by Empedocles as the *par excellence* manifestation of the cosmic *neikos* on the human level (cf. ch4n95).

agricultural matters.[91] Hence, it would not be irrational to assume that Vergil cast Orpheus in the role of the god of the countryside, a role assumed by Daphnis in the fifth *Eclogue*. It might be argued then that Vergil by outlining the roles of Orpheus and Daphnis as overlapping wished to underline the mythical and religious tradition to which he understood the latter to belong. The possibility that it might have been Vergil's idea to affiliate a rustic herdsman with bards of the level of Orpheus and Apollo does not obscure the fact that his Greek original had already hinted at the more grandiose background of Daphnis as argued in the previous chapter.[92] On the

[91] Paus.9.30.4-5 wrote that in his opinion Orpheus was a man who surpassed his predecessors in the beauty of his poetry, and attained great power because he was believed to have discovered mystic rites, purifications for wicked deeds, remedies for diseases, and modes of averting the wrath of the gods. The varieties of mystical experience hymned by Orpheus are often related to Demeter, Persephone, and Dionysus (translated Ceres, Proserpina, and Bacchus respectively) and refer to mystic rites or *teletai*, which means the celebration of the Mysteries from *teleo* (= 'to make perfect', 'to complete'); see G. Mylonas 1961: 320; F. Graf 1974: 22-39 and 94-126. Although not necessarily used in the Eleusinian mysteries, these hymns address the gods celebrated in Eleusis, but also Adonis, the Muses and Themis. Cf. M. Jost 2003: 154-5. For a more detailed discussion on the role of Orpheus as introducer of mysteries in Greece, see ch5p.393f.; for the use of the term *teletai* in the Greek Magical Papyri, see S.I. Johnston 2002: 355-6; see ch4n39 for Orpheus' magic abilities supposedly acquired in Egypt.

[92] However, it will be argued that the ancient evidence rather stresses the association of Arcadia as the ultimate pastoral "locus amoenus" with the Eleusinian mysteries on which the influence of Orpheus is indisputable. See M. Jost 2003: 143-168. On page 154 Jost wrote: 'A somewhat particular case is presented by the Mysteries of Demeter Thesmia at Pheneos, where we suspect the existence of both Eleusinian and Orphic features.' And finally she concludes (p.164): 'Ultimately we can discern in the Mysteries of Arcadia both a strong Eleusinian influence and an original, distinct and indigenous one.' Also, see P. Bonnechere 2003: 175f. where he underlines the association of Boiotian cults with Orphic ideas, the Pythagorean sect and the Eleusinian model, especially during the Hellenistic and Roman times! According to Diod.Sic.5.77, the Cretans claimed that the initiatory rite celebrated by the Athenians in Eleusis, and that of Samothrace, and the one practiced in Thrace among the Cicones (introduced by Orpheus), were all handed down in the form of a mystery primarily known to the Cretans. At Knossos it has been the custom from

contrary, Vergil seems to have systematically reworked motifs found in the Greek pastoral, and he often adduced material that Theocritus had entrusted to the erudition of his audience. Damoetas' reply to the offer of his fellow shepherd is cited below (Ec.3.43-8):

> "Et nobis idem Alcimedon duo pocula fecit
> et molli circum est ansas amplexus acantho,
> Orpheaque in medio posuit silvasque sequentis;
> necdum illis labra admovi, sed condita servo.
> si ad vitulam spectas, nihil est quod pocula laudes."

It might be argued that Vergil understood his works as an organic sequence of motifs and ideas, which were interrelated, and therefore he possibly introduced into the *Eclogues* certain notions which he further regarded as common background in the *Georgics*, where the myth of Orpheus gave a much discussed turn to the ending of the fourth book. Hence, the connection of Orpheus with agriculture seems to have been already hammered out in the *Eclogues* and therefore, the study of this collection becomes essential in the understanding of the treatment of Orpheus in the fourth book of the *Georgics*. Vergil's comparison of Daphnis with Orpheus, a possibility often suggested by scholars, seems to find support in the poetry of Lucretius whose influence on Vergil was evident.[93]

In 5.8-10 of his *De Rerum Natura*, Lucretius claimed that the man who first lived under the direction of wisdom was a god:[94]

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ancient times that these initiatory rites should be handed down to all openly, as not to be divulged, a practice that was no secret among the Cretans. Cf. Plut.De exil.607b: "τῇ δὲ Ἐλευσίνι τί λείπεται καλόν, ἂν αἰσχυνώμεθα τὸν Εὔμολπον, ὃς ἐκ Θράκης μεταστὰς ἐμύησε καὶ μυεῖ τοὺς Ἕλληνας;" See K. Clinton 2003: 50-78 on the similarities between the Samothracian mysteries and those of Eleusis. Also, see A. Schachter 2003: 134 on the cult of the Theban Cabiroi. On p.135 he wrote: '…the story Pausanias was told [Paus.9.25.5-10] shows signs of how the cult was influenced by the mystery cults of Eleusis, Samothrace, and Lemnos.'

[93] W. Berg 1965: 13: 'Vergil's Daphnis, not unlike many shepherd-poets of the Greek tradition, is also a type of Orpheus, as is apparent in the pre-eminence of his song (Ecl.5.48-9), in his effect upon nature (24-28, 58-64), and in his tragic death.'

[94] Cf. G.2.490-494 where Vergil compares the philosopher with the shepherd-poet: "felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas, /atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum /subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari. /*fortunatus et ille*, (my

"…deus ille fuit, deus, inclute Memmi,
qui princeps vitae rationem invenit eam quae
nunc appellatur sapientia…."

A few lines below Lucretius compared the traditional source of wisdom, which he identified with Ceres and Bacchus, with Epicurus only to conclude in favour of the latter.[95] As argued, in the fifth *Eclogue* Daphnis was presented as preceptor of the Dionysian cult and therefore[96] he displayed more Orphic traits than did his Hellenic forebears.[97] Berg was convinced that Vergil had in

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empnasis) deos qui novit agrestis, /Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores." In the following lines (ll.495-542), Vergil praises the peaceful existence of the shepherd and the farmer, which stands in opposition with the warlike adventures of their fellow citizens.

[95] Ceres and Bacchus were worshipped as benefactors of agriculture who had set the foundation of civilised life; for Ceres, see Ov.Fast.4.393-416; for Bacchus, see Verg.G.1.7: "Liber et alma Ceres," Varro Rust.1.1.5 "Cererem et Liberum" and Tib.2.1.3f.; also cf. Ec.1.6. For Orpheus as a culture hero, see ch5p.375f. J. Van Sickle 2000: 52 wrote on Vergil's allusion to Epicurus: 'What is more, Vergil presents the god in terms that recall Lucretius' praise of Epicurus, (…) thus creating yet another dynamic of succession. Lucretius deified the philosopher who gained a vision of nature's laws through a heroic journey, returned to share the insight, and counselled retreat from active life.'

[96] B. Powell [2]1998: ch10 sees him primarily as a god of fertility, but one whose domain also borders on death. W. Otto 1991 is among those who see him as a god of epiphany, the god who appears, and who brings an immediate and forceful sense of his own shocking presence to his worshippers, and possesses them with divine madness. He also regards him as a god of paradox; A. Henrichs 1993: *passim* but esp.18-20 also emphasises the quality of paradox, which he sees in the essential tension between the human and divine in Dionysus. Walter Burkert regards him as a god of mysteries and Bacchic *mania* (W. Burkert 1993: 268 -270). C. Kerenyi 1996: 124 and 388 equated Dionysus to *zoe*, life itself; he was 'the archetypal image of indestructible life,' and this is why his cult was eventually to take on such a cosmic aspect. A. Evans 1988 and A. Danielou 1992 have emphasised his role as the god of ecstasy.

[97] Bacchus was also known as a patron of poets and Hor.Od.3.25.1-6 inspired by the god asked him in what *antra* he was to praise Caesar. Furthermore, Paus.9.29.6 testified that the Boeotians had carved Linus in a rock on Helicon, another mythical shepherd-singer of the rate of Orpheus and Apollo who will be discussed below (p.261). It has been assumed that the artist intended to show Linus as composing poetry in a cave. For the similarities of the Bacchic and the Orphic dogmas and rites,

mind the verses of Damagetus in praise of Orpheus when he composed lines 29-31 of the fifth *Eclogue*:[98]

> "Daphnis et Armenias curru subiungere tigris
> instituit, *Daphnis thiasos inducere Bacchi* [my emphasis][99]
> et foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas."[100]

As a being who dies and finds new life, Daphnis reflected the dying and rising divinities popular among the Greeks like Adonis, the Thracian Dionysus, and Osiris,[101] not to mention such heroes as Heracles, the Dioscuri, and Romulus, who found their way after

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see N. Robertson 2003: 218ff. On pages 219-20 he wrote: '…the new evidence shows that Dionysus was important to the Orphics from the outset, and that he came to them from the general background of public worship…the original Greek initiates or *mystai* did not join a separate social group, a tribe or band or sect or livelihood. They lent themselves instead to the civic cults of, chiefly, Dionysus or Demeter and sought to promote the fertility of the corresponding part of nature, vine or grain. It was fertility magic that set them apart. Only when the community effort began to lose its hold did *mystai* form private associations, like the Orphics.'

[98] Damagetus verses are cited in ch5p.394. Also cf. Hor.Od.3.3.13-5: "hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuae /vexere tigres indocili iugum /collo trahentes." The same image was conveyed by Vergil in Aen.6.804-5: "…Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris." Also see Prop.1.9.19 where in describing the sufferings of love Propertius compared it to hunting Armenian tigers: "tum magis Armenias cupies accedere tigris;" also Lygdam.6.15; Ov.Am.2.14.35; Met.8.121 and 15.86. On the Armenian tigers as an invention of Vergil, see W. Clausen 1994: 161 ad Ec.5.29. Also, see Hor.ArsPoet.391-93: "Silvestris homines sacer interpresque deorum /Caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus, /Dictus ob hoc lenire tigris rapidosque leones."

[99] For a literary revision on the image of leading a 'Bacchic *thiasos*,' see W. Clausen 1994: 162 ad Ec.5.30. Vergil's expression "thiasos inducere" is in all probability a translation of the Greek "θιάσους ἄγειν" employed by Eur.Bacch.115 and Theoc.Id.26.1-2.

[100] E. Dodds 1951 on Eur.Bacch.113: the typical *thyrsus* consisted of a stalk of fennel with a bunch of leaves, ivy, or vine, attached to the top. Although the *thyrsus* could become a powerful weapon (Eur.Bacch.761-4), Vergil rather underlined the pacifying effect of the "hastas" on nature.

[101] In Ec.5.63-5, Vergil referred to the cult that would be inaugurated for Daphnis and Phoebus, and he named one of Menalcas' fellow herdsmen as Alphesiboeus. Hesiod had reported that Adonis' mother was called Alphesiboea, a name with fertility implications (LS s.v. the one bringing in oxen). Also, see Ec.10.18 where Vergil imitated Theoc.Id.1.109.

death to the company of the gods.[102] Hence, it might be argued that Vergil could offer a very insightful review of Theocritus who was plausibly the first to acknowledge this potential in his bucolic hero.[103] In addition, the familiarity of the Romans with these ideas must have been firm, a possibility which will be stressed throughout this chapter.

Orpheus, who was reported to have been a hierophant at Eleusis and was ambiguously related to Dionysus,[104] was recognised as a benefactor of humanity who had dramatically intervened in the course of civilisation.[105] In similar manner, Vergil referred to

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[102] H.J. Rose 1942: 137 characterised Daphnis as a 'recognisable literary type, the lamentation for the dying god followed by his resurrection;' he also cited Adonis and Hippolytus (cf. Eur.Hipp.1423-30 and Verg.Aen.7.761-82) as further examples. For Daphnis and Dionysus, see R.L. Farnell 1909: 5.171-83. E. Pfeiffer 1933: 56-7 draws attention to the similarities between Daphnis and Osiris. Also, see Plut.DeIs.etOs.27-39.

[103] W. Clausen 1994: 18: 'traces of Theocritean presence in Latin poetry before Vergil are slight and elusive. Catullus may have modelled the refrain in his epyllion 64 on the refrain in *Idyll* 1 and he adapted possibly after Cinna, a line from Id.15. (15.100 and Catull.64.96). There is also the remark of Pliny the Elder (HN28.19) to the effect that Catullus and Vergil after him imitated Simaetha's song in *Idyll* 2. Clausen argued that even if quite plausibly Parthenius was aware of Theocritus' poetry, his disciples such as Cinna, Catullus and Calvus would not take any interest in such poetry.'

[104] There are many parallels between the mythology of Orpheus and Dionysus. They were both reputed to have originated from Thrace, and undertook long wandering journeys, including by sea. These wanderings eventually led both to visit the underworld, in search of the feminine. Dionysus attempted the journey for the sake of his mother, Orpheus for Eurydice. Diod.Sic.5.75 claimed that Dionysus was believed to have been born in Crete, a son of Zeus and Persephone, and that Orpheus handed down the tradition that he was torn in pieces by the Titans in the initiatory rites he established. See N. Robertson 2003: 218ff., S. Cole 2003: 193ff. and P. Bonnechere 2003: 169ff. (The last article engages with the tradition of Trophonius in Boiotia and his associations with Orphic religious ideas, but it also focuses on the popularity of this cult during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Hence, we get a picture of the level of syncretism that took place at that era as well as of the level of awareness about these cults among the Romans).

[105] On Orpheus and civilisation, see ch5p393f. where the hero is

Daphnis as receiving yearly vows from the farmers.

> *As Epicurus refurbished man's soul, so Daphnis' apotheosis does away with evil and, in re-creating nature, sanctifies the new force which during his life he bestowed on the pastoral georgic world.*[106]

It could be argued that Daphnis as a benefactor of agriculture[107] was believed to continue the tradition not only of Apollo Nomius, but also of seasonal deities such as Dionysus and Demeter.[108]

> "grandia saepe quibus mandavimus hordea sulcis,
> infelix lilium et steriles nascuntur avenae;
> pro molli viola, pro purpureo narcisso
> carduus et spinis surgit paliurus acutis."

As a bringer of peace to the countryside (ll.60-1) Daphnis also

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compared with Prometheus, the most profound example of culture hero in antiquity.

[106] M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 186-7; the author observed that the offerings to Daphnis would include oil, milk and wine, whether in winter or summer. It is remarkable that Aristaeus, the farmer hero introduced by Vergil in *Georgics* 4 as a character contrasting Orpheus, was famous for the discovery of these three products. Almost in all archaic representations of him, Aristaeus was depicted as carrying a sack containing three bottles filled with oil, milk, and wine. It might be argued then that Vergil consciously tried to emphasise the association of Daphnis (or the new revamped Daphnis) with the world of agriculture specifically rather than his general link with nature, and to allude to Daphnis' advanced level of civilisation, as Putnam put it. For more on Aristaeus, see ch5p.321f.

[107] W. Berg 1965: 21 remarked that Vergil saw in Daphnis as well as in Julius Caesar the type of heroic benefactor who achieved divinity through suffering. For Vergil's preoccupation with the mystery of suffering, see F.A. Sullivan 1969: 161-177 which will also be discussed below (n116). Also, see H.J. Rose 1942: 67; he interpreted Vergil's address to Augustus as a god in *Eclogue* 1 under the connotation that he was a 'benefactor of mankind on a large scale.' Note that in Ec.9 the crops were described as rejoicing with wheat and the grapes as growing mature. These references connect Caesar with Ceres and Bacchus. For the relation of Caesar and consequently of Augustus with Dionysus that Vergil might have intended to stress, see M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 188.

[108] Ec.5.65-6: "sis bonus o felixque tuis! En quattor aras: /ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebo;" also cf.Ec.5.79-80: "semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt. /ut Baccho Cererique, tibi sic vota quotannis /agricolae facient: damnabis tu quoque votis."

shared considerable kinship with the tutelary gods of garden and pasture like Pan, Priapus and Hermes. The Theocritean tradition had already confirmed Daphnis' affinity with these deities, who were mentioned by name in the first *Idyll*- all favourite protagonists of Hellenistic epigrams.[109] Hence, it seems that Vergil wished to associate Daphnis with a mythical past where heroes like Orpheus would dwell and where agriculture posed as the means of attaining wisdom. Moreover, it might be argued that in his effort Vergil drew on Hesiodic tradition where pastoral grandeur had already been associated with the cosmic order, the key to which Vergil handed to Daphnis.

DAPHNIS-PROMETHEUS

In the fifth *Eclogue* (ll.79-80), Daphnis seems to have achieved the level of culture heroes whose discoveries in nature revolutionised human life and who were deified accordingly. The comparison of Daphnis as a benefactor of humanity with Prometheus has already been raised in several discussions, mostly in association with the study of the fourth *Eclogue*.[110]

> *In Eclogue 4 Vergil must admit the hardships put in mankind's path by Promethean fire because his ultimate purpose is to imagine a union between pastoral freedom and progress, a union which when seen in terms of the dialectic of pastoral, implies*

[109] For example, Anth.Pal.16.188-90. Compare the Priapea in the Appendix Vergiliana. W. Berg argued that the source of Daphnis' difference in Vergil is to be seen in the love of Daphnis. Cf. 5.52: "amavit nos quoque Daphnis." Through this pronouncement, the traditional erotic associations with the figure of Daphnis acquire a more exalted colouring and are blended with the love connected with the art of poetry: the reciprocal love between Muse and poet, the love that inspires the poet to write and the love with which the reader is filled when he enjoys a beautiful poem.

[110] W. Berg 1965: 15-20 argued that Vergil had modelled his Daphnis on the Aeschylean Prometheus-dramas. He wrote (p.20): 'The conception of Daphnis as a devoted *benefactor* of the bucolic world is a reflection, in my opinion, of the Aeschylean view of Prometheus as bringer of civilisation. A comparison of the central *Eclogue* 5 with Aeschylus' presentation of Prometheus shows how much Vergil had drawn upon the Athenian tragedian in order to construct the figure and to formulate the praises of his bucolic hero.' Also, see A. Parry 1957: 11 and G. Lawall 1969: 20.

destruction of the unchanging bucolic Golden Age. Daphnis, unlike the destructive Prometheus, expands the scope of pastoral ideas in another direction.

Vergil presented Daphnis in the place of Prometheus with a suggestion that he would possibly make up for the Promethean deception ("fraus").[111] Instead of primitive man's determination against the gods Vergil suggested a more realistic human effort to tame nature to whatever degree possible. Daphnis does not steal the fire from the gods, but turns to sources already available in nature such as the animals or the vines, and like a second Prometheus teaches humans the means of the latest technology, agriculture. This new technology does not imply a threat to the Golden Age but an expansion of its 'practicability' (cf. Aristaeus). Of course, Vergil conveyed the pastoral world to which Daphnis was attached as an ahistorical Golden Age;[112] Daphnis would be the

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111 T.F. Bertonneau 1995: 39-40: '... Hesiod's myth credits one particular Titan, Prometheus, with having endowed humanity in its dim beginnings, if not quite with consciousness per se (as in other versions of the tale) then with the ritual foundation of the basic communal *ethos*: sacrifice in the form of the hecatomb. It is through the hecatomb that the deme repeatedly affirms its union under the regime of the sacred and renews its ties with the gods. In Plato's version of the Prometheus myth in *Protagoras*, the Titan creates humanity directly and endows his creatures with language, custom, and government. In mythic terms, however, the boon-granter is also a criminal. So it is that Prometheus himself falls victim to Zeus for having established sacrifice, thereby civilising humanity and making human beings a problem for the gods….'

112 Prometheus was notoriously lamented by nature in Aesch.PV406-26 and was not accustomed to pastoral pastimes: a papyrus fragment has been assigned to an Aeschylean *Prometheus* drama (**204b Radt) although it has not been possible to designate if it belonged to *Pyrphoros* or the satyr-drama *Pyrkaeus*. The fragment opens with a joyful dance in front of a hearth (ll.1-5). Then the chorus announces that the dances of the Nymphs were a gift from Prometheus (ll.6-8). Prometheus is appraised as the bringer of life (ll.9-17) and finally, the papyrus breaks off with an exhortation to shepherds to join in a nocturnal dance (ll.18-21). The Naiads appear in the Aeschylus fragment 4 where a dance is ordained to celebrate the gift of Prometheus: "νύμφας δὲ τοι πέποιθ' ἐγώ /στήσειν χορούς /Προμηθέως δῶρον ὡς σεβούσας." Aeschylus also present the Nymphs to celebrate Prometheus in a hymn (ll.9-12): "καλ[ὸ]ν δ' ὕμνον ἀμφὶ τὸν δόντα μολ–/πάσειν [ἔ]ολ[π' ἐγ]ὼ λεγούσας τόδ' ὡς /Προμηθε[ὺς βρο]τοῖς /φερέσβιός [τε και] σπευσίδωρ[ος]."

ideal hero to personify a second Prometheus because of his well known drama which took place in an earthly paradise very much like the happy existence of the Saturnian era[113] brought to ruins because of Prometheus' audacity.[114] Daphnis' obstinacy and arrogance were already argued sufficiently in the Theocritean corpus and could be compared with the steadfastness of the Titan who was exemplarily punished by Zeus.[115] In addition, Prometheus

[113] For the identification of Saturn with Cronus, see Servius on *Aeneid* 8.319; writing after Cronus had been identified with Saturn, Servius observed that he was a king of Crete and later (Aen.8.356) maintained that even Vergil thought Saturn was a man. As Schmitz has pointed out, (see his article *Saturnus*, in Smith's Dict. Of Gk and Rom.Biog.AndMythol.) the resemblance between Saturn and Demeter is much stronger than between Saturn and Cronus.

[114] The similarities between Daphnis and Prometheus are enhanced by the comparison of Orpheus and Prometheus in the following chapter. The great romantic poet Shelley wrote a poem entitled *Prometheus Unbound*, in which he teaches: "to suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite; /to forgive wrongs darker than Death or Night; /to defy Power which seems omnipotent; /to love and bear; to hope, till Hope creates /from his own wreck the thing it contemplates." These verses could possibly summarise the Vergilian reading of the Hesiodic Prometheus. In addition, in the Aeschylean drama cited in the next chapter Prometheus claimed that he sinned and was punished out of love for mortals in the way Theocritus presented Daphnis to suffer of love for a mortal princess (ch5p.366). Hence, Vergil by casting a Promethean light on Daphnis seems to have aimed at expanding the meaning of *Eros* from erotic passion to a passion capable of stirring the whole of humanity. B.S. Thornton 1997: 131; the philosophical goal is not to eliminate *Eros*, but to exploit its creative energy just as the farmer uses the fertile power of the earth, subjecting it to the technology of agriculture. It is worth noting Plotinus' understanding of *Eros* as similar to magic with regards to their effects; F. Graf 2002: 102 wrote: 'As love is an emotion and thus has nothing to do with the rational soul, charms in general function by influencing the non-rational parts of the soul. In this respect charms function like music, 'a kind of magic which causes no surprise; people even like being enchanted, even if this is not exactly what they demand form the musicians;' see also n53 above on Plato's view of *Eros'* cosmic power and cf. F. Graf ibid.: 103.

[115] Before dying Daphnis addressed Aphrodite and made a specific reference to Fate. In the Aeschylean drama, Fate seems to be identified with the will of Zeus. The relation between Zeus and the fate(s) has raised many disputes among the scholars and his subservience to them has been often doubted; see B. Otis 1964: 353-4 and *passim*. Zeus who according to

had showed traces of passion of a nature very similar to the passion Daphnis had suffered and Vergil seems to have been aware of the broad range of meanings of *Eros*, as fervent zeal to achieve a certain goal. As already commented, the point was already implied by Theocritus who presented Daphnis as visited by various deities to whose queries he remained unresponsive, an Aeschylean motif exclusively associated with Prometheus' punishment on the Caucasian Mountain.[116] The first died surrounded by the idyllic (Golden Age-like) beauty of his native land; the actions of the latter signified the end of the Golden Age.[117] By comparing Daphnis with Prometheus, Vergil managed to place Daphnis in the crisis moment

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the G.1.121ff. had decreed the end of the Golden Age in order to save humanity from sloth has often claimed the ultimate wisdom. Heraclitus wrote: "ἓν τὸ σοφὸν μοῦνον λέγεσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλει καὶ ἐθέλει Ζηνὸς ὄνομα" cited by G.S. Kirk and J.E. Raven 1957: 204; cf. G.S. Kirk 1954: 392 (cf. Clem.Alex.Strom.5.115.1). For Prometheus, see also C. Kerenyi 1996: 77-93.

[116] For Hesiod's views on suffering, see F. Solmsen 1949: 25-35. F.A. Sullivan 1969: 162 (cf. n107); Aeschylean drama offers an instructive structure of the way a poet might imply a universal world order behind a secluded human drama. Aeschylus' poetic aim is to reveal 'man's spiritual history' as depicted in the will of Zeus from the days of old. Similarly, it might be argued that Vergil had to baptise Daphnis in the aura of Prometheus if he wished to attribute to him some of the authority of the Olympians and of course, some share in the Promethean knowledge. Sullivan argued that in the Aeschylean drama suffering is promoted as a way of attaining wisdom. For the cultural aspects of Tammuz /Dumuzi, see ch5n157. For Prometheus as recipient of mystery cults in antiquity, see ch5n160 and pp.378-9.

[117] Plato in Plt.274b-d gave his version of the end of the Golden Age; according to him, the earth is at times under the direct control of god, who appoints *daemones* to be herdsmen over men, taking complete care of them: this is the age of Kronos. But when god lets the world move under its own initiative, then men are deserted by the *daemones* and left to look after themselves: "…ἐκ τούτων πάντων ἐν μεγάλαις ἀπορίαις ἦσαν. ὅθεν δὴ τὰ πάλαι λεχθέντα παρὰ θεῶν δῶρα ἡμῖν δεδώρηται μετ' αναγκαίας διδαχῆς καὶ παιδεύσεως, πῦρ μὲν παρὰ Προμηθέως, τέχναι δὲ παρ' Ἡφαίστου καὶ τῆς συντέχνου, σπέρματα δὲ αὖ καὶ φυτὰ παρ' ἄλλων· καὶ πάνθ' ὁπόσα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον συγκατεσκεύακεν ἐκ τούτων γέγονεν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν ἐκ θεῶν, ὅπερ ἐρρήθη νῦν δή, τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐπέλιπεν ἀνθρώπους, δι' ἑαυτῶν δὲ ἔδει τήν τε διαγωγὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοὺς αὑτῶν ἔχειν καθάπερ ὅλος ὁ κόσμος, ᾧ ξυμμιμούμενοι καὶ ξυνεπόμενοι τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον νῦν μὲν οὕτως, τότε δὲ ἐκείνως ζῶμέν τε καὶ φυόμεθα."

of the Golden Age: its end, an end that the hero's death signified already in Theocritus' compositions.[118] The following observations of N. Ault could be significant for the understanding of European pastoral and the ideological approach of more recent scholars regarding bucolic in the light of the Golden Age:[119]

> *A pastoral is an imitation of the action of a shepherd; the form of this imitation is dramatic, or narrative or a mixture of both; the fable simple, the manners nor too polite, nor too rustic…if we would copy nature, it may be useful to take this consideration along with us, that pastoral is an image of what they call the Golden Age. So that we are not to describe our shepherds as shepherds at this day really are, but as they may be conceived then to have been; when a notion of quality was annexed to that name, and the best of men followed the employment…for what is inviting in this sort of poetry (as Fontenelle observes) proceeds not so much from the Idea of a country life itself, as from that of its Tranquillity. We must therefore use some illusion to render a pastoral delightful; and this consists in exposing the best side only of a shepherd's life and in concealing its miseries.*

It might be argued that similarly Vergil saw in the rustic and

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[118] Although philosophers often emphasise the lack of sexuality in the Golden Age, the Roman elegiac poets could not avoid it. Daphnis clearly failed because of his excessive lust to experience love as Tibullus imagined it in one of his elegies (2.63-74), set in the Golden Age: "Et tu, Bacche tener, iucundae consitor uvae, /tu quoque devotos, Bacche, relinque lacus. /Haud impune licet formosas tristibus agris /abdere: non tanti sunt tua musta, pater. /O valeant fruges, ne sint modo rure puellae: /glans alat, et prisco more bibantur aquae. /Glans aluit veteres, et passim semper amarunt: /quid nocuit sulcos non habuisse satos? /Tunc quibus aspirabat Amor praebebat aperte /mitis in umbrosa gaudia valle Venus. /Nullus erat custos, nulla exclusura dolentes /ianua: si fas est, mos precor ille redi." (Smith 1913). In Vergil Ec.6.41-73, the end of the Golden Age is followed by stories of monstrous and excessive lust: the story of Hylas; that of Pasiphae, who, compared to the daughters of Proitos, is found to be more lustful (see ll.47 and 52: "a! virgo infelix, quae te dementia cepit!…a! virgo infelix, tu nunc in montibus erras…;"), the myth of Atalanta (cf. ch1n183; also cf. n182: here the apples come from the garden of the Hesperides); and the story of the sisters of Phaethon.

[119] D.M. Halperin 1983: 40 quoting N. Ault (ed.), [The prose works of Alexander Pope (Oxford, 1936), I.297-99]. R. Poggioli 1975 identified the psychological root of pastoral with wishful thought and sentimental or aesthetic illusion.

simple pursuits of Daphnis and the rest of his pastoral characters a reminiscence of the Golden Age the second realisation of which the poet predicted in the fourth *Eclogue*. As mentioned, in the *Eclogues* Vergil revamped the tradition of Daphnis, which seems to have become more explicit in Roman pastoral and underlined the religious implications hidden in the pastoral myths of the Augustan era. Pastoral "otium" might pose as the essence of the Golden Age experience and could be identified indeed with peaceful serenity along the lines of the Epicurean doctrine.[120] These herdsmen were, therefore, the ones to transmit their knowledge and their example to a world in desperate need for regeneration and progress. Vergil seems to have systematically associated the experience of the Golden Age with Arcadia, whence the new era should begin.[121] The

[120] R. Jenkyns 1998: 291: '[Vergil] learns from him [Lucretius] to use the didactic method, the investigation and presentation of fact, as a means of developing a vision of the world that offers to give sense and coherence to human existence.' In his last chapter Jenkyns also argued that Cicero's and Vergil's respective conceptions of "otium" changed what was once a feature of political 'liberty' to a 'quietist ideal;' cf. J. Van Sickle 2000: 29-30. Also, see T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 65-72 who comments on G.2.458ff. where Vergil regarded farmers as happy because they live far from the noise of the battle and enjoy the blessings of the earth that produces in her own accord; they do not live in luxury but they have "secura quies;" cf. Hes.Op.119 who remarked that the farmers during the Golden Age enjoyed the fruits of the earth "ἥσυχοι," without any toil and peace of mind; see Pl.Resp.565A also quoted by T.G. Rosenmeyer ibid. (above) who distinguished healthy work from toil.

[121] B. Snell 1953: 289: 'Virgil, the discoverer of Arcadia, did not set out to explore new lands. He was no adventurer of the spirit who listens to the call of foreign shores. With utmost modesty he admits that he is proud to have been chosen by the Muse to introduce the Theocritean pastoral among the Romans (6.i). It was not any wish to be an innovator or reformer which caused him to swerve off the path of Theocritus…He admired and acknowledged the work of Theocritus, he dwelt lovingly on his scenes; but because he read them with the eyes of the new classicistic age, he slowly came back to the classical Greek poetry, with its earnestness, its deep feeling, its drama. Virgil had not intended to be original; he merely re-moulded Theocritus in the image of what he considered to be characteristically Greek. This was the route by which Virgil discovered Arcadia: without searching for it, without proclaiming his arrival; and so we, for our part, have no easy time in discovering that it was he who discovered the land, and what its discovery means to us.'

introduction of the Golden Age to pastoral and its contribution to Vergilian teleology was ultimately connected with the introduction of Arcadia.[122] A closer study of Vergil's obsession with the Arcadian landscape appears to reveal important sides of the literary program and an insight into the idea of the Golden Age.

ARCADIA

As we have seen, Vergil tried to address in his poems some of the most pressing issues of his day, focusing on war (or at least civil war) and on this occasion, he reflected on human nature and its sense of satisfaction. Yet in his effort he focused on pastoral images which alluded to a much desired but unachievable past. An important query arises regarding the practical impact of this kind of poetry:[123] Vergil like Theocritus obviously addressed a limited circle

[122] R. Jenkyns 1998: 125 stands opposite B. Snell (n121 above). He analysed the Transpadane 'experience,' the elements of history and geography and ideology that urged Vergil create 'an amalgam of sentiment which is a fusion of the past and the countryside and Italy, the name and experience of his nation.' However, the study of these elements seems to have led Jenkyns to the conclusion that (p.178) Vergil did not continue to reinvent the pastoral tradition he had inherited from Theocritus in Roman context, and that 'it is misleading to talk about pastoral at all in relation to ancient literature.' He believes that pastoral as we understand it, was created by Sannazaro in 1500 AD. It was out of this late Renaissance creation that the stock figures and landscapes came along with the tension between city and country as seen in *Eclogue* 1; Arcadia in his opinion is rather not in evidence in the *Eclogues*. Vergil did borrow certain figures from Theocritus but he managed to generate a genuinely new corpus of poems whose chief characteristics are 'fluidity, elusiveness, and inconsistency' (p.156); cf. R. Jenkyns 1989: 26-39.

[123] B. Snell 1953: 287: 'In Theocritus, as in Virgil, the shepherds are less concerned with their flocks than they are interested in poetry and love. In both writers, therefore, they are gifted with passion and intellect, but in different ways. Theocritus' herdsmen, notwithstanding their pastoral status, often prove to be urban intellectuals in disguise. Virgil's shepherds, on the other hand - and it is charming to follow the steady progress from eclogue to eclogue - become increasingly more delicate and sensitive: they become Arcadian shepherds. Theocritus, too, stands at a distance from his shepherds; being a man from the city, he looks down upon them partly with a feeling of superiority, partly with an open mind for the straight simplicity of their primitive life. The simplicity is more ideal than fact, and so his shepherds, in spite of all realism, remain fairly

of learned kindred spirits who might have been amused by the simplicity of the bucolic or agricultural model of life exhibited in the work of their fellow poet. However, at the same time this kind of audience would give the impression that they were totally detached themselves from any relevant task.[124] As discussed in the previous chapter, Theocritus had employed in his poetry the same paradox. His *Idylls* entertained a sophisticated, urban audience by creating a world in which unusual rustics uttered learned verses.[125] In his footsteps, Vergil introduced the ideal setting of Arcadia[126] to an audience that could take pleasure in listening to the naïve adventures of characters so distant from themselves.[127]

There seems to be little distance between Vergil's Arcadia and

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remote from the true life in the fields. But this remoteness is as it should be, for a genuine summons back to nature would silence the whole of pastoral poetry; as it turned out, that is exactly what happened in a later age.'

[124] The confirmation came from Horace who also belonged to the same circle of poets favoured by Maecenas and Augustus; in one of his *Epodes*, Horace described how entertained his neighbours were to see him engaging in agricultural duties, simply because he was so obviously out of place. Hor.Ep.1.14.39: "rident vicini glaebas and saxa moventem." Cf. L.P. Wilkinson 1969: 53. Also cf. G.4.125-7 where Vergil wrote: "namque sub Oebaliae memini me turribus arcis, /qua niger umectat flaventia culta Galaesus, /Corycium vidisse senem…. " A. La Penna 1977: 55 remarked that this was the only time that Vergil adduced an experience of his own in the *Georgics*.

[125] Theocritus was in fact an acute observer of nature as his detailed knowledge of botany could confirm; see A. Lindsell 1937: 78-93; A.S.F. Gow 1952: 19.

[126] It has been argued that Arcadia must be regarded as Vergil's invention in the *Eclogues*; J. Van Sickle 1967: 491; G. Jachmann 1952: 161-70. K. Büchner (RE 15A) 1955: 1261-2 argued that Vergil presented Arcadia as the land of poetry because according to tradition, it was home of Pan; Meleager's oath by Pan the Arcadian and Lucretius' poem on Pan (4.524-94) could additionally support this view; cf. Theocritus' *Idylls* 1 and 7 (esp.ll.103-14).

[127] Cf. Ec.10.1-8 discussed in ch4p.291 in which Vergil invoked Arethusa, mindful of her flow between Arcadia and Syracuse, implying the link and the transition between Sicilian (Theocritean) and Arcadian (Vergilian) (cf. n165 below). For the differences in the landscapes of Vergil and Theocritus, see W. Clausen 1994: 267 (Intr.) who argued that the woods have a constant presence in the Vergilian corpus unlike that of Theocritus; cf. Theoc.Id.4.25; Epigr.4.7; Id.7.68; also cf. n27 above.

Theocritus' countryside.[128] It has been argued that Theocritus' bucolic images would at least correspond to a real life setting, although the figure of the poet-shepherd did not quite express the anticipated refined taste of the scholars of his time.[129] Theocritus was very careful in describing in his work a topography that would be quite recognisable to his contemporary audience and indeed he was quite deliberate in varying the setting of his images mainly between Sicily and Cos.[130] Nevertheless, it has been argued that Theocritus' Sicily was not a specific setting 'with a feel and a contour of its own,' and it is only the poet's insistence on the origins of his Muse that would restrict the reader geographically to the regions of Sicily.[131] Theocritus described the landscape of his own time usually with certain references to repeated clues such as a river, a grassy bank, a fountain, a grove or a rustic sanctuary. Even when lack of specific references might prevent the modern reader from determining the exact identity of the place, it could be easily

[128] C. Segal 1965: 237-66 discussed Arcadia and the notion of exile in *Eclogues* 1 and 9; see 1.3-4: "nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva. /Nos patriam fugimus." However, generally Arcadia was known as the home of Pan and of a people so musical that even their laws were set to music; e.g. Polybius 4.20. J. Van Sickle 1967: 505 argued about the formulation of 'the genesis of Arcadian from Theocritean in Vergilian pastoral.'

[129] P. Alpers 1972: 356 evaluated the poetry of Vergil as such: 'one of our difficulties of dealing with the *Eclogues* has been that we have not known what to make of Theocritus. He is usually praised for seasoning his idealisation of rustic life with humour and realism, but such praise confirms the tendency to regard his pastoralism as whimsical and unreal;' cf. C. Segal 1975: 115.

[130] See A.S.F. Gow 1952: 1.17-22 (Intr.). Of course, Theocritus included several references to typical Arcadian locations in his poetry; see T.G. Rosnemeyer 1969: 233; G. Jachmann 1952: 161f. argued that Vergil's Arcadia was too unconvincing and fictional in its details and therefore, Vergil must have been drawing from earlier tradition (Erycius perhaps, although his dates are uncertain).

[131] However, see J. Van Sickle 1967: 493-4 who argued that poetic trajectory from Sicilian toward Arcadian, foreshadows what the *Eclogues* as a whole accomplish. In the seventh poem, a palpable Sicilian, Daphnis (Ec.7.1) had taken a seat easily if paradoxically on the banks of a north Italian river (Ec.7.13). The narrator of the poem is no longer the poet of *Idyll* 4 and cohort of Sicilian Muses, but rather now a figure from an earlier *Eclogue*. He represents an internal memory within the book, and the voices he recollects are the first Arcadians.

adjusted to the geographical impressions of his audience and would be finally recorded as familiar and contemporary. In addition, by employing this technique Theocritus underlined the universal character of his poetry because almost everyone relying on his own topographical experience was entitled to take up a bucolic song.

In the *Eclogues* Vergil changed the point of reference by replacing Theocritus' Sicily and Cos with Arcadia.[132] It could be argued that Vergil, by setting his stories in mythical Arcadia, put his poetry into the sphere of absolute fiction, especially since he often employed the place as the quintessence of the Golden Age.[133] Theocritus had also many references to Arcadia, the land of Pan, and he often employed in his poetry distinctive features of the Arcadian landscape such as well-known mountains.[134] Wilamowitz

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[132] Calpurnius Siculus and Nemesianus who dedicated their poetic attempts wholly to reworking Vergilian patterns believed that Vergil denied geographical realities. P. Damon 1961: 298. These poets exercised a significant influence on the audiences of the Middle Ages and Renaissance regarding the establishment of Vergil as the finest composer of bucolic poetry; W.L. Grant 1965: 74, 112, 371-2. It seems that for them, the bucolic started with Vergil and they rather ignored the Greek bucolic literary production. See D.M. Halperin 1983: 3 esp.nn13, 14, and 15. G.B. Townend 1980: 166ff. and R. Mayer 1980: 175-6 also cited by Halperin deal in particular with the historical circumstances of Calp.Siculus that obviously facilitated him in ignoring the poetry of Theocritus.

[133] I.S. Ryberg 1958: 118 associated Hes.Th.24-6 with *Eclogue* 1; cf. E. Panofsky 1955: 295-326 commented on the idea of death in the pastoral landscape interpreting Arcadia as an idealised Utopia. B. Snell 1953: 281-309 had an idealistic view of Arcadia; cf. G. Jachmann 1952: 161f. for an opposite view. Nowadays scholarship tends to interpret pastoral by discarding the sense of fiction and convention regarding the genre; see P. Alpers 1996: 22 invoking K. Burke 1969: 'we will have a far truer idea of pastoral if we take its representative anecdote to be herdsmen and their lives, rather than landscape and idealised nature;' cf. T.K. Hubbard 1998: 4-5.

[134] J. Van Sickle 1967: 491 argued that the key to viewing the unity of the *Eclogues* is Arcadia. He also quoted K. Büchner 1955: 1261f. who had suggested that Vergil opted for Arcadia because it was Pan's homeland. Furthermore, he cited the oath of Meleager by Pan the Arcadian and Lucretius' treatment of Pan (DRN4.524-94).

assumed that Theocritus had studied an *Arcadica*,[135] and hence, although the setting was supposed to be Sicilian, he often alluded in his poetry to the Arcadian scenery. Interestingly in both cases the suitable landscape for pastoral remained essentially Doric, especially since Theocritus had advanced this dialect as the linguistic means of his poetry.[136] Alternatively, it has been assumed that Vergil's source for the adoption of Arcadia as the original pastoral landscape was derived from Theon's commentary on the *Idylls*.[137] Arcadia thanks to its geographical isolation from cultural advances was indeed regarded as a particularly notable relic where progress followed its own rhythms.[138] Many archaic institutions were still preserved there, a clue which would probably have excited the interest of any Hellenistic scholar devoted to the treatment of rare folklore. In addition, the place was notorious for

[135] See T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 233 who argued that the influence of such work is detected in the particular names that an author includes from the mythology and cult of Pan, the local Arcadian god; e.g. in Id.1.125 the name "Ἑλίκας ῥίον;" cf. A.S.F. Gow 1952: 1.26 and R. Hunter 1996 ad loc.: 100-101.

[136] J.G.J. Abbenes 1996: 1-19 discussed Doric as a literary language. Also see M.L. West 1977: 95-119 on Erinna's (or pseudo-Erinna's to his view) bucolic language: 'The Doric element is meant to convey that she is an ordinary person, a homely Telian maid.' Also see D.M. Halperin 1983: 143-56; 126-7; 159-60 and *passim*; cf. T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 50-64.

[137] Theon of Alexandria is dated in the 1st century BC. His commentaries on the main Alexandrian poets were exhaustive; they dominated all subsequent scholarship in this field and they form the basis of the surviving *scholia*.

[138] Historically when the Sea tribes and Dorian migrations destroyed the Mycenaean Culture, only the mountainous region of Arcadia was able to assert the pre-Dorian individuality. For an idealised vision of the countryside in Vergil, see E.R. Curtius 1953: 195-200; R. Poggioli 1957: 154-84. Also, see B. Snell 1953: 309: 'Arcadia was a land of symbols, far distant from the quarrels and the acrimony of the present. In this land, the antique pagan world was permitted to live on without injury to anybody's feelings. Arcadia was so remote that it was no more in danger of clashing with the See of Rome or with the Holy Roman Empire than it had run afoul of the *imperium Romanum* of Augustus. Only when Europe began to be dissatisfied with the goods handed down to her, and when she took thought upon her own spiritual substance, did Arcadia run into trouble. But that was also the time when the genuine Greece was restored to her rightful place.'

its mystery cults to the secret knowledge and hopeful message of which Vergil might have aspired. It is of particular interest that in Arcadia the Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated alongside indigenous cults whose agricultural character was very prominent.[139] Unsurprisingly, Arcadia was also renowned in mythology as the cradle of civilisation.

Numerous sources dated after the Hellenistic period could confirm the association of Arcadia with bucolic practice.[140] However, it was the pre-Hellenistic record of Arcadia that seems to have suited Vergil and his poetic purposes.[141] The place was renowned for its fertile pastures and its thick woods and was portrayed as an earthly paradise to shepherds and hunters alike.[142]

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[139] It has been suggested that perhaps Vergil had read the work of Polybius (4.20), a native of Arcadia, which had described the musical character of the Arcadians. See B. Snell 1953 *passim*. Although W. Clausen 1994: 289-90 was rather sceptical about this possibility, he admitted that 'the Arcadian poetic tradition, tenuous as it now appears, is probably sufficient to account for Vergil's choice of Arcadia.' For the celebration of mysteries in Arcadia, see M. Jost 2003: 143: 'No less than thirteen sanctuaries with mystery cults are known in Arcadia.' Most of these cults are dedicated to Demeter, to Demeter and Kore, to Dionysus and to Artemis (see ch1n18). The fact that Dionysus enjoyed orgiastic cult in several places in Arcadia (Jost again: 145-6) could explain further the Dionysian elements that Vergil attributed to Daphnis. Also, see her pages 154-162 for the agricultural character of the Arcadian mysteries that are influenced by Orphic as well as Eleusinian beliefs. The presence of numerous criomorphic figurines which Jost interpreted as human *mystai* disguised as animals is not to be overlooked.

[140] RE 2.1118-37; Paus.8.5.7, Mnaseas of Patrai or Patara mentioned a Bukolion, son of Pan, as the inventor of *bucolein*, the herding of cattle. However, Thucydides mentions an Arcadian place named Bucolion, which could facilitate the effort of associating the place with pastoral heroes. See T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 234 and G. Jachmann 1952: 171.

[141] K. Dowden 1989: 191-2. The area of Arcadia that was known to Homer for its winds and sheep was indeed a simple and uncivilised place. We cannot find room for an Arcadia in the Bronze Age exclusively for people who call themselves Arcades.

[142] Cf. Ec.1.51-8 where Vergil presented Meliboeus as visualising the pastoral ideal, an idyllic view which never existed historically anywhere or had any substance except in the poet's imagination, as it is clearly implied by the reference to unlovely reality (ll.46-7). C. Perkell 1990: 173. P. Alpers 1979: 84-90 (esp.n33) and M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 41 read in Tityrus

It was not, perhaps, accidental the fact that Daphnis, the archetypal *bucolos*, was described in Theocritus' poetry as carrying hunting equipment along with his pastoral tools.[143] Moreover, the Arcadians were referred to as the first autochthonous people whose ancestors must in all probability have experienced the Golden Age.[144] Pausanias recorded a myth according to which Pelasgos was the first man who ever lived in Arcadia.[145] He led his people out of their primitive stage and introduced certain aspects of civilisation such as eating acorns instead of grass, leaves, and roots.[146] His son, Lycaon,[147] founded a city and instituted games in honour of

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of *Eclogue* 1 and the pastoral ideal that he experienced an intention of Vergil to compare him with Daphnis, especially as lines 38-9 include pathetic fallacy. C. Perkell ibid.: 174 viewed this as an indication for the employment of imagination in the design of the Vergilian pastoral setting (cf. nn24, 27 and 68).

[143] Although Daphnis was believed to be Sicilian, his association with the Arcadian Pan is well argued in Theocritus' poetry (see *Idyll* 1). Note that Adonis as well shares the same hunting equipment as Daphnis. For Pan as hunter, see Rhian.fr.66 (Powell); Leonid.Anth.Pal.9.337.

[144] M.L. West 1961: 142-5; the Arcadians were regarded as autochthonous: Hesiodic Marriage of Ceyx (fr.266, Merkelbach-West); Plut.Mor.286a. It was a kind of saying that the Arcadians had lived there since before the moon was created. See Hippys in FGrH554F7; Eudoxos fr.41(Gisinger =schol.Ap.Rhod.4.263); Lycoph.Alex.479-83; Pind.fr.985.7-8; schol.Ar.Nub.397;Callim.Iamb.fr.191.32 and 56 (Pfeiffer).

[145] Paus.8.1-2 and 8.3.1-5. Also, see Ov.Met.1.438-520; Hes.fr.164 (Merkelbach-West); Apollod.Bibl.3.9.6-9 and 3.8.1. The Arcadians were regarded as "Βαλανηφάγοι" (=acorn-eaters); cf. the oracle in Hdt.1.66; Lyc.483 with *scholia*; Verg.Ec.10.20.

[146] The primitive food that Vergil tells of in *Georgics* 1 is a reminiscent of Lucretian description both at DRN5.965 ("glandes atque arbuta") and at ll.939-42, where early man feeds on the produce of oak trees and the arbutus. At DRN5.933-4 Lucretius makes the remark that the plough had not been yet invented when such food was consumed: "nec robustus erat curvi moderator aratri /quisquam, nec scibat ferro milirier arva." Vergil separately reworks both lines. Cf. Arat.Phenom.129-131 asserted that the first people who hammered out the knife and the first who consumed their plough-oxen lived in the Bronze Age.

[147] K. Dowden 1989: 182-3 about Lycaon and Zeus Lycaios. The story of Callisto appeared in the *Catasterismoi* of Eratosthenes (later 3rd century BC) and maybe as early as Hesiod's *Astronomy*. M.L. West (see Dowden ibid.: n26) showed that there are two distinct genealogical systems in

Zeus.[148] At that time, because of their justice and piety men used to eat at the same table as the gods.[149] Hesiod wrote:[150]

"Ξυναί γὰρ τότε δαῖτες ἔσαν, ξυνοὶ δὲ θόωκοι
ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι καταθνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις."

The end of this carefree period came when Lycaon dared to sacrifice a child on the famous altar of Zeus on Mount Lycaion and hence he was turned into a wolf.[151] This myth could be seen as a

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Arcadia. One starts with Lycaon and catalogues local eponyms of communities participating in the cult of Zeus Lycaios. The other starts with the son of Callisto Arcas and refers only to the towns of eastern Arcadia. Apollodorus who quotes Hesiod or Eumelus really says that Callisto was simply a Nymph; cf. nn25-6. Callisto's father was a Nyctaeus or Nyctimus, which is also the name of the son of Lycaon. Also, see A. Henrichs 1987: 254ff. for Callisto and Arcas as constellations.

[148] See Plut.Es.carn.(Orat.2) wherein a festival is indicated: "ἐχορεύσαμεν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς;" Hes.fr.163 (Merkelbach-West). The festival which would take place on Mt Lycaion was associated with primitive activity; see M.P. Nilsson ²1955: 397-401.

[149] The same notion of divine and mortal association was repeated in Vergil's *Eclogue* 4 treated below (p.250f.). Catullus had employed the motif that once gods and mortals could freely associate in 64.397-99: "sed postquam tellus scelere est imbuta nefando /iustitiam omnes cupida de mente fugarunt, /perfudere manus fraterno sanguine fratres." For the influence of Catullus on *Eclogue* 4, see H.J. Rose 1942: 201-3, R.E.H. Westendorp Boerma 1958: 51-63. When Vergil talks about the new race that will people the earth, he recalls lines 1150-60 of Lucretius; cf. M.C.J. Putnam 1979: 140-1.

[150] Hes.fr.82 (Merkelbach-West = 216 Rzach). The quotation was used by Origen, Contra Cels.4.79 to show that in the beginning of human history men were protected by a supernatural power so that a union of the divine and human natures might be found. Also cf. schol.Arat.103, 4 (Maas). According to Hesiod, human life is dominated by working to grow corn: the word *bios* used to mean 'one's daily bread' as well as 'life' (cf. Op.42).

[151] Hence, Lycaon is both a founder of culture and a sinner; Pl.Resp.8.565d; Theophr.adPorphyr.Abst.2.27.2; Paus.8.38.7; for the similarity of his sin to the Orphic teaching about the devouring of baby Dionysus by the Titans, see N. Robertson 2003: 226. Cf. Aristaeus who is said to invent apiculture and yet he is responsible for Eurydice's death. Also, note that the founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus were brought up by a female wolf. For the idea of reciprocity towards the gods in the religious thought of the ancient Greeks, see R. Buxton 1994: 150-1. Also, see ibid. 1988: 60-79 about the parallelism between Lycaon and Callisto as

yet another version of the initial happy state of primitive man that was ended because of human transgression.[152] Pausanias also mentioned that one of Lycaon's descendants, Arcas, would invent agriculture, bread making, and weaving.[153] Consequently, it becomes clear that from then on part of the human condition would be that men would no longer share the table of the gods.[154] More specifically, agriculture was mentioned as a necessity and a result of the distance between men and gods. The myth could additionally attest that the gods as early as that time were believed to take an immense interest in the definition of human morality and to impose Justice when their rules were overridden.[155]

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they both sinned and ended up in exile; cf. Ov.Met.1.365 where we are told that Lycaon was one of the causes of the flood that followed his transformation. We are also told that Deucalion and Pyrrha were the sole survivors of this deluge. For eastern parallels regarding the Flood, see C. Penglase 1994: 218-228 (esp.n55 with bibliography).

[152] Hesiod held Prometheus responsible for the ending of the Golden Age. R. Buxton 1994: 199; In Hesiod's *Theogony* man is the sacrificer: to follow the procedures inaugurated by Prometheus' founding act is to distinguish oneself simultaneously from the gods and from the beasts. C. Perkell 1981: ch2 discussed Golden Age in the *Georgics*. Perkell views the perception of the Golden Age as a means of drawing 'the reader's attention upon the disparity between the present, as the poet sees it, and an ideal vision of alternative moral values' (p.90) and not as a programme for Roman renewal. Vergil's first account of the Golden Age (although Vergil does not use the term) occurs at G.1.125ff. Vergil's description makes it plain that not only was the earlier period morally superior to that of Jupiter, but that Jupiter's intervention has brought about the present adversarial relationship between man and nature (p.97). It is not surprising then that Perkell questions the god's benevolence (p.96n12).

[153] According to Paus.8.9.3-4, Arcas became king of the Pelasgians after Nyctimus. He introduced agriculture, which he learned from Triptolemus. Plato in Leg.677Aff. argued that after each of the periodic destructions that separate one Great year from the next, the beginnings of the new life and civilisation are first experienced on the pastoral level; the text is discussed by T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 74.

[154] The story can be compared with Hes.Th.535, wherein Prometheus' attempt to deceive Zeus resulted in a definite end to the commensality of men and gods. Also, see R. Buxton 1987: 60-79.

[155] The idea of Justice as personified by Hesiod and employed by Aratus and Vergil will be discussed below. However, justice has always played an important role in the pastoral vision of the East; R. Poggioli

Furthermore, a communal perception of humanity seems to have been adopted because for the sin of Lycaon all the people had to suffer the consequences. Likewise the invention of Arcas was not only a symbol of the distance between men and gods but it was also an expiatory solution for the whole of humanity. Agriculture replaced the total divine providence, which primitive man enjoyed, and hence it could be seen as a way of simulating the initial Golden Age.[156] Vergil's interest in emphasising the Golden Age would serve his literary intentions in two ways as it combined two traditions, the Hesiodic and the Theocritean. In the fourth book of his *Georgics* Vergil depicted his main hero, Aristaeus, as travelling from Ceos to Arcadia, in order to practise his bee keeping in the latter.[157]

In addition, the character of the Arcadians who were renowned for their simple diet and their simple secrets for happiness suited perfectly the rural image of the frugal citizen that Vergil built up in his poetry.[158] The conception of Arcadia as an ancient Shangri-La survives also in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, an early Christian document probably written about 140-154 AD.[159] There

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1963: 3-14 cited the story of *Naboth and his Vineyard* in the *Old Testament* quoted by T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 108. For mystery cults and justice, see p.225 and nn64 and 89 above.

[156] Dicaearchus of Messene, a student of Aristotle, in his *Life of Greece* divided the history of civilisation in three stages (frr.48-51 Wehrli): during the Golden Age men would live in the company of the gods; they did not kill anything animate and earth was providing in her own accord. Of course, they had no experience of war or social tumult. The second stage was the *nomadikos bios* during which the idea of ownership and ambition came into the scene. According to Dicaearchus, this led to the third stage, the life of the settled farmer; cf. Varr.Rust.2.1.3 and 1.2.15. The text was quoted by T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 74.

[157] For Aristaeus' association with Arcadia, see ch4pp.287 and 301 and ch5p.381f (cf. n180 on the same page).

[158] There is a tradition according to which the simple and naïve inhabitants of Arcadia easily become a laughing stock for the people of their time. For Arcadia as a fool's paradise, see T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 234-5. Also, see L. Alfonsi 1962: 234-9.

[159] According to the *Muratorian Canon*, a list of canonical books from about the 3rd century AD, Hermas was written by the brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome. Although the author remains unknown, it is likely that the work was composed over a longer period of time. Visions I-IV were

Arcadia is described as the land of simple rustic virtue, an ideal that would appeal to the traditional Roman principles of leading a life with unswerving devotion to duty and with moral chastity.[160] However, as mentioned, at the same time, Arcadia was also characterised as a distant land of mystery, which was not accessible to everyone.[161] Vergil also seems to have been aware of a legend according to which Arcadia had been transplanted to the site of Rome, on the Palatine hill. In the eighth book of the *Aeneid* Arcadians were (conveniently) described as settling beside the banks of Tiber under the leadership of Evander and Pallas. There

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composed during a threatened persecution, probably under Trajan. C. Osiek 1999 quoted *Similitude* 9[78].4-10: "So he took me away to Arcadia to a breast shaped mountain, sat me down at the top of the mountain, and showed me a large plain surrounded by twelve mountains each of them different in appearance. The first was black as pitch, the second bald with no plants, and the third full of thorns and thistles. The fourth had plants that were half-dry, green on top but with dryness at the roots. Some of the plants were drying up as the sun burned them. The fifth mountain was very steep with green plants. The sixth mountain was completely full of cracks, some large, some small. The cracks had plants in them but these plants were not doing well; rather they were withering. The seventh mountain had joyful plants, the entire mountain was thriving, and every kind of domestic animals and birds were feeding on that mountain. The more the cattle and birds fed, the more the plants of that mountain thrived. The eighth mountain was full of springs and every kind of the lord's creatures came to drink from the springs of that mountain. The ninth mountain had no water at all but was entirely desert. In it, there were wild animals and deadly snakes that could destroy people. The tenth mountain had large trees and was completely shady, and in the shade of the trees, there were sheep lying down and resting and ruminating. The eleventh mountain was heavily wooded and the trees bore fruit, each decked out with different fruits so that anyone who saw them desired to eat their fruits. The twelfth mountain was completely white, its appearance was full of joy, and the mountain was most beautiful in itself." For more about the book and its prophetic character, see R.S. Kraemer 1992: 169.

[160] C. Osiek 1999: *Mandate* 4.1 [29]. 2: chastity and adultery: "If this lust arises in your heart, you will sin or if another such evil desire arises, you will sin. This lust is a great sin to the servant of god. The one who does this evil thing brings death upon himself." Also, see *Similitude* 6.[61]1-5 which describes the angel of luxury as a joyous shepherd and the angel of punishment.

[161] See M. Jost 2003: 143ff. In addition, Hermas and the herdsman who leads him have to pass nine deserted mountains before they finally reach the one hoped for oasis. E.R. Curtius 1953: 190 wrote about Vergil's choice of Arcadia instead of Sicily: 'Sicily, long since become a Roman province, was no longer a dreamland. In most of his *Eclogues* Vergil replaces it by romantically faraway Arcadia, which he himself had never visited;' cf. R. Jenkyns 1998: 26-39 who thought that Vergil's Arcadia was fantastic. However, it is my belief that Vergil placed Theocritean poetry to its cultic homeland because he was aware of the religious tradition of the location.

they established a rustic utopia as the first nucleus of the "pax aurea." The myth was not rare, since versions of it survive in Varro, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy.[162] According to Dionysius, the first inhabitants of the site of Rome were Sicels who were displaced by Aborigines. However, the latter were elsewhere identified with the Arcadians. Hence, Dionysius combined both the Sicilian (Theocritean) and the Arcadian (Hesiodic) tradition in his report of the previous simple life when people lived in accordance with nature and held the wisdom of the old Arcadians. Furthermore, this myth could better explain Vergil's perception of an Arcadian Golden Age situated on Italian soil. As remarked, Vergil alluded often to the change of the pastoral location from Sicily to Arcadia throughout the *Eclogues*.[163] The combination of a land so prosperous and yet hidden qualified Arcadia as the appropriate soil for a spiritual regeneration.[164] In the fourth

[162] Varro, DeVit.Pop.Rom.; Dion.Hal.Hist.Rom.1.8.1 and 2.1.2; Livy 1.7; cf. Varr.Ling.5.101 and Pliny HN3.5.9.56. However, W. Berg 1974: 109 observed that Vergil's shepherds never dwell in Arcadia even they are addressed as Arcadians (See Ec.7 where Thyrsis and Corydon are described as Arcadians in the flower of their youth). Also, note that a sanctuary of Aphrodite Erycine has been found in Arcadia (M. Jost 2003: 150 with bibliography), a goddess prominent in Sicily and in Roman poetry (Diod.Sic.4.78.4: 4.79; Hor.1.2.29-36; Verg.Aen.1.570; 5.759; 10.36; 12.701 etc).

[163] L. Rumpf 1996: 71 discussed the ability of Arcadia to embrace the past and the future of the bucolic world. So Arcadia hosted the invention of bucolic song by Pan sometime in the distant past in Ec.2.32-34 (cf. J. Van Sickle 2000: 40-41). In *Eclogue* 4, the poet envisions a future challenge against Pan. In Ec.7, Arcadian singers are presented on Italian soil as quoting actual verses in competition while another competition between Arcadians in Ec.8.22-24 is staged in Arcadia.

[164] B. Snell 1953: 293-4: 'Virgil … turns away from this harsh and evil world [of conventional politics]; he leaves it far behind, and sets out for Arcadia, where he allows no hope, not even any desire to do something about the suffering world, to lighten his sorrow and his despair. If he is striving for a better world, he does so with his emotions, not with his thought or his will. A nostalgic refugee from sombre realities, he places his hopes, not upon a just state, but on an idyllic peace in which all beings will live together in friendship and fraternity, a golden age in which the lion and the lamb lie down side by side in harmony, in which all opposites are joined and tightly knit in one great love. Only a miracle could bring

Eclogue[165] (ll.4-7) Vergil anticipated such a regeneration, which he regarded as a first step towards the revival of the Golden Age.[166]

THE GOLDEN AGE

The return of the Golden Age was signified by the birth of a baby boy whose arrival Vergil famously celebrated in his fourth *Eclogue* with the following lines:[167]

> "Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas;
> Magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo.

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this about. Later, when he was composing the *Georgics*, he saw this miracle in the achievement of Augustus. Augustus gave back to Italy the gifts of peace, quiet, and order. Virgil stepped back into politics in so much as his dreams of Arcadia seemed to have found their fulfilment; Plato, in some ways, softened his criticism of existing institutions, but he never reconciled himself to making his complete peace with political realities. In return Virgil was always careful not to get involved in the slippery problems of political action.'

[165] J. Van Sickle 1967: 494: 'That, in barest outline, is the Arcadian forest which Vergil fabricated from Theocritean wood: Sicilian toward Arcadia; Sicilian and Italian as a context for Arcadians; Gallus (Daphnis, Arethusa) among Arcadians. *Eclogue* 4 first articulates a change of locus, while the unique manner of its construction effects the departure. The fourth is the most historicising and public, most Catullan and Lucretian, said to be the least Theocritean of the *Eclogues*.'

[166] B. Snell 1953: 301-2: 'It was not merely because of his prophecy in *Eclogue* 4 that Virgil was, in the Middle Ages, regarded as a pioneer of Christianity. His Arcadia is set halfway between myth and reality; it is also a no-man's land between two ages, an earthly beyond, a land of the soul yearning for its distant home in the past. However, in his later years Virgil avoided the regions discovered by him. For in his later poems he acquired a temper of severe manly restraint which led him to draw closer to the classical Greek expressions of feeling and thought; but many a trace of his earlier sensibility remained.'

[167] M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 4-5: 'though filled with problems which we still cannot solve, the *Eclogues* are not veiled allegories whose mysterious references to contemporary affairs in the fourth and third decades of the last century before Christ cannot be understood today. Vergil does use disguises…and understatement is the essence of his art. However, when a clue is necessary…it is usually forthcoming.' For the allegorical approach of the *Eclogues*, see J.J.H. Savage 1960: 353-75 and 1963: 248-67. See Putnam ibid.: 136 where he quoted G.E. Duckworth 1957-8: 124-6 and 1964: 200-2 as a source for critical works on *Eclogue* 4.

Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,
Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto."

Vergil linked the idea that the Golden Age could recur with a prophecy of the *Sibylline Oracle*[168] of the kind that seems to have been in fashion during his time:[169]

"γῆ γὰρ παγγενέτειρα βροτοῖς δώσει τὸν ἄριστον
καρπὸν ἀπειρέσιον σίτου οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου
[αὐτὰρ ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν μέλιτος γλυκεροῦ ποτὸν ἡδύ
δένδρεά τ' ἀκροδρύων καρπὸν καὶ πίονα μῆλα
καὶ βόας ἔκ τ' οἰῶν ἄρνας αἰγῶν τε χιμάρους·]
πηγάς τε ῥήξει γλυκερὰς λευκοῖο γάλακτος·
πλήρεις δ' αὖτε πόλεις ἀγαθῶν καὶ πίονες ἀγροὶ
ἔσσοντ'· οὐδὲ μάχαιρα κατὰ χθονὸς οὐδὲ κυδοιμός·
οὐδὲ βαρὺ στενάχουσα σαλεύσεται οὐκέτι γαῖα·
οὐ πόλεμος οὐδ' αὖτε κατὰ χθονὸς αὐχμὸς ἔτ' ἔσται,
οὐ λιμὸς καρπῶν τε κακορρέκτειρα χάλαζα·
ἀλλὰ μὲν εἰρήνη μεγάλη κατὰ γαῖαν ἅπασαν,
καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλῆι φίλος μέχρι τέρματος ἔσται
αἰῶνος, κοινόν τε νόμον κατὰ γαῖαν ἅπασαν,
ἀνθρώποις τελέσειεν ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι
ἀθάνατος, ὅσα πέπρακται δειλοῖσι βροτοισιν.
.....
ἐν σοὶ δ' οἰκήσει· σοὶ δ' ἔσσεται ἀθάνατον φῶς·
ἠδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες ἐν οὔρεσιν ἄμμιγ' ἔδονται
χόρτον, περδάλιές τ' ἐρίφοις ἅμα βοσκήσονται·
ἄρκτοι σὺν μοσχοις νομάδες αὐλισθήσονται·
σαρκοβόρος τε λέων φάγεται ἄχυρον παρὰ φάτνη
ὡς βοῦς· καὶ παῖδες μάλα νήπιοι ἐν δεσμοῖσιν

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[168] The Sibylline knowledge that stems from the legend about the Cumaean Sibyl and Tarquinius Priscus, the first king of Rome, enjoyed a noticeable popularity during the Augustan times because civil wars and political instability created an atmosphere of insecurity that urged people to superstition and divination. See J.J. Collins 1987: 421-459. Also, see Amm.Marc.23.1.7; Stilich.Rut.Namat.2.52. Sibylline wisdom became very popular with the proto-Christians as well who sought support in the pagan books for their beliefs; a reference to a Sibyl first appeared in the *Shepherd of Hermas*; see H.W. Parke 1988: 152-73.

[169] Orac.Sibyll.3.743-759 and 787-795 quoted by A.O. Lovejoy and G. Boas 1997. For the possible *New Testament* background of the *Oracula Sibyllina* (esp.4th), see F.E. Brenk 1999: ch20 and 21. For the association of mystery hierophants like Trophonius, Orpheus, Musaeus and even Zalmoxis with oracles, see again P. Bonnechere 2003: 171.

ἄξουσιν· πηρὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ χθονὶ θῆρα ποιήσει.
σὺν βρέφεσίν τε δράκοντες ἅμ' ἀσπίσι κοιμήσονται
κοὐκ ἀδικήσουσι· χεὶρ γὰρ θεοῦ ἔσσετ' ἐπ' αὐτούς."

According to this text, the new era was about to begin immediately,[170] although its total fulfilment would be realised gradually in accordance with the growth of the yet unborn child.[171] Vergil began his poetic announcement in panegyric tone (ll.8-10):

"Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
Desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,
Casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo."[172]

Nevertheless, the poet did not omit to warn the reader that the way to the new Golden Age was not meant to be rosy. History would be repeated[173] and as had happened always before when

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[170] There seems to be some similarity between the *Sibylline Oracles* and the story of the races as told by Hesiod. In the *Work and Days*, the end of the Iron Age is predicted when men will be born with grey hair on their temples. This prophecy is perhaps reflected in Or.Sib.2.155. Book 2 of the Oracles recounts how Uriel 'the great angel…will lead all the mournful forms to judgement, especially those of ancient phantoms, Titans, and the Giants, and such as the Flood destroyed.' See J.J. Collins 1987: 342.

[171] G. Jachmann 1952: 13-62; C. Becker 1955: 328-36; G. Williams 1973: 4-7 (esp.n5). Also, see J. Van Sickle 1966: 349-52.

[172] G. Mader 1990: 325-334 treated the character of Apollo with special reference to the similes employed by Propertius at 4.6.31-6. There, the nature of Apollo as protector of Rome and of Augustus is exploited. The god is not presented with his hair loose, but fearful as he once appeared at Agamemnon: "non ille attulerat crinis in colla solutos /aut testudineae carmen inerme lyrae, /sed quali aspexit Pelopeum Agamemnona vultu /egessitque avidis Dorica castra rogis, /aut qualis flexos solvit Pythona per orbis /serpentem, imbelles quem timuere lyrae" (Goold has "Musae" instead of "lyrae"). The twofold nature of Apollo as a magnificent warrior and a lyre player is explicitly argued and his role to the future of Rome is underlined. He has helped Augustus to win victory at Actium, a battle that takes mythic dimensions in Propertius. Augustus is presented as continuing the legacy of Augustus; cf. Verg.Aen.6.777; Suet.Aug.7.2; Flor.4.12.66 and Dio Cassius 53.16.7.

[173] The Epicurean idea of the "μέγας ἐνιαυτός" which predicted that the universe is destroyed at certain times and recreated was quite popular with ancient philosophical theories. Heraclitus (see Diog.Laert.9.7-9) believed that every certain period of time war and strife end up to *ecpyrosis* which leads to peace and concord. Empedocles (see Simplicius Phys.158.1) thought that after a period of maximal disintegration (Strife) there follows a period of maximal integration (Love). The Pythagoreans (see the pupil of Aristotle, Eudemus, Phys.B.3fr.51) believed that the

great chances were presented, a new heavy toll would be demanded (ll.31-6):

> "Pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis,
> Quae temptare Thetim ratibus, quae cingere muris
> Oppida, quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos.
> Alter erit tum Tiphys et altera quae vehat Argo
> Delectos heroas; erunt etiam altera bella
> Atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles."[174]

Vergil's perception of the Golden Age[175] seems to have been significantly different from the pessimistic story employed in the *Works and Days*. It has been argued that Hesiod did not even mention the possibility of a recurrence of the Golden Age, and in his narration, the linear deterioration from one race to the other was almost constant and uninterrupted.[176] However, Hesiod

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world and history will repeat themselves perpetually. The Stoic philosophers (Euseb.Praep.Evang.25.18.1-3) liked to believe that all substance changes into fire as its elemental stuff and that from this the ordered universe arises as it was before.

[174] In Aen.6.89 the Sibyl predicted that Aeneas would become an "alius Achilles;" see J. Penwill 1995: 15, who argued that in Plato's theory souls can choose their future lives, based on their prior experience in an earlier incarnation; on the contrary, in Vergil's souls follow 'habit without philosophy.' It has also been suggested that Achilles is here mentioned accidentally as an allusion to his father who participated in the Argonautic expedition. However, it might be argued that Vergil wished to allude here to the suffering of Achilles that secured him a posthumous life in the Elysium; through his suffering, Achilles gained wisdom exhibited in Hom.Il.24.527ff. and Od.18.130ff. Perhaps Vergil referred to the bellicose race as a pre-stage to the begetting of wisdom.

[175] It is accepted that *Eclogue* 4 was significantly influenced by Hor.Ep.16 as well as the poetry of Lucretius and Theocritus. See W. Clausen 1994: 145-50 (Appendix).

[176] An exception, perhaps, in the linear deterioration that Hesiod describes is the race of heroes, which interrupts the metallic succession. See J.-P. Vernant ^{3}1971: 38-41. Also, see S. Shechter 1975: 356 about the sense of deterioration in the Golden Age as depicted in G.1.118-159; Vergil portrayed several 'ages' commencing with Saturn's or -what amounts to be the same thing- the Golden Age. In this myth as it is propounded by most previous authors, technological instruments can make their appearance as the ages pass from Golden to Iron, but such instruments are inveighed against as tokens of further deterioration in the cycle (see n21: Shechter reckoned that generally Vergil followed Hesiod).

referred to the 'caste' of just and righteous farmers in the sense that they were the only ones that could experience the closest possible reminiscence of the Golden Age. Therefore, it could be argued that Vergil expanded on an idea already employed in Hesiod.[177] In addition, it seems that the *Sibylline Oracle* cited above was a reminiscence of the Golden Age as described in Hesiod. Although Vergil did not refer to the availability of honey in the new era, the *Sibylline Oracle* mentioned that honey would drip on the edges of leaves ("roscida mella"). Vergil, in his account of the new Golden Age, envisioned a time in which the Golden Age would be preceded by a harder, more bellicose and daring race of mortals.[178]

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[177] Arat.Phen.96-136, describes the reaction of Dice to the degradation of the human races: "Ἀμφοτέροισι δὲ ποσσὶν ὕπο σκέπτοιο Βοώτεο /Παρθένον, ἥ ῥ' ἐν χερσὶ φέρει Στάχυν αἰγλήεντα. /εἶτ' οὖν Ἀστραίου κείνη γένος, ὅν ῥά τέ φασιν /ἄστρων ἀρχαῖον πατέρ' ἔμμεναι, εἴτε τευ ἄλλου, εὔκηλος φορέοιτο." Aratus is quite close to Hesiod because he narrates how Dice would assemble the elders in the market teaching them justice. When the silver race appeared she would leave her mountainous resort only occasionally, mostly during the night: "ἤρξετο δ' ἐξ ὀρέων ὑποδείελος ἠχηέντων /μούναξ, οὐδέ τεωι ἐπεμίσγετο μελιχίοισιν, /ἀλλ', ὁπότ' ἀνθρώπων μεγάλας πλήσαιτο κολώνας, /ἠπείλει δὴπειτα καθαπτόμενη κακότητος, /οὐδ' ἔτ' ἔφη εἰσωπὸς ἐλεύσεσθαι καλέουσιν· /οἵην χρύσειοι πατέρες γενεὴν ἐλίποντο /χειροτέρην. ὑμεῖς δὲ κακώτερα τεξείεσθε· /καὶ δή που πόλεμοι, καὶ δηπου ἀνάρσιον αἷμα /ἔσσεται ἀνθρώποισι, κακὸν δ' ἐπικείσεται ἄλγος. /ὣς εἰποῦσ' ὀρέων ἐπεμαίετο, τοὺς δ' ἄρα λαούς /εἰς αὐτὴν ἔτι πάντας ἐλίμπανε παπταίνοντας." Aratus decrees the Dice was daughter of Astraeus and that she was a virginal deity. He also accepts the bloodshed as a sign of the degradation of the human races: 'but you will breed worse. And wars and monstrous bloodshed will be among men and evil pain will be laid upon them.' (Maas 1893); cf. Eratosth.Catast.1.244; Hyg.Poet.astr.2ch25: "Hanc Hesiodus Jovis et Themidis filiam dicit: Aratus autem Astraei et Aurorae filiam existimari, quod eodem tempore fuerit cum aurea secula hominum, et eorum principem fuisse, demonstrat: quam propter diligentiam et aequitatem Justitiam appellatam:…" For Juvenal's treatment of Astraea in *Satire* 6 (and the reference to Elizabeth as Astraea), see L. Jardine 1983: ch6.

[178] P. Johnston 1980: 9ff. examined the Golden Age as depicted in the *Georgics* of Vergil. While honey is linked after Hesiod with the metallic Golden Age, cattle must be linked with agriculture. In *Eclogue* 4 the Golden Age ends when the ploughing ox begins its task: "vestigia fraudis …quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos" (Ec.4.31-3) When the new Golden Age begins the farmer will remove the yoke from the ploughing ox: "robustus quoque iam tauris iuga solvet arator" (Ec.4.41) Also, see G.4.540, 551. The combination of bee and cattle, the one growing out of the other, reflects

They would be destined to perish through their terrible audacity, which would lead them to death either through war or through long sea journeys. However, this harsh condition which would result from such deterioration would be precisely the required presupposition for the development of another race of mortals destined to enjoy a new Golden Age.

There have been many disputes about the identity of the child whose birth would signify the beginning of the new era.[179] A widely accepted view was that Vergil probably referred to the reign of Octavian or to the child that was to be expected from the marriage of Octavian's sister to Antony.[180] Consequently, it has been argued that the aforementioned child should be perceived as a kind of military leader who was expected to guide mortals to the Golden Age. However, Vergil specifically referred to war in his text as a phase just before the complete realisation of the New Golden Era and therefore the divine child of his poem could not be included among the great soldiers that would prepare the coming of his birth. It was stated that the boy would reign over a kingdom inherited by his father (ll.17). This clue possibly referred to the succession of the generations rather than to political continuation,

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Vergil's notion that the new Golden Age can be renewed through agriculture. The bee symbolises the Golden Age while cattle symbolise agriculture. At the close of the poem a new hive of bees emerges and assembles into the shape of a grape cluster. This reminds us of the primitive bees, which were briefly depicted in the G.2.454. Those bees were part of a more primitive but nonetheless agricultural existence; the life once lived by "aureus Saturnus." The highly symbolic art of the bees seems to suggest that the earlier, idyllic life of *Georgics* 2 can now be repeated largely as a result of the information Vergil has revealed through his poem.

[179] There are those who have regarded Vergil as a kind of archetypal Christian foreseeing the rising of the new religion, an opinion rejected in more recent days; see M.C.J. Putnam 1979: 136-145. Dante in his *Divine Comedy* plays upon this idea.

[180] W. Clausen 1994: 140; Octavian was often referred to as "iuvenis" which made the comparison with the divine child even easier; see G.1.500; Hor.Serm.2.5.62 and Carm.1.2.4; Verg.Ec.1.4.2 referring to the young saviour's birthday that will always be celebrated with a cult appropriate to a deity; cf. Ec.5.67 and 7.33. Also, see W. Clausen for the suggestion that Vergil wished to flatter Asinius Pollio and therefore, he referred to his young (at that time) son. J. Van Sickle 1966: 349ff.

because later in the poem (ll.31-6) Vergil explained how the labour of previous people would make the revival of the Golden Age a reality. Furthermore, according to the poem, in essence each milestone in the child's age would also signify a change in human attitude. For instance, people would stop travelling by sea[181] or they would stop tilling the soil,[182] as these occupations would prove unnecessary.[183] Although Vergil described in detail the changes that the boy's arrival would bring to people's lives, he does not seem to have given any hint of the possible initiative of a glorious leader. Although Vergil referred to bellicose heroes such as Achilles, it could be argued that the names he employed bore a contour of

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[181] Ecl.4.37-45; this is an old theme in literature; see Hes.Op.236-7; Arat.Phen.110-1. Travelling by sea was regarding as a sign of the decadence of human civilisation, which challenged the realms of the gods, thus showing less piety. For the significance of piety in Vergil's *Eclogues*, see T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 125-6. Also, see Verg.G.1.130-4: "praedarique lupos iussit pontumque moveri, /mellaque decussit foliis, ignemque removit, /et passim rivis currentia vina repressit, /ut varias usus meditando extunderet artis /paulatim et sulcis frumenti quaereret herbam, /et silicis venis abstrusum excuderet ignem."

[182] Lucr.DRN.5.933-6; Catull.64.39-41; Hor.Epod.16 43-4. E.M. Stehle 1974: 347 argued that the theodicy of Vergil as expressed in G.1.121-59 corresponds to Lucretius' perception of the world as being in a perpetual state of decline leading to death; Lucr.DRN.2.1150-1163: "iamque adeo fracta est aetas effetaque tellus /vix animalia parva creat quae cuncta creavit /saecla deditque ferarum ingentia corpora partu…/praeterea niditas fruges vinetaque laeta /sponte sua primum mortalibus ipsa creavit, /ipsa dedit dulcis fetus et pabula laeta; /quae nunc vix nostro grandescunt aucta labore, /conterimusque boves et viris agricolarum, /conficimus ferrum vix arvis suppeditati: /usque adeo parcunt fetus augentque laborem."

[183] Toward the close of book 2, Vergil says that farmers might live as happily as Romans of old, if they would be cognisant of rustic deities and be industrious (ll.493ff). The farmer "…quos rami fructus, quos ipsa violentia rura /sponte tulere sua, carpsit, nec ferrea iura /insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit" (500f.), he plucks the fruit his fields willingly produce and avoids the woes of his speculative and more fitful compatriots. It seems that Vergil elaborated on Lucretian philosophy only to reject its pessimism; B. Farrington 1958: 45-50; also L.P. Wilkinson 1969: 135-8. F. Klinger 1967: 271 quoted by E.M. Stehle 1974: 349n2 defined the difference between Vergil and Lucretius in that the latter wished to free men from fear, while Vergil entertained their fear of loosing harmony in the world; B. Otis 1972: 45-54 saw a balance in Vergil's perception of the world order between the pessimistic (and Lucretian) book 1 and the more optimistic (and more Vergilian) book 2. Otis did not acknowledge that Vergil posed any specific answer to the progress of civilisation (however, cf. B. Otis 1964: 162).

their own both in myth and literature.[184] In the event that the birth of the child was allusive and did not aim to sketch out Octavian's successor, then Vergil's references to the boy need to be explained. The poet mentioned in particular that this boy was destined to dine with the gods[185] and to enjoy a divine liaison (ll.62-3):[186]

"Incipe, parve puer: qui non risere parenti,
Nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est."

It has been argued that the allusion here was to Heracles, a hero who suffered twelve labours on behalf of humanity, and whose worship was prominent in the Italian peninsula.[187] It should

[184] Of course, the poet's intention to praise Augustus who had been his patron should not be disregarded. Nevertheless, such an intention would be even more appreciated and welcomed if the poet was able to do it allusively. Indeed, Vergil seems to have attained his poetic purpose by drawing attention to the era that was about to come and to the realisation of which Augustus had played undoubtedly the major role by carrying out numerous important and victorious battles; See ll.15-17: "ille deum vitam accipiet divisque videbit /permixtos heroas et ipse videbitur illis, /pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem." Vergil repeats those lines at the end of his poem when he also says that both Linus and Orpheus were assisted by their parents. Besides, tradition in Rome had it that an emperor could be deified as it had happened in the case of Julius Caesar, who was mentioned in the opening of the *Georgics*, but this was an honour strictly attributed after the person's death.

[185] Vergil mentioned that the child would eat with the gods, a detail that recalls the human condition before Lycaon's sin in the story of the ancient Arcadians (cf. nn147 and 151).

[186] Theoc.Id.12.15-6, where the equal love of the two individuals is the reason why they were called 'golden' men. Also, see Diog.Laert.4.4, Life of Crates, and Porphyry on Dicaearchus in Abst.4.2, and 2.57. Cf. Empedoc.fr.128 where he talked about the reign of Cypris in terms of the reign of Justice mentioned above. The Epicurean philosophy referred to a love: "οὐδὲ τις ἦν κείνοισιν Ἄρης θεὸς οὐδὲ Κυδοιμός /οὐδὲ Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ Κρόνος οὐδὲ Ποσειδῶν, /ἀλλὰ Κύπρις βασίλεια. /τὴν οἵ γ' εὐσεβέεσσιν ἀγάλμασιν ἱλάσκοντο /γραπτοῖς τε ζώοισι μύροισί τε δαιδαλεόδμοις /σμύρνης τ' ἀκρήτου θυσίαις λιβάνου τε θυώδους, /ξουθῶν τε σπονδὰς μελιτῶν ῥίπτοντες ἐς οὖδας· /ταύρων δ' ἀκρητοισι φόνοις οὐ δεύετο βωμός, /ἀλλὰ μύσος τοῦτ' ἔσκεν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστον, /θυμὸν ἀπορραίσαντας ἐνέδμεναι ἠέα γυῖα;" about love in Arcadia, cf. ch4p.235f.

[187] C. Wendel 1914: 145 with references. For Heracles' apotheosis, also see Appendix I (note that throughout the thesis I use the Greek name of the hero (Heracles) apart from when quoting an author who uses his Latin name (Hercules); S. Ritter 1995: 55: 'The Hercules of the 2nd

be underlined that Heracles was of divine origin, a clue that could be decisive if the unborn child is assumed to have been associated with the hero in some way.[188] Heracles' apotheosis and his deification after his death on Mount Oite could have alluded to the notion that the boy would join the table of the gods. It was also known that after his apotheosis Heracles was married to Hebe, a detail that could fit with the prediction about the boy's liaison with a goddess. Furthermore, the myth according to which Hera pretended to give birth to Heracles and to adopt him as her son after his introduction to Heaven was a sound example of rebirth at a more advanced level.[189] However, Vergil added a characteristic clue regarding the birth of the boy, which could make his comparison with Heracles less possible.

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century BC was the vital patron of Rome's Helllenisation and expansion of power.' For the suffering of Heracles, see N. Loraux 1990: 52-7. Also, see F.A. Sullivan 1961: 169: 'Aeneas, like Heracles, is engaged in a great civilising mission and, like him, is made to suffer by Juno. Thus, Vergil, like Euripides, takes over an old story and infuses into it a new symbolic meaning: Aeneas, like Heracles, wins his way through suffering to a new courage and a new nobility of character.' According to Wilamowitz, quoted by W. Burkert 1979: 79, the message of the myth of Heracles is that man might win immortality through suffering: 'born a man-risen to god; suffered toils-conquered heaven.'

[188] Of course, Vergil refers in his poem to the apotheosis of Caesar, but it would be rather provocative to imply such a thing for Augustus. In addition, Augustus clearly falls into the heroic generations that will prepare the Golden Age while the boy will still be in his childhood.

[189] N. Loraux 1990: 41. Hera burst in a tremendous laughter when she received Heracles in Heaven; furthermore, she imitated the act of giving birth in a symbolic birth or rebirth; see Callim.h.Dian.148-151 and Diod.Sic.4.39.2-3; cf. Nonn.Dion.35.298-328 where Hera is asked to adopt Dionysus by suckling him, so that he can enter Olympus. This symbolic act seems to have been part of a purification act (Plut.Quaest.Rom.5.264-5) or an initiation rite akin to the Eleusinian and /or the Orphic Mysteries (according to Hesychius s.v. "δευτερόποτμος" is the person who died or was thought of as dead or has been re-born in a particular Athenian *telete*. This detail is very much reminiscent of the Orphic leaves cited by G. Zuntz 1971: 300-305 where the initiate is presented in almost bucolic terms, like a kid falling into milk); see p.222 above and n253; cf. ch2n179. Cf. I. Moyer 2003: 232n11 citing PGM1.4-5 prescribing deification of a sacred falcon by drowning it in the milk of a black cow.

He mentioned that the boy's cradle would spontaneously flower (ll.23): "ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores."[190] The incident has its analogues in two other supernatural births, those of Dionysus[191] and Apollo.[192] Vergil had already mentioned the latter as the brother of Artemis and the god who inspired the Sibylline divination, but it might be more plausible that Dionysus, who both in mythology and cult used to share a great deal with Heracles, is

[190] M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 148: 'A word on "cunabula" is in order. In the context of line 23 it cannot have its usual sense of 'cradle' but must be virtually in apposition to "tellus" (with which Vergil also uses the verb "fundo,-ere"). We are in the Golden Age when the earth itself would be expected to serve as the resting place of a new child'. Putnam compared the text with Lucr.DRN.5.816-17: "terra cibum pueris, vestem vapor, herba cubile /praeebat multa et milli lanugine abundans." Cf. G.E. Duckworth 1958: 1-8.

[191] Eur.Phoen.649-54; the baby was suddenly swaddled by ivy tendrils; cf. a small Athenian pitcher on which a mask of Dionysus decorated with sprigs of ivy was placed in a cradle (U. Bianchi 1976: 35, pl.82). Representations of the birth or childhood of Dionysus survive in Paus.3.18.11. In the 5th and 4th century BC the infant Dionysus is a popular theme with Attic red-figure vase-painters. More often, they celebrate the manifestations of Dionysus as Dionysus-Zagreus and as Dionysus-Iacchus. Dionysius Zagreus was the offspring of Zeus and Persephone and was torn to pieces by the Titans. Iacchus was a minor Eleusinian deity who from the 5th century BC onwards seems to have been closely assimilated with Dionysus.

[192] Callim.h.4.262; the olive tree in Delos put forth golden foliage at the god's birth. Also, compare the playful urging of Vergil at the end of the poem to the child to smile at his mother and the Hom.h.Apoll.118, where Earth is described as smiling at the birth of the god (see ch1n138). See C. Penglasse 1994: 83 -8; also see ll.135-9 of the *Hymn* where the god caused Delos to flower with gold by striding on her land as does a mountain peak with woodland flowers: "χρυσῳ̂ δ' ἄρα Δῆλος ἅπασα /ἤνθησ' ὡς ὅτε τε ῥίον οὔρεος ἄνθεσιν ὕλης." In addition, in the *Georgics* the Golden Age is presented as an eternal spring. Penglase ibid.: 34 also quotes a Mesopotamian hymn in which the rebirth of Damu/ Dumuzi is exalted in very similar terms: "that child they (the rushes, grass, poplars and tamarisk)/have released into the high desert /released him into the high desert and the low desert /the desert kept watch over him at the place /…like a cowherd." It is also important to link the tale of Damu /Dumuzi with that of Demeter because both the Greek goddess and Damu's mother /sister are depicted in myth as searching for their children.

implied here.[193] Of course, this remark would not define the identity of the child as Heracles or Dionysus, but it could be considered as a hint to the cult of these gods. Both gods were famously associated with myths regarding regeneration. Furthermore, Dionysus' regeneration was a major part of the Orphic religion, which referred to the Titanic nature of man.[194]

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[193] For Lucina, see C. Wendel 1914: 132 ad 10. For Heracles and Dionysus, see N. Loraux 1990: 37-8 and G.K. Galinsky 1972: 81-2; also, see Soph.Tr.510-11; Strab.15.1.6 and 8. According to Diodorus Sic.4.14, Demeter instituted the Lesser mysteries in honour of Heracles, that she might purify him of the guilt he had incurred in the slaughter of the Centaurs and again in 4.25 he asserted that before going to the Underworld Heracles was initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries by Mousaeus, the son of Orpheus; see H.J. Lloyd-Jones 1967: 206ff. C. Kerenyi 1967: 83-4 translated the fragments of a papyrus from an oration of the time of Hadrian, that included a speech of Heracles whom they did not wish to initiate into the Eleusinian Mysteries: 'I was initiated long ago (or: elsewhere). Lock up Eleusis, (Hierophant,) and put the fire out, Dadouchos. Deny me the holy night! I have already been initiated into more authentic mysteries.... (I have beheld) the fire, whence (...and) I have seen the Kore;' Plut.Thes.30; Apollod.Bibl.2.5.12; Eur.Her.Maenom.602-14. On the importance of the Lesser Mysteries, see F. Graf 2003b: 241ff. Also, cf. S. Cole 2003: 198f. who underlined Aristophanes' choice of Dionysus as his protagonist in the *Ranae* at a year during which Athens was at war. Her point focuses on Dionysus' role as an infernal judge. Also, see R.G. Edmonds III 2003: 181-200 (esp.190) who claimed that in his Underworld journey Dionysus borrowed Heracles' identity to take advantage of the latter's guest-friend relations rather than because he wished to allude to an initiatory descent (a view that finds me in disagreement; cf. L. Zhmud 1997: 107-128; W. Burkert 1969: 1-30).

[194] There has been a major debate on whether Orphic religion ever existed or not; scholars tend to believe not; see W. Burkert 1987a: 24: '…in classical Greece, itinerant priests who offered various cures accompanied by pertinent myths and rituals were known as 'Orphics;' it is all the more remarkable that Near Eastern myths can be found in Orphic tradition. Even the notorious Orphic myth of anthropogony, the rise of mankind from the soot of the Titans who had killed Dionysus, has its closest analogy in Mesopotamian myths about the origin of man from the blood of rebellious gods, slain in revenge.' Burkert (see also 1977: 1-10) denied that Orphism was ever introduced as a religious movement. Although ancient Greeks knew about Orphic literature and Orphic mysteries, the evidence is rather scanty when it comes to an Orphic religion; see F. Graf 1993: 239-58; R. Parker 1995: 483-510; S. Cole 2003:

Apollonius Rhodius, who included Golden Age themes in his epic, specifically referred to Orpheus, whom he presented as officiating at a sacrifice to Rhea. The goddess responded with some favourable signs of fertility similar to the sudden blooming of the divine cradle:[195]

> "δένδρεα μὲ καρπὸν χέον ἄσπετον, ἀμφὶ δὲ ποσσὶν
> αὐτομάτη φύε γαῖα τερείνης ἄνθεα ποίης
> θῆρες δ' εἰλυούς τε κατὰ ξυλόχους τε λιπόντες
> οὐρῇσιν σαίνοντες ἐπήλυθον."

VERGIL-ORPHEUS-LINUS

In his fourth *Eclogue*, Vergil boasted that the arrival of the Golden Age would fill him with inspiration suited for the singer of the much prophesied new era; therefore he compared himself with poets and musicians that had sung of the first, legendary and irretrievable Golden Age such as Pan;[196] according to Vergil, Arcadia herself would one day judge a contest between Pan and

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198ff.; N. Robertson 2003: 218ff. and a fuller discussion in ch5p.393f. (cf. App.IVp.489f.).

[195] Ap.Rhod.1.1144-5; for other descriptions of the Golden Age with reference to natural blossoming, see G.1.130, Ecl.4.24, Aen.8.325, Ti.1.3.47, Ov.Met.1.98ff. Also see S. Cole 2003: 208 citing the context of an Orphic tablet in which the initiate is called: 'man-child-thyrsos;' cf. nn190, 192, 214.

[196] Pan was the native god of Arcadia; see Hom.h.Pan.19.27-47: "ὑμνεῦσιν δὲ θεοὺς μάκαρας καὶ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον· οἷον θ' Ἑρμείην ἐριούνιον ἔξοχον ἄλλων ἔννεπον ὡς ὅ γ' ἅπασι θεοῖς θοὸς ἄγγελός ἐστι καί ῥ' ὅ γ' ἐς Ἀρκαδίην πολυπίδακα, μητέρα μήλων, ἐξίκετ', ἔνθα τέ οἱ τέμενος Κυλληνίου ἐστίν. ἔνθ' ὅ γε καὶ θεὸς ὢν ψαφαρότριχα μηλ' ἐνόμευεν ἀνδρὶ πάρα θνητῷ· θάλε γὰρ πόθος ὑγρὸς ἐπελθὼν νύμφῃ εὐπλοκάμῳ Δρύοπος φιλότητι μιγῆναι· ἐκ δ' ἐτέλεσσε γάμον θαλερόν, τέκε δ' ἐν μεγάροισιν Ἑρμείῃ φίλον υἱὸν ἄφαρ τερατωπὸν ἰδέσθαι, αἰγιπόδην δικέρωτα πολύκροτον ἡδυγέλωτα· φεῦγε δ' ἀναΐξασα, λίπεν δ' ἄρα παῖδα τιθήνη· δεῖσε γὰρ ὡς ἴδεν ὄψιν ἀμείλιχον ἠϋγένειον. τὸν δ' αἶψ' Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος εἰς χέρα θῆκε δεξάμενος, χαῖρεν δὲ νόῳ περιώσια δαίμων. ῥίμφα δ' ἐς ἀθανάτων ἕδρας κίε παῖδα καλύψας δέρμασιν ἐν πυκινοῖσιν ὀρεσκῴοιο λαγωοῦ· πὰρ δὲ Ζηνὶ καθῖζε καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν, δεῖξε δὲ κοῦρον ἑόν· πάντες δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔτερφθεν ἀθάνατοι, περίαλλα δ' ὁ Βάκχειος Διόνυσος· Πάνα δέ μιν καλέεσκον ὅτι φρένα πᾶσιν ἔτερψε." Also, see Verg.Ec.10.26-30: "Pan deus Arcadiae venit, quem vidimus ipsi /sanguineis ebuli bacis minioque rubentem. /ecquis erit modus? Inquit. Amor non talia curat, /nec lacrimis crudelis Amor nec gramina rivis/ nec cytiso saturantur apes nec fronde capellae." In Ec.10 Vergil repeats the idea that the Arcadians are masters of bucolic song (esp.31-4); cf. Ov.Fast.5.91-5; 2.289-31; 2.424-7.

himself, and would decide in the poet's favour.[197] Vergil very tactically also compared himself with Orpheus and Linus, thus employing Arcadia as background to the adventures of Orpheus (ll.55-9):[198]

> "non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus
> nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,
> Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.
> Pan etiam, Arcadia mecum si iudice certet,
> Pan etiam Arcadia dicat se iudice victum."

Vergil concluded his poem with a geographical transfer to Arcadia, the place that initially experienced the Golden Age. Hence, the poet seems to have returned to the Hesiodic version. In addition, it might be suggested that the poet referred intentionally to the two divine heroes whom he compared to himself in order to give more details about the realisation of the new Golden Age and the spiritual preconditions it required. In ancient mythology, Orpheus was recorded as a son of Apollo; but Linus was also believed to be a son of Apollo by Psamathe, the daughter of the Argive king Crotopus.[199] For fear of her father's wrath, Psamathe exposed the child on a mountain where he was found and raised by shepherds. However, he was later torn to pieces by Crotopus' dogs.[200] The king soon suspected the secret of his daughter who could not hide her grief, and Psamathe was also condemned to death. Apollo sent a plague to the city in revenge and the Argives in despair consulted the Delphic oracle, which advised them to propitiate Psamathe and Linus by offering sacrifices to their

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[197] B. Snell 1953: 282 and *passim* paralleled Vergil's vision with that of Meliboeus as described in *Eclogue* 1. Based on this he regarded Vergil as purely escapist. Also, see E.W. Leach 1974: 21 (esp.n6).

[198] However, in Eur.El.700-10 the god was presented as keeper of wild beasts and player of sweet music; although Euripides does not explicitly say that Pan enchanted wild animals with his music, the image bears a resemblance with the tradition of Orpheus.

[199] This Linus should be distinguished from the son of Ismenius whom Heracles killed with a lyre. See Paus.1.43.7 and 2.19.7; also, Conon Narrat.19 and Ath.Deipn.3.99.

[200] The exposure of the infant and his raising by the shepherds are further clues to suggest that Linus belongs to the tradition of fertility deities. Cf. Daphnis' exposure, pp.179 (cf. p.21). His death, which is paralleled to that of Orpheus, Pentheus and of course, Dionysus, confirms his agrarian associations. See N. Robertson 2003: 218-240.

ghosts.[201] Hence, besides his association with music or musical excellence, Linus seems, in fact, to have shared much with Orpheus in the details of their deaths by dismemberment would be concerned.[202] Moreover, Vergil seems to fuse their parentage by referring only to Calliope,[203] the Muse that was famously known as the mother of Orpheus and whose name is placed between the names of Orpheus and Linus, and to Linus' father, Apollo, with whom Orpheus enjoyed special favour. It also appears that Linus was connected from an early date with the cult of Dionysus,[204] another deity who was believed to have suffered dismemberment by the wicked Titans. The incident was well known in antiquity, and when Plato spoke of the Titanic nature of man, he was referring to the crime of the Titans as told by the Orphics.[205]

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[201] In addition, during the ritual mourning for the death of Linus and his mother, the women and maidens would sing dirges named *linoi*, songs that were widely sung in the Near East (Hdt.2.79); Hom.Il.18.570. Fraser, GB 7, 216 has suggested that the sound "αἴλινον," meaning alas for Linus, which was repeated in these songs, has a Phoenician root: "ai lanu," meaning 'alas to us;' cf. ch2n162. Another version also recorded in Pausanias 9.29.6f. makes Apollo the killer of Linus, who boasted that he is as good a singer as the god.

[202] For Linus as a *citharode*, see Plin.HN7.204; for the death by dismemberment and its ritual significance see the discussion in ch5p.326f..,415 and App.IVp.492-3; M.L. West 1983: 143 wrote that the dismemberment and rebirth are related to ritual initiation into the 'adult community or secret society.'

[203] For Orpheus' parentage see, Pind.Pyth.4.176; Aesch.Ag.1629-30; Eur.Bacch.561-4; Ap.Rhod.1.28-31. Note that Apollod.Bibl.1.14-5 refers to both Linus and Orpheus as sons of Calliope by Oeagrus.

[204] The Linus is traditionally the song in honour of Dionysus, the god responsible for the growth of grapes and the wine. Cf. the *Shield of Achilles* in which those occupied with the gathering of the crop are depicted as being entertained by a boy who is singing the Linus. Also, see Lityerses by Sositheos (TGrF99F1); the king used to burst to laughter at the view of his victims.

[205] Eur.Bacch.99-102, Diod.Sic.3.62, Orph.h.45.6; Clem.Al.Protr.2.16. The killing of Dionysus-Zagreus is actually attributed to Onomacritus who is quoted by Paus.8.37.3; cf. Pl.Leg.701c: "παλαιὰ Τιτανικὴ φύσις." Plato seems to make extensive use of the process of the Eleusinian mysteries in Symp.209e-212a, the middle of the *Republic* including the myth of the cave in 509a-518d and in Phdr.246a-253c. The use of Eleusinian motifs by Plato was discussed by M.A. Farrell 1999: ch2 who

It seems that all these cults accumulated by Vergil in the fourth *Eclogue* included in their ceremonies the symbolic birth of a child.[206] Vergil employed them possibly because of their common background, and because of the syncretism to which they had already been subjected. At this point, it is worth explaining the apparent association of the religion introduced by Orpheus with the Bacchic mysteries. One of the main traditions about the death of Orpheus reported that he was killed by Maenads,[207] who were often considered and depicted in art as followers of Dionysus.

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begins her argument like this: 'Plato makes references to Greek Mysteries throughout the dialogues in many different contexts.' Her statement is supported by an extensive footnote, which I quote unedited: 'It is clear that some of the references allude to specific Mysteries while others suggest mystery initiation generally. Plato makes non-specific mystery references at Men.76e, Tht.155e, Grg.493b, Phdr.253c and Epin.986d. Given the prominence of the Eleusinian mysteries in Athens, however, it is likely that the mysteries Plato had in mind here were the Eleusinian mysteries. References that clearly refer to the Bacchic mysteries are found at Symp.218b, Leg.672b, Phdr.265b. Korybantic references include Cri.54d and Euthyd.277d. Specifically Eleusinian references include Resp.378a and 560e, Phd.69c and Phdr250b-c, Grg.497c and Symp.209e.' Plato seems to make use of the mysteries' language particularly in the *Symposium* where he debates the role of *Eros* in the process of acquiring knowledge of the forms (see Farrell, ibid.: ch3); (cf.nn26 and 53).

[206] G. Luck 1973: 151 quoted S. Reinach, 1900, *Revue d l'Histoire des Religions*, p.375 = *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, II, 66ff., who argued that the *Eclogue* 4 owes a substantial part of its imagery and its idiom to the Orphic mysteries. The idea was totally dismissed by W. Warde Fowler. Even Rose called it exaggerated, although he admitted that childbirth was a symbol used in the Mystery religions and that Harpocrates, that is the Horus child, was definitely shown in the Isis mysteries. Augustus had been initiated, while other heroes that had attempted a *katabasis* before Aeneas had been Theseus, Heracles, Orpheus, Dionysus, and the Dioscuri. According to the Platonic Axiochus (371e1), Heracles and Dionysus had already been initiated into the mysteries (cf. S. Cole 2003: 198 and nn82 above).

[207] Another important tradition renders the death of Orpheus to ordinary Thracian women. A third version is that Orpheus was killed by lightning, an interpretation dated at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. See Alcidam.Ulix.24, Diog.Laert.proem.1.4 and Anth.Pal.7.617 based on Lobon of Argus fr.508 Suppl.Hell., Paus.9.30.5. Also see I. M. Linforth 1931: 5-11 and N. Robertson 2003: 228-9.

Aeschylus in his *Bassarai*,[208] performed between 470 and 460 BC, explained that the reason for the Maenads' attack was Dionysus' wrath,[209] and, although Vergil in the *Georgics*[210] blended the traditions and presented the Maenads as Thracian women, he obviously knew the different traditions.[211] Vergil argued that the reason for the women's wrath was because Orpheus refused any human acquaintance, which seems to be closer to Hellenistic versions that described how Orpheus had rejected all women and even introduced homoerotic love.[212] Despite the different versions, it becomes obvious that already in Aeschylus' time, the audience was familiar with a special association between Orpheus and Dionysus, and perhaps they recognised a common background in their cults. A number of later texts clearly mentioned Orpheus as the poet of the Bacchic mysteries.[213] In addition, the relation

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[208] See Aesch.fr.82 (Mette, cf. Radt: 138f.) and M.L. West 1983: 64-7. Also, see Eratosthenes narration of how the lyre became a constellation.

[209] The reason for Dionysus' wrath again varies; according to Eratosthenes, Orpheus during his journey to the Beyond converted from Dionysus to Helios. Hyginus in Poet.astr.2.7 explains how Orpheus forgot Dionysus when singing in praise of the gods before Pluto and Persephone.

[210] Vergil refers to the "Ciconum matres" in G.4.250, while Ovid in his imitation writes about "Ciconum nurus" in Met.11.8.

[211] By this adaptation, Vergil combines later traditions about the reason for the attack of the Thracian women as found in: Plato, Symp.179D (Orpheus was a coward), Isocr.Bus.38f. (Orpheus said shocking stories about them). Hyginus in Astr.2.7 tells another story: Aphrodite, disappointed by the death of Adonis, made all the women mad with love for Orpheus and they pulled him to pieces in their effort to get hold of him.

[212] Conon in FGrH26F1.45 (cf. ch5nn14 and 200); Paus.9.30.5; about homosexual love, see Phanocles, fr.1 (Powell), Ov.Met.10.83-5; Hyg.Poet.astr.2.7.

[213] L. Zhmud 1992: 163; properly speaking, these grafitti confirm what could be supposed before: the figure of mythical singer Orpheus was closely connected with Apollo; nevertheless the most important cult divinity of Orphism was Dionysus (of couse, this does not mean that every Dionysian cult was Orphic). The frequent mention of Orpheus together with Apollo tells us only that Orphics had no monopoly on this name. The authors of the 4-5th century BC who mentioned Orpheus were not bound to think at the same time about some Orphic cults-very

between the two was alluded to in the bone-tablets from Olbia, dated to the second half of the fifth century.[214] Orpheus was believed to have introduced a religious movement, named Orphism after him, in which Dionysus must have had initially at least an important role.[215] Of course, the obvious hostility between the adherents of Orpheus and those of Dionysus cannot be denied.[216] This seems to have given ground to Eratosthenes' report, according to which Dionysus was angered at Orpheus, because the latter rebelled against the god. From the above analysis, it could be suggested that Vergil, by fusing the parentage of Orpheus and Linus /Dionysus, acknowledged that at some point of their tradition the two deities were closely associated. Their fused tradition could also indicate that Orpheus and Linus were two aspects, even antithetical, of the same deity, namely Dionysus. Vergil's treatment also ensured that Orpheus had already been connected with the fertility rites, which usually followed Dionysus' cult, and so the employment of Orpheus in the fourth book of the *Georgics* should not be considered as unjustified or sudden.[217]

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often they mentioned the traditional (by that time) figure of the mythical poet and singer, who was naturally drawn toward Apollo.

[214] M.L. West 1982: 17-29; L. Zhmud 1992: 168: 'on the first grafitti in Olbia the following words are engraved in a row: "βιος–θανατος–βιος" and lower "αληθεια." M.L. West says that these words imply the faith in a life after death. But most probably they refer to a cycle, where temporary death is replaced with a new birth.' See S. Cole 2003: 199-213 and N. Robertson 2003: 224-6.

[215] See M.L. West 1983: 2-3, who argued that the study of Orphism is in fact a 'pseudo-problem.' West interpreted the various aspects of the Orphic phenomenon such as the Orphic rituals, the Orphic ascetism, and the Orphic literature as separate and unconnected. The only constant uniting factor of this tradition was the name of Orpheus, who could be invoked by almost anybody. Of course, the link of Orpheus with Dionysus is very much a reality since the name of Dionysus is repeated in all three Olbian grafitti. Certainly, their owners bore a direct relation to the Olbian cult of Dionysus, known from Herodotus (4.79). See L. Zhmud 1992: 161-3 for a literary review on the rejection of Orphism.

[216] W.K. Guthrie 1952; M.P. Nilsson 1955: i.678ff. The hostility between the followers of Apollo and of Dionysus is further indicated by the fact that the Orphic religion was based on dietary rules which forbid bloodshed, while in the cult of Dionysus "ὠμοφαγία" was encouraged.

[217] In addition, both Dionysus and Orpheus undertook a quest to the

Vergil, following his usual technique of combining traditions, often mentioned in the *Eclogues* the role of Zeus in the regeneration of the Golden Age,[218] but he also referred to the primal error of mortals. It has been suggested that the phrase "priscae vestigia fraudis"[219] referred to the guilt of the civil wars in combination with what Vergil wrote in line 13 when he discussed the eventual outcome of the child's birth:

"Te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
Inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras."

The verse was interpreted in association with what Vergil mentioned in the first book of the *Georgics* (1.506), where he described the anguish of the present. The quotation "tam multae scelerum facies" was placed right after the poet's complaint about the many wars and bloodshed in the world.[220] Moreover, Horace in

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Underworld, the first in order to revive his mother, Semele, the latter in order to restore his wife, Eurydice, to life. See ch2n178.

[218] In the Orphic religion the role of Zeus as the second creator is characteristically lacking, and, according to one of the traditions about Orpheus' death, it was Zeus who struck him with his lightning for revealing divine secrets to humans. From this point of view, Orpheus can be paralleled to Prometheus: see ch5p.365ff. Also, see L. Zhmud 1992: 163: The Olbian grafitti gives little evidence about the Orphic cults. From the literary fragments displayed in O. Kern's collection, the central place is occupied by Zeus, mentioned more than 100 times, while Dionysus (together with the names of gods identified with him) almost half as often and Apollo – one eighth as often. However, it would be hasty to proclaim Zeus as the main Orphic divinity. Here the question is the Orphic mythology and cosmogony where Zeus played an important role (manifest especially in the Derveni papyrus) and not their cult practice. Both spheres were connected with each other, of course, but -as the evidence shows- not at all directly.

[219] C. Wendel 1914: 133 and 137. M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 151 argued that the "sceleris vestigia nostris" allude to the sin of Prometheus who was considered both as a beneficial culture hero of humanity and as the originator of humanity's decline; see E.A. Havelock 1957: chs 2-4.

[220] S. Shechter 1975: 168-9 wrote that *Georgics* 1.536-40 'the guiless Golden Age is contrasted with the depravity of the ensuing periods; it might be argued that the war trumpet could be traced back to Jupiter's arrogation of the sceptre, and that the fashioning of swords (ll.540) is a development from a primitive slaying ("caesis," ll.537) carried out for purposes of feasting. Swords are not restricted to warfare but their persistent manufacture is heard among nations once the Golden Age is

his *Epodes* (7.17-8) used the term "scelus" precisely in order to refer to the sin of civil war: "acerba fata Romanos agunt /scelusque fraternae necis."[221] However, in the fourth *Eclogue* war was grouped, with sailing and agriculture, among the activities that men had to carry out as a result of their primal error, which was obviously not war itself. Vergil in line 32 specifically employed the word "fraus" which alluded to the deception of Prometheus and which sounded plausible for a text discussing the Golden Age.[222] The poet was specific enough in the fourth *Eclogue* in which he defined the deception as 'ancient' ("prisca") which would of course allude to the Hesiodic tradition, while in the *Georgics* he wrote about 'our' sin, the Roman sin of fratricide. Hence, Vergil recognised (rather than disputed) the Hesiodic version of the myth which recorded the end of the Golden Age as a result of Prometheus' effort to deceive Zeus. It seems then that the term "priscae fraudis" did not allude exactly to the recent civil wars which were anyway, a result of the initial error, but it rather referred to the irreversible disunion of humans from gods.

Furthermore, Vergil might have followed Plato in his reference and therefore, the Orphic tradition, according to which

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over. Swords were not made when Saturn rules, yet "caesis" involves a cutting instrument, and "impia gens" (ll.537) must embrace the populace living when Jupiter's wrongful accession took place. The sacrilegious discoveries (ll.539-40) start with the cessation of the Golden Age, and they do not lead to teleological betterment;' E.M. Stehle 1974: 365-7: In book 1, the farmers were dragged into the civil war as it convulsed the world (G.1.505-8). The future farmer will only find rusted equipment. In book 2, the farmer managed to distinguish himself from the deluded city dwellers. He has established "secura quies" for himself (G.2.467) and continuity from generation to generation (G.2.514-5).

[221] Also, see Hor.Epod.7.1-2 and Carm.1.2.29-30: "cui dabit partis scelus expiandi /Iuppiter?" However, see Catull.64.397: "sed postquam tellus scelere est imbuta nefando" described the earth as carrying a sense of guilt from one generation to the other. See P.A. Johnston 1980: 13.

[222] Also, note that when Vergil described Justice as still favouring the cast of the farmers, a scene already employed by Hesiod, he specifically referred to the traces she had left among the farmers; G.2.473-4: "…extrema per illos /Iustitia excedens terris vertigia fecit." This scene refers to the Justice of the old Hesiodic days and the legacy she had left until the days of Vergil; equally then, the phrase "vestigia sceleri nostris" in G.4.13 could allude to the sin of Prometheus and the guilt the Romans had inherited since then.

the Titans deceived the infant Dionysus and they devoured him.[223] In addition, the Arcadian version of the story, already recorded in the Hesiodic catalogues, could also be adumbrated here:[224] as mentioned, Lycaon caused the wrath of the gods when he sacrificed a human victim and served it to the gods in order to test Zeus' omniscience. There have been many disputes about the identity of the boy who was sacrificed,[225] but among them Eratosthenes,[226] who invoked Hesiod as his source, argued that the boy was Arcas, the eponymous hero of the Arcadians and Lycaon's grandson.[227] Arcas was elsewhere mentioned as the culture hero that introduced civilisation to primitive men, in the way Prometheus did by stealing the fire.[228] The story was well known among the Romans because Varro who has been recognised as one of the major literary influences on Vergil's work had recorded some rather peculiar details about the sacrificial customs of the

[223] The idea of deception, which was famously employed in the myth of Prometheus, also appeared in this tradition about the wickedness of the Titans. In addition, the same notion can be found in the tale of Lycaon and his effort to deceive Zeus. This tradition is discussed in detail by N. Robertson 2003: 218-240.

[224] Hes.frr.163 and 354 (Merkelback-West); Apollod.Bibl.3.96-7; Eumelos in FGrH451F8 (=Apollod.Bibl.3.100); Lycoph.Alex.480-1; Ov.Met.1.198-239; Clem.Al.Protr.2.36.5; Nonnus 18.20-4.

[225] On the identity of the boy that was sacrificed, see Apollod.Bibl.3.98 (native boy); Ov.Met.1.227 (hostage); Lycoph.Alex.481 (Nyctimos).

[226] Fr.163 (Merkelbach-West) = Eratosth.[Cat.]fr.Vatican (Rehm 1899: 2).

[227] In some versions of the story, the gods' punishment is a flood, which destroyed most of the human race. The Arcadians survived in order to offer secret sacrifice to the altar throughout time. The story bears resemblance to the myth of Pyrrha and Deucalion (cf. the wolfman Damarchos of Parrhasia). See Apollod.Bibl.3.98-9; Tzetzes ad Lycoph.Alex.481; Ov.Met.1.240ff; Hyg.Fab.176; cf. N. Robertson 2003: 226.

[228] Zeus was said to have restored Arcas to life but only briefly until he became again a sacrificial victim –due to his own impiety this time (Eratosth.[Cat.]); according to myth, he either hunted his mother, Callisto, who was tranformed into a bear, or he mated with her into the sacred area where no one should enter. See Eratosth.[Cat.]1 (Robert). This (meaningless at first) resurrection resembles Orpheus' allowance to take Eurydice to the Upper World, a gift which he loses soon by his mistake.

Arcadians which he had attested from a Hellenistic author called Euanthes.[229] In addition, parallel to this strictly male festival, the women would attend their own rites in the cave where Rhea gave birth to Zeus.[230] The women, then, attended to newborn life, which was perhaps celebrated with the symbolical birth of a child. This assumption could gain more ground when compared to similar ancient mysteries in which childbirth or its representation was a typical part of the cult. Moreover, if the fourth *Eclogue* would be interpreted as an allusion to certain ancient cults, the identity of the unborn child could be defined more readily.[231] It should also be underlined that these rites were essentially a type of weather-magic;[232] indeed at the beginning of the *Georgics* Vergil wondered what type of divine qualities Caesar had acquired after his death and among his assumptions the ability to control the weather was prominent (G.1.24-8). Even as a constellation he would still be able to assist agricultural tasks by denoting to the farmers the right time for their labours. Hence it appears that the object of ancient ceremonies most of which included sympathetic magic or symbolic

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[229] Varro in FGrH320 (=Pliny HN8.81); Aug.Civ.Dei18.17; moreover, it seems that the Arcadians worshipped the goddess of Eleusis especially and that they had several peculiar traditions regarding the goddess and her mysteries: Paus.8.37.7-9 testified that the Arcadians worshipped the Mistress above all the gods; she was regarded as a daughter of Poseidon and Demeter. Her popular name, Mistress, was equivalent to Persephone's appellation as the Maid. Pausanias is positive that the real name of the Maid is Persephone and she is the daughter of Demeter by Zeus. However, he hesitates to reveal the real name of the mistress to the uninitiated. See Paus.8.15.1-4; 8.25.4-7; 8.31.1-2; 8.42.1-7. Also, see R. Seaford 1994: 296-7.

[230] See Paus.8.38.2, 8.36.3 and 8.31.4; Callim.h.Zeus10-4. Only 'consecrated women' could enter the cave because they represented the Arcadian Nymphs who nurtured the infant. See M. Jost 2003: 163 and N. Robertson 2003: 220-3 who analyses the tradition of the ancient pastoral goddess Rhea as Mother of the gods in the Orphic religion. See also ibid. 1996a: 239-304.

[231] W. Burkert 1983a: 247-297.

[232] In Callim.h.Cer.51-4, Demeter was invoked as the bringer of the seasons. Of course, Zeus himself was a major embodiment of the Weather-god; see P. Chrysostomou 1989: 21-72 for his cult as such in Thessaly and Macedonia; for the association of Zeus with Aristaeus based on the god's control of the weather, see ch5p.384.

gestures, initially, at least, was to secure the fertility of nature, including that of humans.

THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

Apart from the Orphic mysteries and those in honour of Dionysus, the most spiritual and famous rites which were carried out in classical Greece were the Eleusinian mysteries in honour of the goddess Demeter and her daughter, Kore or Persephone.[233] The initiation to these mysteries, which was enmeshed in silence throughout antiquity, apparently included a symbolic intercourse or birth.[234] Traditions can vary geographically[235] and in Arcadia, Demeter was appeased for being raped by Poseidon.[236] During the

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[233] The two gods who preside over *Georgics* 1 and 2 are Ceres and Liber, virtually equivalent to the Greek gods Demeter and Bacchus. See M.C.J. Putnam 1979: 18-22. On Ceres as the introducer of civilisation, see Ovid.Fast.4.393-416; on Ceres as the introducer of civilisation linked with Bacchus, see G.1.7ff. and Tib.2.1.3.f. M.P. Nilsson 1961: 42: the mysteries celebrated at Eleusis have been described as the 'highest and finest bloom of Greek popular religion.' L.H. Martin 1990: 58-72: 'contrary to interpretations that seek to understand these mysteries as evolved from an old agrarian cult, the Eleusinian Hymn indicates that soteriological imagery has always been linked to the agrarian economy of Eleusis (Hom.h.Dem.470-9). Also the same association between the cult of Persephone /Demeter with agrarian economy is observed in Sicily.'

[234] Note the importance of the *kiste* both in the cult of Demeter and in the cult of Dionysus Bassaros. See W. Burkert 1983a: 269n18 and 272n26. For the connection of Demeter and Dionysus, see 278n17, where it is said that the branches, which the *mystai* would carry, were called *Bacchoi*; cf. S. Cole 2003: 208. For the secrecy of the mysteries, see M. Jost 2003: 144; cf. Andocides, *On the mysteries* 110ff. (MacDowell).

[235] The mysteries in Athens, for instance, included the initiation of a young boy among the adult *mystai* called the boy 'who was initiated from the hearth.' This was done in reminiscence of Triptolemus or Demophon's initiation. This hearth was probably the state hearth of the Prytanes at the marketplace. This shows that the child represents the community whose voice is anyway echoed in the name of Demophon. For the Eleusinian mysteries especially during the Roman days, see L.H. Martin 1990: 58ff.; L.K. Clinton 1989: 1499-1539; H.P. Foley 1994: 65-75; R. Parker 1996: 98-101; J. Finegan 1989: 172-179.

[236] Paus.8.25.5-7; schol.Lycoph.153; Callim.fr.652; Paus.8.42.1 (Phigalia) etc. See M. Jost 2003: 143-168. K. Dowden 1989: 199-201: 'At

supplication ceremonies, the dismemberment of the sacrificial animal was an important part of the cult, an element which could associate the rites of Demeter with the horrific death of Orpheus and Dionysus.[237] It might be suggested that Vergil was drawing from the calendar of all these similar cults, which would please a sophisticated audience and indeed Octavian, who had been initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. In addition, this approach could give a whole new meaning to the intentions of the poet for the epilogue of the *Georgics*, especially since many scholars felt that it bears a pessimistic shade. It seems that the abilities which tradition attributed to Orpheus over nature could place him, although a Thracian in origin,[238] very close to the Golden Age that Vergil predicted and celebrated in his poem. Orpheus might be viewed as a symbol of the sacrifice that would be necessary for the progress of the cycle of life.[239]

From an early stage, it was accepted that the cult of Demeter was associated with the rites that Orpheus had introduced. Hence, it seems that Orpheus was indeed a multifarious cult-hero and hierophant and that his action extended well beyond the poetic

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Eleusis Persephone is simply called Kore and is sought by night. The mythology presents us with whole communities dying from plague or famine. Time and again, the only answer is the ultimate sacrifice: death of the Maiden. Without the elimination of maidens by initiation into matronhood, there will be no renewal and there will be no tribe;' see contra G. Ferrari 2003: 27ff. and C. Faraone 2003: 43ff.

[237] S. Perera 1981: 13 examined the example of the Sumerian goddess Inanna who 'shows us the way. . . she descends, submits, and dies. This openness to being acted upon is the essence of the experience of the human soul faced with the transpersonal. It is not based upon passivity, but upon an active willingness to receive.' cf. L. Fierz-David 1988: 30. C.G. Jung 1976b: 63-70 who took a special interest in the experiences of Zosimos of Panopolis (3rd century AD) regarded the dismemberment as a symbolic sacrificial act undertaken for the purpose of transformation. For the dismemberment of Dionysus and ancient sources, see R. Seaford 1994: 264-5, 283-4 and N. Robertson 2003: 222-4.

[238] For the Thracian origin of Orpheus, see F. Graf 1988: 86-100. For Octavian's religious sentiment and his initiation in the Eleusinian mysteries, see Sueton.2.93; Nicolaus of Damascus FGrHF125-130.

[239] For more evidence on Orpheus as the representation of a sacrificial animal and an analytical discussion, see ch5p.437f. and 370f. (also App.IVp.489ff.).

sphere. He rather seems to have claimed the title of a kind of spiritual leader[240] whose views were publicised in the so-called Orphic texts. Moreover, Eumolpus, one of the rulers of Eleusis who was instructed in the Mysteries by the goddess herself,[241] was attributed in Euripides' Erechtheus[242] with Thracian origin. The reason for that was probably the prestige at Eleusis of Thracian Orpheus,[243] who was later, reported as the founder of the Mysteries himself.[244] Moreover, as pointed out, Dionysus had an important role in the Orphic religion and according to Heraclides, in a sanctuary of Dionysus in Mt Haemus there were tablets with Orpheus' magical recipes.[245] It is accepted that after the death of Orpheus, his head acquired divination powers and hence, the hero was thought of as a prophet and indeed as a kind of sorcerer. In Euripides' *Hippolytus*, Theseus is deceived by Phaedra's last note,

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[240] Orphic religion is akin to the story of Zalmoxis (Hdt.4.94-6), the Thracian slave of Pythagoras. His name means bear's skin because as a baby Zalmoxis was enveloped in such a skin; cf. the story of Arcas who gave his name to the Arcadians and whose mother was transformed into a bear. See P. Bonnechere 2003: 171-2.

[241] Hom.h.Dem.184 and 475; Lucian Demon.34; Plut.De exil.607b. Also, see M. Jost 2003: 151-3; F. Graf 2003b: 245.

[242] Usually dated in 421 BC, according to the evidence of Plut.Nic.9.7; cf. M. Cropp and G. Fick 1985. Doubts about Plutarch's accuracy are raised in C.B.R. Pelling 1980: 127-9.

[243] R. Parker 1987: 202-5; M. Jost 2003: 154; S. Cole 2003: 199ff. More evidence about Orpheus' influence on the Eleusinian cult will be given further on.

[244] Eur.Rhes.943f. and Diod.Sic.5.75; also, see F. Graf 1974: 23-39.

[245] Schol.Eur.Alc.968. For the worshippers of Dionysus and the Greek mysteries, see C. Kerenyi 1996: 273-391 where he discussed Dionysus as the Divine child, a concept developed in accordance with the theories of C.G. Jung; W. Burkert 1987b: 11: 'Mysteries were initiation rituals of a voluntary, personal, and secret character that aimed at a change of mind through experience of the sacred.' C. Kerenyi 1967: 16-27 argued that the mystery rites of Eleusis celebrated the myth of Demeter and Persephone and described how the inevitable descent into darkness and the confrontation with death brings regeneration and eternal life. B. Lincoln 1991: 90 believes that the initiates re-enacted the myth of descent to the underworld in a ritualised drama, whose purpose was to evoke a blissful vision, which held the power to transform and promise life after death. Also see S. Cole 2003: 199-217 and N. Robertson 2003: 224f.

which pointed out Hippolytus as her ravisher, and, outraged by his son pretentious innocence compared him to Orpheus (ll.952-4):

"ἤδη νυν αὔχει καὶ δι' ἀψυχου βορᾶς
σίτοις καπήλευ' Ορφέα τ' ἄνακτ' ἔχων
βάκχευε πολλῶν γραμμάτων τιμῶν καπνούς·"

Since Theseus regarded Hippolytus as a follower of Orpheus, it should not be surprising that he also accused him as 'a chanter of spells and a charlatan, confident enough that he would overmaster the anger of his father by his calm temper' (ll.1038-40).

The Eleusinian mysteries also included a *katabasis* to the Underworld or an assimilation of a *katabasis*. We cannot assume what exactly a *mystes* would have seen during this experience, especially as the ceremonies would take place during night-time.[246] Even Orpheus, who obviously was a hierophant himself, was able to see Eurydice only for an instant before she vanished. There are numerous allusions to *phantasmata*, which were seen during the mysteries.[247] However, in the case of Orpheus perhaps that was only a gesture, a sign, since there has been evidence about the secret 'figures' of the mysteries, often interpreted as gestures or dance steps. Besides the figures, there were also the sacred calls. Only the *Naassenian* related how the hierophant at Eleusis when performing the great, unspeakable mysteries amid great fire, used to call out at the top of his voice: the mistress has given birth to a sacred boy, Brimo to Brimos. That is, he would add 'the strong to the strong.'[248] The name Brimo was used for Demeter, for Hecate and for an independent goddess. It is otherwise unattested at Eleusis and it would be even harder to define the identity of the boy to whom the mistress gave birth. Even among the initiates

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[246] The Arcadian sacrifice would also take place 'in secret' as Pausanias confirms: 8.38.7, 8.2.6, 4.22.7. Also, see Callisth.FGrH124F23; Pind.Ol.13.108. In addition, they were carried out at night as the name of the victim, Nyctimos, suggests (see Lycoph.Alex.481). See C. Sourvinou-Inwood 2003: 29-38 (esp.34) For the Sicilian cult of Kore, see ibid.: 38-9.

[247] Pl.Phd.250c, Aristid.Or.22.3 (Keil), Procl.Resp.2.185.4. For *phasmata* and *deimata* in the mysteries of Dionysus, see Orig.Cels.4.10; for a priestess as the spirit Empousa in the mysteries of Sabasios, see Idomeneus in FGrH338F2. See K. Clinton 2003: 50-70 where he compares the Eleusinian mysteries with those of Samothrace.

[248] W. Burkert 1983a: 251, 288-90 with footnotes 70-2; S. Cole 2003: 204-7. For Brimo's association with the Orphic belief, see also N. Robertson 233-4 (esp.n20).

there seems to have been various interpretations. Some of the names heard were Iacchus-Dionysus, son of Persephone[249] or Plutos, son of Demeter.[250] Pindar, who offered evidence about the Orphic mysteries, explained that whoever would console Persephone for her ancient grief, the devouring of her child Dionysus, was to be reborn to a higher life. Dionysus was thought of as 'twice-born' because after the tragic death of his mother a clustering vine grew from her smouldering body to shield the foetus, a bull-horned child crowned with serpents, which is said to have danced in his mother's womb. Zeus removed him and placed him into his own thigh, from where Dionysos was later born. To this, the Orphics later added a third, previous birth: Dionysos was first born as Zagreus, a child of Persephone, queen of Hades. Zeus, his father, placed the infant god on the throne to rule the universe, but the Titans attacked and ate him; whereupon Zeus blasted the Titans to ashes, from which later humans were made.[251] Hence,

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[249] For Iacchus-Dionysus, see Strabo 10.3.10 where he remarked that "οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες οἱ πλεῖστοι τῷ Διονύσῳ προσέθεσαν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἑκάτῃ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις καὶ Δήμητρι, νὴ Δία, τὸ ὀργιαστικὸν πᾶν καὶ τὸ βακχικὸν καὶ τὸ χορικὸν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς μυστικόν," Ἰακχόν τε καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καλοῦσι καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγέτην τῶν μυστηρίων, τῆς Δήμητρος δαίμονα·" M. Olender 1990: 100n95; also cf. Soph.Ant.1146-51; cf. N. Robertson 2003: 219f.

[250] According to Diod.Sic.5.77, Plutus was born in Cretan Tripolus to Demeter and Iasion. There is a double account of his origin: some say that the earth, when it was sowed once by Iasion and given proper cultivation, brought forth such an abundance of fruits that those who saw this called it *plutus* (wealth). Consequently, it has become traditional among later generations to say that men who have acquired more than they actually need have *plutus*. But there are some who recount the myth that a son was born to Demeter and Iasion whom they named Plutus. He was the first to introduce diligence into the life of man and the acquisition and safeguarding of property, since up to that time all men were neglectful of amassing and guarding diligently any store of property.

[251] As the story goes, the heart (or in some versions, the phallus) of Dionysos was rescued and a potion prepared, and from this the new god Dionysos was born to Semele. To protect the new infant from Hera's jealousy, Hermes carried him to Ino, Semele's sister, as a foster mother, and she put him in girl's clothing and started to raise him as a girl. However, Ino and her husband were driven mad and killed their own children; Ino ran into the sea, where she was transformed into the sea goddess Leucothea. Then the divine child was changed into a young goat,

already in the Orphic cult the goddess was believed to have given birth to Dionysus. Nevertheless, a child was born symbolising that the miracle of life was to be found next to the peril of death and blood.

However, this was precisely what Vergil foretold in his *Eclogue*, where the race that would enjoy the new Golden Age would have first to pay a heavy toll in the various wars that would take place. Death seems to have been a necessary supplement to the sacrificial ritual as well as the regeneration of the Golden Age.[252] Although, Vergil referred to a Golden Age, the religious rites would generally refer to what makes the cycle of life a possibility. Hence, it must be assumed that Vergil already talked about the realisation of the life, which the initiates were promised during the mysteries.[253] In just this way on Mount Lycaion, in Olympia, and on Mount Parnassus, the birth of a child stood side by side with sacrificial killing, the woman's achievement next to the man's. Apparently, the Eleusinian mysteries should be regarded as a crystallisation of antiquated cults and practices relating to death and regeneration. Demeter was the life-giving divine source, which in the form of her daughter reigned in the realm of the dead. Most of the religions of the eastern goddesses such as those of Cybele and Isis dictated a deprived and humiliating way of living for their followers with the promise of a better life after death.[254] From this point of view, they

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and taken by Hermes to be raised by the Nymphs of Mt Nysa, whose location was uncertain. He was tutored by Silenus, often shown as a drunken satyr. See B. Powell ²1998: ch10.

[252] R. Moore 1991: 16-7: 'It is this break in ordinary profane space that allows the world to be regenerated…without it there would be no access to the powers of creativity and renewal, no access to the primordial patterns that are the source of all correct order, no access to a transhistorical center which can give orientation and structure in a time of deterioration and impending chaos.'

[253] According to the Orphic cult, golden leaves from the Hellenistic Age found in tombs in South Italy and Crete, contain verses to be spoken on arrival in the Underworld, in which the dead man presents himself as a child of Earth and Heaven and asks to drink from the lake of memory; cf. n189 above. Also, see S. Cole 2003: 208f. who examines the status of the dead initiates in association with their access to memory (and Lethe).

[254] See Ap.Met.10; for more on the relationship between the cult of Cybele and the cult of Demeter, see: J. Ferguson 1970: 26-31; G. Sanders 1981: 264-297; G. Thomas 1984: 1500-1535; R. Turcan 1996: 28-74; A.T.

could be paralleled with the Orphic religion. Death and lamentation had been associated long ago with the cult of eastern fertility goddesses (see ch1p.44-5f); however, it seems that giving birth ritually should be also associated with eastern cults. Already in the domestic shrines of Catal Hüyük, it was customary to depict the Great Goddess as giving birth.[255] Hence, perhaps this is the child to whom Vergil referred, a child, who would introduce a new cycle of life and symbolised the necessary sacrifices on the way to the new Golden Age. This interpretation could combine the agricultural element of the ancient fertility rites with the prospect of a better life as found in Epicurean and Stoic theories.[256] It could also reveal that the poetic intention of Vergil was not simply to be the Roman Hesiod but to interpret Hesiod through the eyes of a Roman Epicurean. It could therefore, be suggested that Vergil in the last part of the *Georgics* represented symbolically with a dramatic crescendo the last act necessary for the revival of the Golden Age, the sacrifice of Orpheus.

Fear 1996: 37-50; C. Sourvinou-Inwood 2003: 30-1 citing Lactantius' Div.Inst.Epit.21 and 23.

[255] She most commonly appeared as mother of the animals, but a statuette, found in a grain bin, represented her sitting on a throne between leopards giving birth to a human child; see W. Burkert 1987a: 289: 'the blade of cut wheat was made visible at Eleusis displayed by the hierophant amid general silence. However, already Dumuzi, the victim of Innana, who rose from the Underworld, was represented as a blade of wheat. And when Hesiod tells the well-known myth of Uranos' castration, he uses the world he 'mowed.' Cronus wields a sickle, just like Meter-Demeter.'

[256] S. Shechter 1975: 367-8; At G.1.147-9 he said that ploughing was introduced 'when the sacred forests would not supply sufficient acorns and arbutus berries, and Dodona refused food.' Vergil does not scorn the iron ploughshare, so far as it is a technological discovery, but he is here affirming that its initial use came about through mankind's avoidance of famine. Nevertheless, the first ploughing had already been localised at Eleusis, on the *Rarion Pedion*. Dodona was not taken to be the locality for this event. However, Dodone with "victum negaret" is set in a conclusive phase of primeval largess, and therefore it becomes an inducement for a discovery of ploughing. Vergil puts the incident in the remote past and with foreboding semi-abstractness. Ceres taught mortals herself how to plough; their lives were thought of as shortened ("mortalis") as if a new age had arrived. It is the inventive power of "duris urgens in rebus egestas" (ll.146) that is exemplified.

VERGIL AND THE AGRICULTURAL GOLDEN AGE

Vergil repeated the image of a blossoming cradle in the fourth book of the *Georgics*, where the farmer was also depicted as preparing a cradle (G.4.62-6):

> "…..huc tu iussos asperge sapores,
> trita melisphylla et cerinthae ignobile gramen,
> tinnitusque cie et Martis quate cymbala circum:
> ipsae consident medicatis sedibus, ipsae
> intima more suo sese in cunabula condent."

However, it turned out that the farmer did not prepare this cradle which was also surrounded by flowers and aromatic herbs for any infant but for a new hive of bees. Moreover, the bees were depicted as "demittitur caelo," sent to earth from the sky as the "gens aurea" in the fourth *Eclogue*.[257] Therefore, it could be argued that the bees, which devoted their whole existence to the task of producing honey, functioned as a bridge between the metallic Golden Age and agriculture. In the new era as described in the fourth *Eclogue*, agriculture was an essential stage before the total realisation of the Golden Age. Hesiod referred to the labour of the bees once when he advised his brother, Perses, to go in the direction of justice, and not to foster *hubris*. His advice was accompanied by a demonstration of the practical value of justice (Op.232-7):

> "τοῖσι φέρει μὲν πολὺν βίον, οὔρεσι δὲ δρῦς
> ἄκρη μέν τε φέρει βαλάνους, μέσση δὲ μελίσσας·
> εἰροπόκοι δ' ὄιες μαλλοῖς καταβεβρίθασιν·
> τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναῖκες ἐοικότα τέκνα γονεῦσιν·
> θάλλουσιν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι διαμπερές· οὐδ' ἐπὶ νηῶν
> νίσσονται, καρπὸν δὲ φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα."

The similarity between these lines and Vergil's fourth *Eclogue* (ll.36-45) has long ago been remarked.[258] Moreover, it seems that Hesiod believed in a partial regeneration of the Golden Age for

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[257] Ec.4.7: "iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto;" also, see P.A. Johnston 1980: 90-105.

[258] See G.2.459-60: "quibus ipsa procul discordibus armis /fundit humo facilem victum iustitissima tellus;" cf. 2.473-4: "extrema per illos /Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit". Also, see M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 154: 'the phrase "tellus fundit" (which also occurs in *Eclogue* 4, lines 19-20) and the emphasis on Iustitia suggests that Vergil was thinking back to the fourth *Eclogue*.' The analogy of 'dyeing' is another connection; as in the Horatian ode, the contamination of all that is upright and sturdy is stressed –"illusas, fucatur veneno, corrumpitur." The farmer leads a happy life ignorant of deceit G.2.467.

those who would choose to live under the rule of Justice. In the last lines of the second book of the *Georgics* Justice was presented as Aratus' personified abstraction that remained last among farmers.[259] She had left "vestigia" of herself among farmers, which can be traced in the soil itself, the "iustissima tellus" which the farmer tills. For them, as for Hesiod's race of lawful men, the earth bears abundant nourishment; they too are free from war and happy in their offspring. They are occasionally blessed by a hive of bees which settles in a nearby oak tree (G.2.452-3):

"Nec non et apes examina condunt
Corticibusque cavis vitiosaeque ilicis alvo."

Hesiod mentioned that in the Golden Age honey flowed over the trees and equally Vergil in his fourth *Eclogue* mentions the ability of the oaks[260] to produce honey as a step towards the regeneration of the Golden Age (Ec.4.30): "et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella." After warning about the reminiscences of the primal error of humans, Vergil also imagines that every land will be self-sufficient and even that rams will be able to change the colour of their wool by themselves (Ec.4.42).[261]

By the close of the fourth book of the *Georgics* Vergil's farmer personified by Aristaeus acceded to a higher stage of agricultural art; he acquired the ability to raise bees at will rather than rely on a random hive settling in a hollow oak tree. It has been argued that the uncultivated hive of bees in the 'belly' of the hollow tree corresponded to the more primary stages of agriculture, which have been dealt with by the end of the second book of the *Georgics*.[262] However, bearing in mind the placation which Aristaeus

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[259] Cf. Thgn.1.1135-42 cited above. Hope is the only goddess left in the aid of humans. Vergil seems to replace or rather conflate hope with justice.

[260] Note that the Arcadians were believed to be the progeny of the oak. See Hes.fr.266a.9 (Merkelbach-West); cf. S. O' Bryhim 1996: 131-3 (esp.n8) for the ancient expression 'for, I was not born from an oak or a stone.' Cf. ch4p.315n89 (O' Bryhim).

[261] M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 153-4 mentioned that the dyeing of wool was a frequent emblem in Roman poetry for the evils of luxury. Ov.Ars Am.3.169ff.; Tib.2.4.27-8; G.2.464-6: "…illusasque auro vestis Ephyreiaque aera, /alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana veneno, /nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi;" cf. Hor.3.5.25-30.

[262] The idea that the trees automatically produced honey is repeated in

offered to the gods in order to be bestowed the art of the *Bugonia*, it might be suggested that the human progress in apiculture underlined the agreement between man and god so that the former became eligible for a second Golden Age. Hence, the sudden appearance of the bee hive out of the "vitiosae ilicis alvo" rather corresponded to and anticipated the sudden appearance of a new hive for Aristaeus out of the womb of the rotting cattle corpse in the fourth book of the *Georgics* (4.554-8). Moreover, Vergil stressed the fact that the bees spring "ab utero,"[263] an image which complies with the comparison of souls waiting to be reborn to bees, treated by Vergil in the *Aeneid*.[264]

This study has by now examined the role of ritual in the myths of Atalanta and Daphnis, stories that were both characterised by a strong erotic element. In particular it was shown that the myths reflected rites of transition, which were mostly engaged with the critical period of entering adulthood. Vergil, who drew heavily on Theocritus and the Hellenistic tradition, took an interest in the myth of Daphnis to which he gave an unexpected turn. Daphnis is no more a naïve shepherd who consoles himself singing in idyllic places, but a rising deity of the level of Orpheus. Vergil inserted in his poetry the concerns of his Roman compatriots during the years of the end of the civil wars and imagined a new order of things in which the pastoral ideal could give the desired solution to those traumatised by the fratricide. Daphnis, who is attributed the theologic insight of Orpheus, poses as a symbol of this regenerated world. Like a second Prometheus, he blazes the trails of humanity towards progress.

Vergil moved the location of the pastoral world from Theocritus' Sicily to Arcadia precisely because he wished to associate the pastoral ideal with the Hesiodic tradition of the Golden Age, which the Arcadians had according to legend experienced. Throughout the *Eclogues* and especially in poem 4 Vergil syncretises material from the Orphic religion and the

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Georgics 1 wherein Vergil describes the end of the primal Golden Age (G.1.131-4). See R. Hunter 1999: 175-6 who compares the oaks who grieved for Daphnis in *Idyll* 1 with those that offered pleasant refuge for bucolic song in *Idyll* 7.

[263] C. Segal 1966: 307-25.

[264] Aen.6.706ff.; the sudden appearance of the bees could also be prophetic.

Eleusinian mysteries in order to give religious grandeur to his ideas and bring the philosophic debate of his time to the world of the shepherds. Furthermore, Vergil, who seems sceptical about the role of poetry in this New World order, envisioned that the second Golden Age would be based on agricultural labour.

CHAPTER FOUR.

POETRY AND VERGIL

POETRY AND PASSION: ARCADIA AND ROME

Up to this point, the possible reasons that Vergil opted for Arcadia as the place where the second Golden Age would commence have been laid out; furthermore, the agricultural character of this Golden Age was underlined as an idea inherent in the Hesiodic tradition and the mystery cults examined in the previous chapter, but on which Vergil elaborated significantly. The treatment of the bees as a motif indicating the turning back of time and the inauguration of the Golden Age was also discussed with special reference to the fact that Vergil did not employ the traditional association of bees with poetry, despite the fact that he often referred to Orpheus, the 'honey-voiced' singer of a legendary past.[1] Although Vergil seems to have been deeply aware of Orpheus' association with the Eleusinian mysteries and the relevant local traditions in Arcadia, it would still be difficult to accommodate Orpheus, a Thracian in origin, in the idyllic Arcadia, the land of shepherds and pastoral music.[2]

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[1] However, long before the Vergilian depiction of Orpheus in *Georgics* 4, he stood for the mythical figure of the poet, the master of incantation in which words merge with music; C. Lévi-Strauss 1973: 403n17 suggested that the story of Orpheus, Eurydice and Aristaeus should be re-examined in conjunction with the myths of the girl 'mad about honey.' Most scholars interpret Vergil's silence on the poetical association of the bees as an indication of poetry's necessary exclusion from Vergil's New Golden Age, as incompatible with the agricultural labour demanded for social progress (see bibliography below, cf. ch5p.338ff.; cf. p.315f. below).

[2] In *Eclogue* 7 Vergil introduced in his poetry the first real Arcadians, the excellent poets Corydon and Thyrsis; see W. Clausen 1994: ad loc. In Ec.10.26-33 Gallus addressed the singers of Vergil's world presided over by Pan himself as Arcadians. J. Van Sickle 1967: 493-4, argued that poems

In the tenth *Eclogue* Vergil presented Gallus,[3] the shadowy and much admired precursor of Latin elegiac poets,[4] as bearing his hapless love for Lycoris in Arcadia, the place of the utmost understanding of "otium."[5] The "otium" which in the first *Eclogue*

4, 7 and 10 'broach, enlarge and perfect the idea' (of Arcadia). He also suggested a numerical progression by sevens in these *Eclogues* and he observed that the idea of Arcadia was growing in these poems correspondingly. He thought that 'Arcadia' symbolised the poetic goal of Vergil, a goal that he finally achieved only by the composition of the *Aeneid*. Commenting on the fourth poem he wrote (p.504): 'the fourth poem establishes seven as a principle of form; in the series seven becomes the numerical token of Arcadia, one extreme in the dialectics of a new art, the Apollonian counter to some Dionysian element as yet unplumbed;' cf. ibid. 1995: 130-131; see Catull.78.1.3.5; Prop.2.34.91; Ov.Am.1.15.29-30; 3.9.64.

[3] B. Snell 1953: 302 argued that Vergil used Gallus to boast indirectly about the achievement of poetry and in particular his own: 'Along with his new understanding of the soul, Arcadia also furnished the poet with a radically new consciousness of his artistic role. Virgil, for his own person, was too modest to boast loudly of his achievement, but in his portrait of Gallus in the tenth eclogue he gives us a general idea of his views on the special function of the poet. The reasons, he hints, why the poet takes his stand among the gods, and why he receives the sympathy of nature, is because his feelings are more profound than those of other men, and because therefore he suffers more grievously under the cruelties of the world. Virgil does not actually spell out these ideas which were to become so important in modern poetry, but even his hinting at them is new.'

[4] Gallus, apart from being a man of letters, was also actively involved in the political situation of his time; he was made the first *praefectus* of Egypt where he suppressed a rebellion based in the Thebaid; he consequently marched further south and managed to put Ethiopia under Roman protection. Gallus celebrated his achievements magnificently in 29 and in a way that was regarded as disrespectful to Octavian, from whose provinces he was interdicted. Gallus was condemned in the senate and driven to commit suicide almost two years later (27/6 BC). It has been suggested that after his suicide Octavian ordered Vergil to change verses in praise of Gallus in the second half of *Georgics* 4, an argument further discussed in the following chapter.

[5] For a long time scholars had to adduce results on the kind of poetry that Gallus wrote based on a single line that had survived from his work: "uno tellures dividit amne duas." However, the discovery of the New Gallus (see D.O. Ross 1975: 85-106, P. Fedeli 1980: 203-6) confirms Servius comments on Ec.10.1: "amorum suorum de Cytheride scripsit libros quattuor;" cf.

was presented as the ideal of leisure that a shepherd would enjoy was here expanded to the serenity that befits the shepherd-bard.[6] Although Vergil revealed that erotic misfortunes could occur even in heavenly Arcadia,[7] the motif seems to have been traditionally employed in the tragic story of Orpheus who suffered and sang of his loneliness on idyllic locations.[8] The comparison of Gallus with

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Prop.2.34.91-2 and Ov.Am.1.15.29-30. Servius also remarked on Ec.10.46: "hi autem omnes versus Galli sunt, de ipsius translati carminibus." Therefore, we might safely assume that Gallus had written erotic elegies, a conclusion encouraged by the motifs that Vergil included in this *Eclogue* to commemorate the passion of Gallus; these motifs easily recall well-known verses of Propertius and Tibullus. See D.O. Ross ibid.: 85 also cited by W. Clausen 1994: 290-1 and 306 ad 50, where the author argued that Gallus must have also composed epyllia in the style of Euphorion.

[6] B.F. Dick 1968: 27-44: '…the *Eclogues* have undergone a re-examination by younger critics who view the Arcadian shepherds as apprentice poets perfecting their art amid the pangs of "amor indignus" and the bards of literary rivalry;' B. Otis 1964: 97-143, C. Segal 1965: 237-66; J. Van Sickle 2000: 46-56. On p.56 Van Sickle wrote: 'As a final invitation to further study, we remark too, that both Meliboeus and Tityrus have associations with prophecy.' M. Gale 2000: 194-5 associated Vergil's "otium" with the benefaction of Augustus towards him (cf. Ec.1.6) in the sense that the poet wished to juxtapose his situation to that of the active *princeps*.

[7] G. Jachmann 1952b: 161-7. Van Sickle 1976: 491: 'from the Arcadian vantage point of the tenth poem, the poet sees his own work as a whole and he gives expression to his own recollective, assiduous, passionate self-consciousness in the symbol of Arcadia.'

[8] The first five lines of Vergil's *Eclogue* 2 are inspired not by Theocritus but by Phanocles, a Hellenistic love elegist. A section of his *Catalogue*, entitled *Erotes* or *Kaloi* became Vergil's model. "...Ἢ ὡς Οἰάγροιο πάϊς Θρηΐκιος Ὀρφεὺς /ἐκ θυμοῦ Κάλαϊν στέρξε Βορηϊάδην /πολλάκι δὲ σκιεροῖσιν ἐν ἄλσεσιν ἔζετ' ἀείδων /ὃν πόθον, οὐδ' ἦν οἱ θυμὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ, /ἀλλ' ἀεί μιν ἄγρυπνοι ὑπὸ ψυχῇ μελεδῶναι /ἔτρυχον, θαλερὸν δερκομένῳ Κάλαϊν..." (Powell). Since Gallus is compared to Daphnis, he should also be compared to Orpheus. The poem seems to encourage the association; hence, in Ec.10.64-9 Vergil wrote: "non illum nostri possunt mutare labores, /nec si frigoribus mediis Hebrumque bibamus /Sithoniasque nives hiemis subeamus aquosae, /…omnia vincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori," an expression that Ovid employed to describe Orpheus' descent to Hades (Met.10.25-6): "posse pati volui nec me temptasse negabo: /vicit Amor." The image was carved in combination with Th.7.111-13; see W. Clausen 1994: 307 ad 52-3 and 309 ad 65-8. Clausen commented on the absolute use of "pati" by Vergil and Ovid, but not on

Orpheus in this *Eclogue* was long ago discussed by scholars who mostly argued that Gallus was apparently destined to perish because he, like Orpheus,[9] was painfully enamoured to the point that he destroyed the Epicurean vision of 'Arcadian' serenity.[10] Therefore, by casting Gallus in the place of Orpheus, Vergil not only praised the poetic talent of Gallus, but also presented Arcadia as a possible background for the suffering of Orpheus. Orpheus'

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the omnipotence of love in both poets.

[9] Orpheus was traditionally seen as trying to console himself with composing music (cf. G.4.464); in Theocritean poetry as well (Id.11) Polyphemus concluded that the only way to console himself for his unhappy love and Galatea was to compose pastoral music. It becomes clear that a necessary presupposition for the musical elevation of a poet is a destructive erotic passion. However, it should be equally appreciated that Orpheus' music is not passive or directed only to him but has a very active impact on nature which even in *Georgics* 4 is presented as sympathising with the poet. It is not accidental that Vergil was said to have composed *Eclogue* 10 because of his own erotic misfortune: R. Coleman 1977: 62. For the conflation of mythical lovers with poets, see J. Van Sickle 2000: 25 and especially n19 where he quotes R. Hunter 1999: 178: 'Oaks which grieved for Daphnis now offer shadow for the performance of peaceful bucolic song.' Van Sickle also refers in pp.45-6 to the use of the verb "doceo" in Ec.1.4-5 and offers literary examples of the generic allusions that Vergil intended to create (Lucretius and Callimachus). However, it is worth noticing that Vergil uses the same verb in Aen.6.109 when Aeneas is asking the prophetess Sibylla to "teach" him the way to the Underworld. In lines 119-20 Aeneas also refers to Orpheus who managed to access the Underworld.

[10] In *Eclogue* 10, Gallus was implicitly compared with Daphnis, since the structure of the *Eclogue* strongly alludes to Theocritus' *Idyll* 1. The similarities of Orpheus and Daphnis as explained above already stress the possible similarities between Gallus and Orpheus as desperate lovers. As such Orpheus was most famously depicted in *Georgics* 4, which will be discussed below. See M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 342-94 (esp.351n14). It has also been suggested that Vergil here wished to allude to the thematic range of Gallus' erotic elegies; see R. Coleman 1962: 55-71. C. Segal 1965: 261 argued that Gallus was willing to quit war for a poetic Arcadia, a view rejected by M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 380n38. For the Epicurean view on love, see T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 81n36 quoting the actual text: "σύντονον ὄρεξιν ἀφροδισίων μετὰ οἴστρου καὶ ἀδημονίας;" cf. Lucr.DRN.4.1037ff. Their description is very close to the medical symptoms of *satyriasis*, a kind of *mania* akin to (erotic) madness (cf. ch2n80).

Arcadian associations also seem to serve the poet in the sense that in the fourth book of the *Georgics* the legendary singer interacts with the *par excellence* Arcadian master, Aristaeus.[11] Yet in the fourth book of the *Georgics* Orpheus was depicted as mourning for his lost love in locations alien to Arcadia that had strong wintry connotations. Indeed, the Thracian winter was renowned in antiquity for its severity. It is worth noting that Vergil presented Orpheus as lamenting (G.4.516-8), near the land of the Hyperboreans, a mythical people renowned in antiquity for their sense of justice (see ch5p.409):

> "solus Hyperboreas glacies Tanaimque nivalem
> arvaque Rhipais numquam viduata pruinis
> lustrabat…"

Nevertheless, Orpheus could not find consolation for his unjust loss of Eurydice even in these remote places like Gallus could not be consoled for losing Lycoris who "perque nives alium perque horrida castra secuta est" (Ec.10.23; cf.ll.47-9). Hence, both legendary lands prove unable to cure the sorrows of death or love, two notions often identified in ancient poetry. In ll.28-30 Pan confirms:

> "…Amor non talia curat:
> nec lacrimis crudelis Amor nec gramina rivis
> nec cytiso saturantur apes nec fronde capellae."

Like Love, Hades is equally deaf to the cries of his victims.[12]

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[11] Singers and poets were traditionally perceived as weak and pathetic, therefore *Eclogue* 10 was often understood to reflect Gallus' nature and to explain up to a point his tragic end; the same was argued for the drama of Orpheus at the end of *Georgics* 4. With regard to the supposed juxtaposition of Orpheus and Aristaeus which is refuted in the following chapter, I think that Vergil's effort to underline the Arcadian aspects of Orpheus should be understood as a preparation for the interaction of the two heroes in book 4. The similarities rather than the differences in their characters would dramatise the whole episode even more and could excuse the sympathy of the audience who traditionally feel for Orpheus. The wintry climate in which Orpheus continually mourns for Eurydice was not unfamiliar to Aristaeus-Aristeas: for a fuller discussion, see ch5p.411f. (esp.416).

[12] For the association of Hades with wailing, see Thgn.1.244; Stesich.fr.232 (Campbell); see *Epic of Gilgamesh* (N.K. Sandars 1960: 95 = A.R. George 2003: 279, ll.7́) where the hero says: "I thought my friend would come back because of my weeping;" cf. the tale of Inanna and the Huluppu Tree (D. Wolkstein and S.N. Kramer 1983) where the goddess describes how a serpent nested in the roots of her favourite tree and could not be

In addition, the motif of pathetic fallacy[13] complies with Daphnis' pastoral torment, since he died of love surrounded by natural beauty.[14] In accordance with this motif that recurs in bucolic /pastoral poetry, it might be suspected that the reason Orpheus was depicted as singing in a season during which nature is dead is because, by supporting his sorrow, nature is actually in decline. In the fourth book of the *Georgics* Orpheus (G.4.511-15) is compared to a nightingale, a connection that seems to combine ideas of agriculture with myths of unfortunate weddings (G.4.511-15):[15]

> "Qualis populea maerens philomela sub umbra
> Amissos queritur fetus, quos durus arator
> Observans nido implumis detraxit; at illa
> Flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen

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charmed. Soon the Anzu-bird and Lilith, the dark maiden, also made their nests in the tree and they would not leave despite all the weeping of the goddess. It is worth noting that the serpent leaves the tree only after Ninshubur whispers to it the cry of love. For snake imagery in the Orphic mysteries, see N. Robertson 2003: 221.

[13] It could be argued that the pathetic fallacy, which followed the myth of Orpheus and was confirmed by Vergil, asserted the close bondage of man and nature. Moreover, at a symbolic level the anguish of Orpheus shared by nature anticipates the decline of nature and *vice versa*, the decline of nature is depicted in his song and indeed in his fate (G.4.506-10): "Septem illum totos perhibent ex ordine mensis /Rupe sub aeria deserti ad Strymonis undam /Flesse sibi, et gelidis haec evolvisse sub astris /Mulcentem tigris et agentem carmine quercus."

[14] M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 351 argued that in *Eclogue* 10 Vergil presented a novelty. Enamoured Gallus cannot find consolation even in Arcadia (which consists of cold rocks and lonely crags) cf. Ec.1.1 Tityrus: "patulae sub tegmine fagi" or Daphnis Ec.7.1: "sub arguta ilice;" these examples show the impossibility of finding comfort in such a spot. Also compare Vergil's description of the landscape in which Orpheus wanders after the loss of Eurydice in G.4.508f, 517f.

[15] R. Rehm 1994: 46 noted that when Cassandra sang of dying together ("ξυνανθούμενην," ll.1139) with Agamemnon, the chorus heard in her lament a "νόμον ἄνομον," 'a song that is not a song' (ll.1142), "οἷά τις ξουθα /ἀκόρετος βοᾶς, φεῦ, φιλοίκτοις φρεσὶν /Ἴτυν Ἴτυν στένουσ' ἀμφιθαλῆ κακοῖς /ἀηδὼν βίον" (ll.1142-6). Here the chorus refers to the myth of Procne and Philomela. By alluding to this myth, Aeschylus evokes the ambiguities of a song that combines lamentation, wedding, and death. For other tragic references to the Procne-Philomela story, see R. Kannicht 1969 ad Hel.1107-12 and M. Gale 2000: 135-8; cf. Eur.Her.Fur.1021-7 and Rh.546-50.

Integrat, et maestis late loca questibus implet."

Noticeably the song of the nightingale has been associated with death and, from this point of view it would seem that Vergil created a very fitting allusion in order to refer to the tragic death of Orpheus that was soon to take place.[16] Furthermore, the song of the nightingale had specific connotations of a violently destroyed marriage, and this does not exclude the motif of marriage to death, mostly treated in the previous chapters (ch1n197; ch2n115).[17] In the tenth *Eclogue* Gallus referred to his roaming on Maenalus and on the Mount Parthenius in order to hunt wild boars in the company of the Nymphs (ll.55-7) and he imagined passing over rocks and echoing groves, ideas rooted in the imagery of erotic poetry and associated with the ritual patterns discussed in the previous chapters. Nevertheless, he concludes (ll.64-8) that to conquer love –or death in the case of Orpheus, is impossible (also see n19 below):

"non illum nostri possunt mutare labores,
nec si frigoribus mediis Hebrumque bibamus
Sithoniasque nives hiemis subeamus aquosae,
Nec si, cum moriens alta liber aret in ulmo,
Aethiopum versemus ovis sub sidere Cancri."

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[16] D.W. Thompson 1936: 16-22; A.S. McDevitt 1972: 230-33; N. Loraux 1990: 87-100; also see Mosch.3.38 where Aëdon features as the wife of Zethus, the king of Thebes. The Queen is said to have killed her son accidentally whereupon Zeus transformed her into an ever-mourning nightingale. This tale is a close parallel of Orpheus' tragic story who failed to resurrect Eurydice by his own mistake; cf. Hom.Od.19.518-23 where Penelope is compared to Aëdon; also see Hom.Od.16.217-8 where Odysseus and Telemachus wept like vultures whose young had been taken by farmers. M. Gale 2000 took the scene to allude to the violence that the farmer is expected to exercise in order to fight natural brutality.

[17] See F. Ahl 1984: 182-4; In Eur.Hel.1107-25, the chorus ask the nightingale to join their threnody for the enslaved Trojan women, for Helen whom Paris (apparently) abducted in a 'fatal marriage' (ll.1120), and for the Greeks who die leaving their wives 'lying in marriageless chambers' (ll.1125). The chorus compares Heracles' cries of pain to the strains of a nightingale at Soph.Tr.962-4 (cf. R. Rehm 1994: 77); Electra mourns like a nightingale calling 'on the halls of Persephone' and the god Hermes to help avenge the 'stolen marriage beds' of her troubled house: Soph.El.107-18; 147-52; 239-42; 1074-80. Also, note that in the Orphic tradition Zeus *Meilichios* and Persephone were probably a nuptial pair; see N. Robertson 2003: 221.

Hence, it might be argued that in his tenth *Eclogue* Vergil employed allusions to transition rites as a starting point for reflecting in his fourth book of the *Georgics* on the growing to maturity not only of Orpheus and Eurydice, the newly wed couple, but also on the coming of age of the whole of humanity (or at least of the Roman State). In general, it has been accepted that in his treatment Vergil followed closely the first *Idyll* of Theocritus,[18] and that he rendered Gallus as a Roman Daphnis[19] who would weep,

[18] It might be argued that since Vergil presented Gallus as lovesick and totally surrendered to the love of Lycoris, he had understood Daphnis to suffer from the same passion; hence, an additional confirmation of Theocritus' treatment of Daphnis as a lover could lie with Vergil. It is interesting to note the motifs that Vergil chose to employ in order to establish the similarity of Gallus with Daphnis: in Ec.10.9-12 Vergil wondered where the Naiads were when "indigno cum Gallus amore peribat?," similar to Theoc.Id.1.66-9; in Ec.10.15 a reference to Maenalus alludes to Theoc.Id.1.123-4; 10.17-18: "et formosus ovis ad flumina pavit Adonis" was compared to Theoc.Id.1.109-10; Gallus is visited by three deities (Apollo, Silvanus and Pan, Verg.Ec.10.21-6) like Daphnis (Theoc.Id.1.81-5). In addition, Gallus' mistress was depicted as running off to cold places with a new lover in correspondence to Daphnis' mistress who was wandering on the mountains in his search: "omnes 'unde amor iste' rogant 'tibi?' venit Apollo: /'Galle, quid insanis?' Inquit. 'Tua cura Lycoris /perque nives alium perque horrida castra secuta est'" (cf. quotation on p.293).

[19] In his treatment of Daphnis, Vergil showed a notable preference for erotic motifs that were generally discussed in this thesis. Hence, in line 55 Gallus announced that while waiting for the trees he planted out of love for Lycoris to grow, he will range over Maenalus with the Nymphs or take up hunting in the vain hope of appeasing his passion for his beloved; cf. Ov.Rem.199-206 and of course Prop.1.1.11. The motif of the lover running in the wilderness was a commonplace in Greek and Latin poetry; see Callim.h.3.190-1 about enamoured Minos; Cic.Arat.421 about Orion. In particular Vergil mentioned that the Nymphs would hunt wild boars, a reference that strongly alludes to the myth of Atalanta (see ch1p.24; cf. pp.27 and 37); see W. Clausen 1986: 165-6. Gallus' passion is characterised as "furor" (Ec.10.61) like the passion of Propertius in 1.5.27-8; cf. Prop.2.1.57-8 where love is equated with illness ("amor morbi") and where the poet admitted that there is no medicine for love like Theoc.Id.11.1-3 which had suggested pastoral song as a remedy (cf. ch1nn274 and 295). Finally, in Ec.10.38-9 Vergil referred to the sun-burnt skin (of Amyntas), a motif often employed in Greek poetry: Asclep.Anth.Pal.5.210, Theoc.Id.10.28, Long.1.16.1, but also the *Song of Solomon* 1.5 (cf. ch2n190); for the association of love with labour and

"sola sub rupe iacentem" (ll.14).[20] In addition, Vergil employed an erotic myth of Alexandrian fancy to associate Arcadia and Sicily.[21] The myth, which is linked to Artemis as helper of young maidens on the threshold of sexual transgression, is again an echo of the initiatory patterns discussed throughout this work: Arethusa, a sea-Nymph, was bathing in the river Alpheus in Arcadia when the river-god attempted to seduce her.[22] She fled with the aid of

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labour with disease see ch5n63; also cf. ch1n278, ch3n54 and n37 below. It is worth noting that "improbus" was used by Propertius to characterise love while Vergil employed it to refer to labour. M. Gale 2000: 138: 'The Centauromachy anticipates the portrayal of the relationship between human and animal in book 3: like the wine-induced *furor* (frenzy) which overcomes the centaurs, *amor* and disease break down the barriers of rationality and civilisation which separate men and animals.'

[20] It has been suggested that Gallus assumed the role of Daphnis who also died tragically as a slave of love; see J.H. Gaisser 1977: 131-45. Therefore, it might be argued that Vergil rendered to Daphnis some of the glamour of the elegiac lovers by employing the motif of "servitium amoris." Trees and mountains weep for Gallus who does not find consolation in the company of shepherds, swineherds and Menalcas. Like Daphnis Gallus received three divine visitors (Apollo, Silvanus, and Pan). Vergil, who was familiar with Epicurus, gave to Gallus the role of the passionate romantic while he posed as the cool Epicurean. In pastoral poetry a common case of poetry as solace is that of the lonely lover singing to ease his longing. See Verg.Ec.9.23-5; Theoc.Id.3.1-5; However, see J. Van Sickle 1995: 115-116 for the exaggerated weight given to the phrase "sola sub rupe" in associating Gallus with Orpheus, especially by W. Clausen 1994. For the comparison of Daphnis to the Hellenistic and later Latin elegiac lovers, see ch2p.122f.

[21] Arethusa was employed in Theoc.Id.1.117 and pseudo-Mosch.77. In addition, Stobaeus has preserved a collection of poems with the title *Bucolics* that he claimed to have been composed by Moschus and Bion. D.M. Halperin 1983: 129-30 quoted the third fragment of this collection with reference to the story of Alpheus and Arethusa. The text could serve as Vergil's possible Hellenistic source.

[22] On "labor" and elegiac love, see commentators on Prop.1.1.9 and Tib.1.4.47; cf. Putnam 1970: 344: Serv.1 said that "labor" is not difficult for a poet but that Vergil, in addressing Arethusa, said "rem tibi laboriosam, scilicet ut nympha, virginitate gaudens, praestes de amoribus cantilenam:" 'that the matter is hard for you, namely that you a Nymph, priding yourself on your maidenhood, should bestow a song about love.' The idea seems to be that pastoral is a virginal form of poetry; therefore, for Arethusa -or Vergil, the shepherd to sing *Amores* is unusual; cf. G.1.293 where Vergil refers to

Artemis, who transformed her into a river that flowed under the sea to Sicily; there she emerged as a fountain in the island /peninsula of Ortygia in Syracuse.[23] It has been suggested that by featuring her flight, Vergil underlined that Sicily was secondary to Arcadia, and he consequently implied that Greek bucolic was less original than his, since he had managed to return to the source.[24] However, it is my impression that the tale aimed at underlying the mystery associations of Arcadia and Sicily, especially regarding the Orphic tradition which was widespread in both locations as well as the metaphor of love as found in transition rites with the love for the Truth that an initiate is looking for. Moreover, in casting Gallus as Orpheus, Vergil was clear in interpreting the unfortunate end of Gallus (further discussed in ch5p.333f.) as a sacrifice that served as a further step towards the rebirth of Rome, in the way that the deaths of Daphnis and Orpheus promised rebirth. The adventure of Gallus seems to have given Vergil the opportunity to explore

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singing as "labor:" "interea longum cantu solata laborem;" cf. Ec.10.1 in n5 above.

[23] Today Syracuse occupies only a part of the ancient city. The latter was composed of five great quarters one of which was Ortygia. Ortygia, originally an island that was afterwards artificially joined with the mainland, was the most ancient part of the city, containing the acropolis dismantled by Timoleon, and the palace of king Hiero, where in later days the Roman governors resided. See Theoc.Id.1.117 and 16.102; Ov.Met.5.572-641, "quae tibi causa fugae, cur sis, Arethusa, sacer fons;" cf. Ovid's reference to Arethusa as 'Arcadian maid' in Am.3.6.29-30: "non Alpheon diversis currere terries virginis Arcadiae certus adegit amor?;" also see Mosch.3.76-7 for whom Arethusa was the source of pastoral song, a view that adopted by L. Rumpf 1996: 81n16 and 124 who argued that Vergil appealed to Arethusa as a source of pastoral. Also, note Paus.5.7.2 who attributed the adventures of Arethusa to Artemis herself.

[24] L. Rumpf 1996: 128, 135, 243, 250. J. Van Sickle 1998: 213-214: Vergil made his point by upstaging the Sicilian Daphnis of Theocritus with the 'Roman Gallus' [p.214] 'to generate an elegiac-dramatic fantasy of the original locus: Rumpf well interprets the unhappy Gallus as a figure from outside engaged with embroidering an ideal 'Arcadia' for Vergil. Vergil seems to have made Arcadia into a place of imagination that placed on the literary map, thereby overshadowing Theocritus and transmuting Greek bucolic into Latin pastoral tradition.' Servius on Ec.10.4: "varia enim opinio est" introducing two main variants: that Alpheus left Elis to go to a Sicilian Nymph, or that Arethusa became a spring and fled from Elis to Sicily. The Alpheus variants are mostly earlier and Greek, implying a political subtext of relations between motherland and colony.

once more and express fully the meaning of love in his poetry.[25] In lines 44-5, Apollo asked Gallus:[26]

"Galle, quid insanis?"

His response is cited below:

"Nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis
tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostis.
tu procul a patria (nec sit mihi credere tantum)
Alpinas a, dura, nives et frigora Rheni
me sine sola vides. A, te ne frigora laedant!
a, tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas!"[27]

Gallus' thoughts suddenly turned away from his passion for Lycoris to another aspect of his life, his career as a soldier and politician which he characterised as an insane love for harsh Mars.[28]

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[25] C. Fantazzi 1966: 171-91; D.O. Ross 1975: 61-5 and 72-4 argued that Vergil employed motifs that Gallus had visited in his erotic elegies; specifically he said that Vergil alluded to Gallus' comparison with Acontius and Milanio, heroes discussed in ch1pp.60f. and 68f. respectively. However, J.E.G. Zetzel 1977: 253-4 was sceptical of this view; also see E.A. Schmidt 1979: 435; D. West 1978: 210. For a supportive critique and further evidence, see R.M. Rosen and J. Farrell 1986: 241-254. The latter argued, based on the similarities between Ec.10.55-61 and Callim.h.Dian.81-9, that Vergil presented Gallus as a devotee of Artemis who was featured in close association with Arcadia (see ch2n10 and 38 and ch3n165).

[26] Cf. Theoc.Id.1.78: "τίς τυ κατατρύχει; τίνος, ὠγαθέ, τόσσον ἔρασαι;" J.H. Gaisser 1977: 133: 'Gallus has come to the pastoral world to die of love, but before submitting to his fate, he toys with the idea of escaping from his twin passions for Lycoris and war by a permanent retreat into the life of the shepherds.' However, he finally concludes that: "omnia vincit amor et nos cedamus amori." Tibullus (1.3.35) in his effort to imitate *Eclogue* 10 wished to return to the Golden Age, which he identified with the reign of Saturn.

[27] The motif is also found in Prop.1.8; M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 342-94, esp.375: In Rem.Am.222 Ovid advises the distraught lover to take up hunting as part of a general pattern of escape, literally from Rome but symbolically from practical or spiritual problems. On the *topos* of the change of scene as illustrated in therapeutic literature and adopted by Cicero in Tusc.Disp.4 and by the elegiac poets, see L.P. Wilkinson 1955: 136. Also see ch1p99.

[28] See Prop.1.1.5-7 where he refers to "Amor improbus" and compare it to Gallus' martial "Amor insanus;" also see Prop.1.7a; M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 368. Also, see W. Clausen 1994: 304 for the divergence of opinions on the meaning of the line. The word insane appears in lines 6, 10, 21, 28, 29, 34,

However, by conflating love with war Gallus not only evoked a well-established elegiac motif,[29] but also inserted the horror of war in an earthly paradise such as Arcadia.[30] It might be argued that this view complies with the tragic destruction of the pastoral vision as

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44, 53, 69, 73. Curiously there are only two other uses of "insanio" and "insanus" in the *Eclogues*: "insanire" at 3.36 where the shepherds are about to indulge in the madness of song, and "insani" applied to the waves of Galatea's maddened, non pastoral province at 9.43. For the identification of poets with lovers, see also ch1n253 and ch2nn94 and 95. Also, see M. Janan 2001: 17ff. for the incompatibility of Gallus' erotic profile with his political ambitions.

[29] For the motif of "militia amoris" as employed by the elegiac poets, see E. Thomas 1964: 151-63; P. Murgatroyd 1975: 59-75 (esp.n3 for text references). For Orpheus as a competent warrior, see ch5pp.389-90; cf. Soph.El.197, 562: the chorus said that *Eros* was the killer of Agamemnon; cf. Aesch.Ag.1446-7. Also cf. Plato (Phd.66c) who had argued that that there is no cause of battles and wars and civil strifes other than the lusts of the body; cf. Hdt.1.1-5; Duris apud Ath.Deipn.560d; Ar.Ach.526-8. In Eur.Hipp.527, 542 Theseus described *Eros* as marching against his victims and laying them waste. B.S. Thornton 1997: 55: 'Simonides made Ares, the father of *Eros*. He is given three other children by Aphrodite: Harmonia, Phobos and Deimos (see Mel.Anth.Pal.5.180, Mimn.fr.23E). She was worshipped as Areia at Sparta, as the Armed Aphrodite at Corinth, Sparta, and Cythera, as the Bringer of victory at Argos. According to Plutarch and Athenaeus after Lais was killed by some jealous women at the goddess' temple at Thessaly, the goddess was worshipped as Aphrodite Androphonos.' See Plut.Mor.768a; Ath.Deipn.589a; Hom.Il.4.441; Arist.Pol.1269b. Hence, it might be argued that Vergil recognised in the "amor martialis" of his Gallus the adventures of Orpheus, who was killed because of his love for Eurydice. For a more recent discussion on the political intentions of Roman elegiac poets, see D. Cloud 1993: 113-38; for his criticism, see M.R. Gale 1997: 77-91.

[30] B. Snell 1953: 283: 'In Virgil's Arcadia the currents of myth and empirical reality flow one into another; gods and modern men stage meetings in a manner which would have been repugnant to Greek poetry. In actual fact, this halfway land is neither mythical nor empirical; to the Roman Virgil and his Roman public, Apollo and Pan convey even less of their divinity, as objects of genuine faith, than they had to Theocritus and his Hellenistic audience. Arcadia is not an area on the map, either; even the person of Gallus appears misty and unreal, which has not, of course, prevented the scholars from trying to penetrate through the mist and identify the historical Gallus.'

Vergil had described it in the first and ninth eclogues.[31] In addition, in the first book of the *Georgics* Vergil presented the farmer essentially as a soldier; it is not accidental that the figure of this farmer-soldier is sustained amid references to erotic motifs and mythological allusions even to the *Hieros Gamos* of the Sky with the Earth. [32] With regard to the erotic allusions of the first book of the *Georgics* Gale comments:

Nisus and Scylla, Alcyone and Nyctimene were all transformed

[31] See J. Van Sickle 2000: 41-2, esp.n86: 'Vergil seized the opportunity to claim notional priority over Theocritus by gradually linking his new bucolic with Arcadia…and Gallus, his Roman elegiac replacement for Daphnis, will perish in Arcadia, but do so at a notional time imagined as prior to the Nymph's Arethusa's flight to Sicily, where Theocritus' Daphnis dying bid her farewell.' Although the setting of *Eclogue* 10 is pastoral, the reflections on death, the cruelty of war to lovers, anxiety for the welfare of the absent mistress mingled with bitterness at the cause of her absence etc are themes of love elegy. On line 46, Servius writes: "hi autem versus Galli sunt de ipsius translati carminibus." Hence, this poem draws heavily on the various elegies of Gallus and so, it forms another list of his topics. The association of pastoral themes with love stories from the traditional mythology begins with the Alexandrian pastoral epyllion *Europa* of Moschus; see M.M. Crump 1931: 67-71. R. Coleman 1977: 62 and 1962: 55f. thought that the use of pastoral settings for personal love elegy, as seen in Tibullus, may have begun with Gallus. However, cf. Anth.Pal.9.324 (Mnasalcas of Sicyon) who thought that bucolic poetry was engaged with erotic themes even in antiquity and Bion fr.9.8-11 who argued that the Muse does not inspire him unless he is in love. Also, see P. Bonnechere 2003: 171 (nn11-12) for the soteric acts of cultic hierophants such as Trophonius, Orpheus and others, especially during war or at sea.

[32] See K. Clinton 2003: 68-9 for the sexual union of the gods in the Samothracian mysteries and possible associations with the Eleusinian model. See M. Gale 2000: 252-9 (cf. G.1.95-102 also discussed by Gale); for G.1.316-34 (the spring storm) and G.2.323-45 (the exaltation of spring) where Vergil alludes to the *Hieros Gamos* refuted in Lucretius' 2.991-8 (cf. DRN2.644-54), see M. Gale ibid.: 117 esp.n6; also see pp.128-9 where she comments on the story of Nisus and Scylla (G.1.404-9) and the story of Halcyon (G.1.399). On page 131 she discusses the possible allusion to Nyctimene in 1.403 who like Scylla committed incest with her father (cf. Hyg.Fab.204 and Ov.Met.2.589-95), an allusion already pointed by Servius, while in pages 134-135 a double reference to the story of Callisto (G.1.138 and 1.246) is seen as a parallel of the story of Io that features in the *Georgics* 3.152f.

> *as a result of excessive, tragic or unnatural love;…their stories can be interpreted as foreshadowing the fuller development in book 3, where the theme of amor and its brutalising power becomes much more prominent and explicit.*

Of course, erotic passion remains the core of the fourth book of the *Georgics* and therefore, it might be argued that the disciplined farmer Aristaeus and the poet Orpheus suffer from the same tantalising "amor,"[33] whose two versions Gallus incorporated in the tenth *Eclogue*. However, the depiction of a dysfunctional Arcadia despite its possible romantic and melancholic colouring would not convince a Roman audience flattered by the idea that they could rejuvenate the Arcadian Golden Age.[34] The comparison of Gallus with Orpheus not only joins war and love as fundamentally similar, but it also casts Gallus in the role of Orpheus at the beginning of this new cycle of life in a New Arcadia.[35] As a lover Gallus should

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[33] C. Perkell 1989: 37: 'My thesis is that the military activity of the farmer, analogous as it is to war, suggests the moral ambiguity and tension of the human condition as it is epitomised in the farmer's experience, where material progress is pitted against humane value in man's relationship both to nature and other men.' In *Georgics* 1 the farmer is presented as a soldier who has an active role in the civil wars. In book 2, Vergil focused more in the real agricultural tasks of the farmer.

[34] J. Van Sickle 1976: 508: 'At least the mortal discontent of Gallus becomes the eternal content of Arcadian song. The myth of poetry of *Idyll* 1 passes into Arcadian dimensions. Arethusa returns from her exile. In the tenth *Eclogue*, the poetics of the seventh *Idyll* come to term with the poetics of the first. The new formal circumstances, poetic feeling, promise a certain immortality in art.'

[35] Gallus was apparently presented as a poet of the artistic level of Orpheus; In *Eclogue* 6, Gallus was already associated with the grove of Apollo at Grynia in Mysia and with Hesiod. Hesiod is said to have brought ash trees from the mountain with his music like Orpheus and is sometimes regarded as the father of the Orphics. Rufinus, the Christian apologist, mentions Hesiod and Orpheus as the outstanding names on the question of the far-off origins of the world. Themistius (4th century AD) was a zealous reader of Plato and Aristotle: even the initiation rites of Orpheus were not unfamiliar with the art of husbandry. Themistius, who explains the story from the Christian point of view, fits Orpheus into the theme of *Georgics* by pointing out that he offered people a cultivated way of coexisting in marriage. However, the practice of magic was also ascribed to Orpheus (M.W. Dickie 2001: 73, 117, 230) and hence, it seems that in his figure the borderline between a poet and an enchanter is

be the lover of 'peace:'

> "Pacis Amor deus est, pacem veneramur amantes:
> sat mihi cum domina proelia dura mea."

In the above lines Propertius (3.5.1) introduces a familiar elegiac motif, that of equating loves with war. The poet praises peace, a concept that the soldier-lover-erotic poet Gallus could express perfectly and further expand to the reality of the Roman wars whose end signifies a new peaceful era. The role of poetry as well is not to be neglected in the new era since Orpheus and Gallus also shared excellence in poetic inspiration. The *Eclogues* concluded with a conviction that sexual drive as well as martial ambition was doomed to failure, yet with an equally strong recognition that Love conquers all.[36] Vergil employed the words "labor" (Ec.10.64) and "cura" (Ec.10.22 and 28) to refer to erotic anguish, like Lucretius, but he also used the same words to refer to agricultural and military labour.[37] Furthermore, he used the word "labor" to value his own

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blurred.

[36] G. Luck 1973: 147-66 re-examined Warburton's views which were based on the Eleusinia of Ioannes Meursius (1579-1639). He remarked that book 6 of the *Aeneid* corresponds to Homer's *Nekyia* but there is a huge change in the mood. Homer's Achilles had thought it better to be the hired man of a poor Greek farmer that to be king of the dead. Vergil in his Underworld does not show this kind of gloomy atmosphere. There are two possible influences, which could justify this change: Platonism and the Mystery Religions. Numerous ancient authors refer to the Mysteries but they are all deliberately obscure or ambiguous; Pind.fr.137 (Snell), Soph.fr.719 (Dindorf = fr.837 Pearson), Isocr.Paneg.28, Cicero and Apuleius. Nevertheless, they all point to a message of hope beyond extinction and a promise of everlasting love. Pherecydes of Syros (c. 550 BC) wrote that Zeus, about to accomplish the creation, transformed himself into *Eros* (Procl.ap.Pl.Ti.156a, Diehl III). The argument will be illustrated below.

[37] See M. Gale 2000: 146-195 who pointed out that 'Virgil, like the elegists, exploits the double meaning of the terms *labor* and *cura*.' Lucretius referred to the anxiety of death DRN3.82 as "fontem curarum" while in DRN3.59-64 he used the word "labor" for the struggle for power that eventually led to the outbreak of the civil wars. As Gale quotes, in DRN5.1430-3, "curae" and "labor" are again associated with 'the underlying causes of aggression and war.' Gale indicates that Vergil employs these words in Lucretian terms in G.1.118-59, in G.2.61f., in G.3.97-127, which emphasise the link of "amor" with "labor" and in G.4.106-118 with a special link to the beekeeper. As in Roman ideology, in the Hesiodic corpus also

poetic work which will be discussed further on (Ec.10.1 quoted on p.305). In G.1.145 Vergil wrote:

> "…labor omnia vicit
> improbus et duris urgens in rebus egestas."

It is obvious that Vergil borrows his characterisation of labour from the elegiac idea of "Amor Improbus" and therefore, the nature of Love and of erotic labour as employed in the Vergilian corpus needs to be studied more closely; Vergil's admiration of the exalting power of Love was repeated in the third book of his *Georgics* where he discussed precisely procreation in animals and humans, still citing mythological exempla of irrational passion.[38] The only emphatically passionless "labor" in the *Georgics* seems to have been that of the bees in the fourth book of the *Georgics*, which were presented as a small militaristic community in total disassociation with their usual poetic values. It has been assumed that the failure of Gallus, the poet, to find consolation in Arcadia (like that of Orpheus), could be explained in the example of the bees which have rejected all poetic adventures for the common good of their society; they have exchanged poetic "labor" with quasi-agricultural "labor."

At this point, it should be stressed that the *Eclogues* and the

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work and labour can have both positive and negative connotations- "labor" like "amor" can be "improbus," shameless (see Gale ibid.: 62-3) but it could be argued that Vergil points to the criteria for judging between the positive and the negative "labor" by explaining the positive and negative aspects of "amor" in *Georgics* 3.

[38] See M. Gale 2000: 125 where she writes: 'Virgil alludes to the stories of Saturn (3.89-94) and Philyra (3.550ff.) and of Io (3.152f.) and the gadfly in a context which implicitly connects them with the dehumanising power of *amor*.' R. Coleman 1962: 61-2 argued that Gallus' death, unlike *Idyll* 1, is a metaphorical one. It is the familiar erotic *topos* of the consuming destructive power of love, and as such is linked closely with the *topos* of the lover's madness, the madness of divine possession that destroys a man's power to behave sanely and rationally but is capable also of transforming him into a poet. The legendary origin of the shepherd song lay precisely in the unhappy loves of Pan and of Daphnis. Also, cf. Pl.Symp.212B3 who argued that *Eros* supplies with an extraordinary energy to compose music, 'whether the music is philosophy, as in Plato, or singing and piping as it is in the pastoral' (T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 84); C.J. Rowe 1986: 135-41; also see ch2nn37-8 and 78 and ch3nn26 and 53; cf. ch1n253.

Georgics were often compared with each other, and cross-references have been employed extensively to interpret both editorial problems and difficulties in understanding Vergil's ideas in these works. The tenth *Eclogue* was often read in association with the second half of the fourth book of the *Georgics* which was regarded as an addition at a later date after Gallus' tragic death.[39] In both instances, Vergil was thought to have employed the example of Gallus as a medium of referring to his own poetic orientation as well as his social views.[40]

The association of poetry and love is a very old motif in literature, since erotic passion and poetic inspiration were included in the same category of uncontrollable feelings as madness and divine possession. In the third book of the *Georgics*[41] the destructive

[39] For a possible second edition of the *Georgics*, see the following chapter; T.G. Haarhoff 1960: 102-9 suggested that Vergil, based on the links of both Orpheus and Gallus with Egypt, tried to compare the two poets. According to Diodorus 4.25, Orpheus lived in Egypt, a legendary and distant barbaric land to Orpheus, the Hellene. So did, Gallus, the (Greco-)Roman; however, it might be argued that this view ignored significant parts of Orpheus' tradition like his famous association with inhospitable Thrace. Also, see R. Coleman 1962: 55-71 who argued that the second half of *Georgics* 4 included "laudes Galli" at two levels: 'first as in the sixth and tenth *Eclogue*, by allusion to the character and the content of Gallus' own work and secondly by the use of a traditional tale that is like the truth as a symbol for true tragedy, an expression of Vergil's personal feeling, a funeral lament for Gallus.' It is worth noting that Paus.6.20.18-19 also referred to Orpheus' adventures in Egypt and he went as far as claiming that his 'success in getting wild animals to come to him' was a result of his magical skills he acquired from his Egyptian masters; see M.W. Dickie 2001: 230.

[40] R. Coleman 1962 for example, interpreted *Georgics* 4 as an offering to the memory of Gallus who would have been especially pleased by the theme of a tragic story. Coleman even argued that Parthenius' collection of unhappy loves for the use of Gallus in epyllion and elegy was suggestive of Gallus' preoccupation with the mythological *topoi* of unhappy love. However, it might be argued that Gallus was simply following the Hellenistic fashion of composing epyllia.

[41] G.B. Miles 1975: 177-97. For the profile of Gallus as an enamoured poet, see J.J. O' Hara 1993: 12-24; for the (unsuccessful) involvement of magic in the case of Dido, see M.W. Dickie 2001: 138-9 (referring to Aen.4.493-4); also, see M. Gale 2000: 96-100, 139-40, 174-9, 221-2 and 262-4.

results of the passion of sex were described both for men and animals. It has been considered as a denunciation of sex similar to that which Lucretius composed in the fourth book of *De Rerum Natura*, and it was compared with the fourth book of the *Georgics* where bees, which were even called Quirites, were presented as emphatically passionless.[42] It has been suggested that the banishment of love from the Roman society that Vergil projected in the example of the bees[43] also reflected the banishment of poetry from such a society.[44] It was not perhaps accidental that the

[42] Arist.Hist.An.21. It has been suggested that Vergil treated the bees as a sort of human society; see J. Griffin 1985: 268-88. Note that the bees were often compared with Aristaeus in the way the latter proved to be very methodical in appeasing the gods; in *Georgics* 4 Vergil also presented the figure of the Corycian gardener whom he compared with the farmers (and therefore, with Aristaeus). However, in comparison to the farmer, the gardener enjoyed a non-violent relation to nature and he lived in relative isolation which was often viewed as a kind of freedom in which the farmers of the 1st and 9th *Eclogues* could not indulge. See C. Perkell 1981: 174-5 for the opposite view. Furthermore, although the farmer lived free from urban vice, his life excluded art or poetry cf. Aen.6.847-53 and J. Griffin 1979: 64-5.

[43] J. Penwill 1995: 29 for Roman society and bees. M. Gale 2000: 51, 228-9 and 266 argued that Vergil's admiration for the bees focuses on their amazing features that include abstinence from sexual intercourse, an ideal unachievable by humans. Also cf. Plato in the *Republic* exploits this popular image of the tyrant when he links pleasure to *hubris* and incontinence, asserting that the man given over to his pleasures is tyrannised by them; Pl.Resp.403a, 577d: cf. Resp.553c, 589d. In Resp.573a-b Plato wrote: "ὅταν δ' ἐλπίσωσιν οἱ δεινοὶ μάγοι τε καὶ τυραννοποιοὶ οὗτοι μὴ ἄλλως τὸν νέον καθέξειν, ἔρωτά τινα αὐτῷ μηχανωμένους ἐμποιῆσαι προστάτην τῶν ἀργῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτοιμα διανεμομένων ἐπιθυμιῶν, ὑπόπτερον καὶ μέγαν κηφῆνά τινα· ἢ τι ἄλλο οἴει εἶναι τὸν τῶν τοιούτων ἔρωτα;...τρέφουσαι πόθου κέντρον ἐμποιήσωσι τῷ κηφῆνι, τότε δὴ δορυφορεῖταί τε ὑπὸ μανίας καὶ οἰστρᾷ οὗτος ὁ προστάτης τῆς ψυχῆς."

[44] See A. Bradley 1969: 347-58 argued that the myth of Orpheus offered an alternative view of culture; Aristaeus stood for 'work culture' unlike Orpheus who stood for 'not productivity but creativity.' Therefore, he was doomed to die at the hands of a repressive civilisation represented by the Thracian Maenads; However, cf. A. Parry 1972: 51-2 stated Aristaeus' real need: 'the lesson which Aristaeus must learn to make his art viable, to attain by it a kind of immortality, is a lesson of poetry. Through poetry, grief becomes art, the condition for the recreation of life. The art itself is the 'resolution of man's confrontation with the absolute of death.'

Corycian Gardener, who had the gift of poetry[45] and enjoyed a non-violent relation with nature, was depicted as living in isolation which excluded the organised life of a city.[46]

Furthermore, the persona of the farmer, who posed as a new Arcadian master,[47] seems to go through a character evolution in the course of the *Georgics*;[48] according to the usual interpretation, the

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The poetry belongs to Orpheus. However, he cannot use his poetry to metamorphose his love and subdue his "furor;" he cannot come to a resolution and so he is unable to live. Orpheus sings out of instinct not art.

[45] C. Perkell 1989: 131-4 argued that the Corycian gardener represents 'a poetic ideal' and that he is a 'Golden Age figure.' C. Segal 1965: 255 observed that *Idyll* 7 'is not simply an autobiographical account but is primarily concerned with poets and poetry. Hence, in using it, Vergil may be suggesting that the farm and dispossession, however vivid and distressing in themselves, are parts of a larger issue, that is, the nature of pastoral poetry, and in a sense all poetry in a time of violence and disruption.'

[46] Note that Orpheus also had a pacifying effect on nature; on "urbanitas," see E.S. Ramage 1973: 65-72. The contrast between "urbanitas" and "rusticitas" was a Catullan commonplace and is of especial significance in *Carmina* 22 and 36. See M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 7-8 who argued that in Vergil the contrast between city and the countryside was viewed as the attempt to bridle unruly elements or forge neglected resources into a creative stability. J. Penwill 1995: 29 who examined images of the city in *Georgics* 4 argued that the fable of the bees alluded to Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, an allusion that Vergil repeated in *Aeneid* 6. It is also worth noting that the isolation preferred by the Corycian gardener and by Orpheus was also popular for magicians: F. Graf 1997b: 166-7 also quoted by S.I. Johnston 2002: 348n8 (cf. nn33 and 36); M. Gale 2000: 180-3.

[47] See T.J. Haarhoff 1960: 102 commenting on G.4.287; for Aristaeus' association with Arcadia, see ch5pp.383-385; cf. D.S. Wender 1969: 424-36 who argued that Orpheus failed in his quest, as analytically described in the following chapter, because he turned away from the hard and morally ambiguous life of the farmer, as lived by Aristaeus; his reward was the *Bugonia*, while Orpheus had to be dismembered in order to fertilise the earth. [For a balanced assessment of T.J. Haarhoff as well of his protégé W.F. Knight, see T.P. Wiseman 1992].

[48] Despite his thorough intention of giving agricultural guidance to secure a rich crop, Vergil underlines that sometimes piety and work are of no avail to the farmer. From the Black Country of Hell, the pale Tisiphone brings destruction and despair which men cannot oppose. Tisiphone was one of the Furies, an avenging spirit. See Homer, Il.9.454-

farmer, unlike Orpheus,[49] seems to have become more the master of his fate in the fourth book.[50] In addition, through the positive depiction of the bees' society Vergil promoted the image of a society in which the submission of individuality was the vital prerequisite of a common efficiency.[51] The society that Vergil

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7, 15.204, 19.259; Od.2.35, 17. 475. Aesch.Eum.835, Cho.290, 924. Eur.Orest.317ff., Orph.h.68.5.

[49] C. Perkell 1989: 26-7 associated Vergil with Orpheus and the farmer with Aristaeus. The poet and the farmer had 'different values, aspirations and sensibilities' and it might be argued that 'while, overall, the farmer's relationship to nature is one of domination and control in which he compels nature to ends that are productive to man, the poet's relationship to nature is characterised by harmony, song, and play.' She argued that the farmer represented Man and, more specifically, Roman man and that this symbolic function of the farmer was obvious in his totally anachronistic description in *Georgics* 4 (p.29): 'the effect of the anachronistic representation of the farmer, to the degree that it is of no practical use, is precisely to support the paradigmatic, symbolic value of the farmer as an individual, facing on his own the larger terms and conditions of mortal experience.'

[50] B. Otis 1964: 190-208 observed the difference in the styles of Orpheus and Aristaeus; Orpheus was empathetic, full of feeling and sympathy unlike Aristaeus who was objective, less emotional and less personally involved. According to C. Segal 1966: 307-25, Otis should have come to the conclusion that Vergil employed this technique in order to urge his audience to sympathise more with Orpheus and not with Aristaeus. It is not only that tragedy is more touching than success, but the suffering of Orpheus touches upon the greater complexities of the human condition and hence raises deeper questions. Orpheus was compared to a nightingale –victim of the "durus arator;" Segal saw in this comparison the depiction of Orpheus as a victim of Aristaeus, the man of action. Through Orpheus nature was given a voice that the poet managed to render back to it. The main differentiation of Orpheus from Aristaeus is to be found to the poet's unproductive way of life.

[51] It has been suggested that in *Georgics* 4 Vergil was concerned with the relationship of poetry with the traditional Roman values. According to the traditional Roman standards, Caesar's actions were glorious while Vergil's were not since he was just an idle poet; cf. "tua, Maecenas, haud mollia iussa" and "in tenui labor, at tenuis non gloria;" see J. Griffin 1979: 72. Vergil is identified with Orpheus who as a poet suffered from sloth; see E. Stehle 1974: 367-8: 'The poetry is Orpheus. But Orpheus himself cannot use his poetry to metamorphose his love and subdue his "furor;" he cannot come to a resolution, so is unable to go on living…There is no labour involved,

suggested lacked not only passion but also art.[52] As mentioned, although bees were traditionally associated with poetry,[53] in his text Vergil avoided any such connotation, and the Model State had to be prepared to exclude even the Muses.[54] The poet put humans in the foreground of a dilemma between an ordered corporate peace and the dangerous vulnerability of individuality as, of course, depicted in the tragic story of Orpheus.[55] Orpheus was usually

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only the force of magic and will.'

[52] A. Parry 1972: 35-52 suggested that in *Georgics* 4 Orpheus' grief for Eurydice became an eternal song which provided the necessary conditions for the recreation of life. The dark sides of life could be faced only through art; C. Hardie 1971 thought that the epyllion of Orpheus and Aristaeus stood for Vergil's own quest for poetic inspiration: he killed Oprheus within himself, that is, his excessive artistic ambition and managed to regain the honey of his poetic inspiration.

[53] Varr.Rust.3.16.7: "cum causa musarum esse dicuntur volucres;" Lucr.DRN.4.22: "Mousaio melle;" Hor.Carm.4.2.27 and Epod.1.19.44; Pl.Ion534b, Artemidor.Oneir.5.83; Theoc.Id.1.146. J. Griffin 1979: 64 pointed out that Vergil's bees make mere noise instead of singing. The bees were presented as indifferent to the bittersweet pains of love; see G.4.198ff; Ec.3.110. The *Amor* of the bees aims merely at productivity (G.4.177, 205) and they do not feel passion only the urge to work (G.4.198-9); the adjective "segnes" is important because if the bees were vulnerable to Venus, sexual desire, they would have become 'sluggish.' As they remain free from the involvement of sexual reproduction death holds no tragedy for them (G.4.206-9); E. Stehle 1974: 359.

[54] Anchises says something similar in *Aeneid* 6. For the bees as a model for human society, see J. Griffin 1979: 62-3: 'At one extreme, especially in Germany, some have felt confident that Vergil means his bees to represent an absolute model for human society.' Griffin felt it would be odd for Vergil to promote a social model with no sympathy or even understanding for figures such as Corydon, Nisus, Euryalus, and even himself. He pointed out that Vergil was probably ironical when he referred to the epic battles of the bees (Ec.4.86-7); C. Segal 1966: 307-25 argued that the significance of the bees lies in their similarity to and difference from man and man's political community. Also, see H. Dahlmann 1954: 547-62.

[55] At the end of *Georgics* 4 Aristaeus revived the bees and this was compared to Rome's regeneration by the saviour Octavian after the battle in Actium. On the contrary Orpheus failed since he was just an emotive singer. However, as it will be argued this logic seems to lack continuity especially since in *Georgics* 4 Aristaeus clearly relied on his initiative and his personal efforts in order to succeed the regeneration of the bees as much

regarded as totally swallowed up by his passion for Eurydice[56] and his failure was attributed to his weakness, the "furor" which suddenly took possession of him on the way to the upper world and made him look back on his wife's face despite the warning of Persephone.[57] Nevertheless, even if Orpheus is to be considered as a poet of love, totally carried away by his emotions, it would be a major omission on Vergil's part to disregard all other sorts of poetry such as that of Lucretius, who often poses as his pattern and, of course, Hesiod.[58] It is certainly true for Lucretius that

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as Orpheus did in his decision to visit the Underworld.

[56] C. Perkell 1989: 45-6 argued that the poet posed as the opposite of the farmer: 'the poet values useless song, is in harmony with nature and even nurtured by it.' He has surrendered to 'gratuitous and selfless pity,' an emotion the farmer cannot afford to indulge. However cf. Lucr.DRN.1.140-5, 2.730f. and 3.419f discussed by M. Gale 2000: 152-3 where she argued that Lucretius viewed the poetic "labor" in a positive way; also, see G.2.37 where Vergil compared the "labor" of the poet with that of the farmer. Gale ibid.: 186 writes: 'Poetry is seen here as a civilising force: the audience is to learn how to tame the wild and create beauty and order from the chaotic vitality of nature. There is a hint of Orpheus here too: in line 52, the reader is assured that wild trees can be tamed and will 'follow whatever course the farmer dictates to them.'

[57] J. Griffin 1979: 68 argued that altogether in the *Aeneid* Vergil depicted the Roman destiny as an austere and self-denying one, restraining "furor" and "superbia" and imposing peace and civilisation on the world. 'The bees presented him with a powerful image for the traditional Roman State in its impersonal and collective character.'

[58] C. Perkell 1981: 174-5 discussed the figure of the Corycian Gardener in *Georgics* 4 as the model for an idyllic life in accordance with the natural laws. She argued that Vergil could not enjoy the serenity and freedom of the Corycian gardener because he wished to understand the workings of the universe (G.2.475-82) or to be in Greece (G.2.486-9). The Corycian Gardener was also very aware of his poetic substance, which differentiated him from the farmer; 'despite their shared rural locale, the gardener embodies a spiritual vision, implicit in his continued happiness, which the farmer lacks.' Farmers are ignorant of how to live (G.1.41 "ignarosque viae") and do not know their blessings (G.2.458). R. Thomas 1999: ch6 examined the Corycian gardener with reference to Vergil's Alexandrian models. Apart from the heavy shadow of Theocritus (Id.7), Thomas suggested that Vergil might have had Philetas in mind. Also cf. ch3n94 for the identification of Lucretius' wisdom with that of rustic shepherds and farmers.

although he scorned in his poetry all kinds of "labor," he viewed poetry as a more dignified one (see n56). Vergil seems to accept the Lucretian appreciation of poetry because he began his tenth *Eclogue* by a reference to it (Ec.10.1):

"Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem."

Although Vergil did not associate the bees with poetry and Orpheus, he did employ them as the main indication of the return of the Golden Age both in the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*.[59] Therefore, it might be argued that Vergil wished to allude to a distant and greater past, which the bees had witnessed and still bore in their nature.[60] The bees were presented as tireless workers because they had rejected passion;[61] while in their opposite

[59] C. Perkell 1989: 139-40 argued that 'there is a tension within the poem, most clearly reflected in the poem's final book, between two types of knowledge and value. The one is materially useful and real, the farmer's knowledge…The other knowledge, the poet's, is not aimed at material usefulness, but, embodied in myth and mystery, it adumbrates a vision of the quality of human experience.' The *Bugonia* was designed to reflect this opposition: 'the *Bougonia* is unreal but true. The carcass of a calf, no matter how treated, will not yield bees; but *Bougonia* as an image, as a representation of the poet's vision of Iron Age existence - with its message of the brutality of success, of the cost of survival, of the pathos of loss - is true and thus reveals the limitations of the merely real.' (Note that *Bougonia* is Perkell's version of my *Bugonia*).

[60] S. Shechter 1975: 370: At G.4.149-52 Jupiter himself has granted to bees their idiosyncratic habits as a reward for feeding him during his sojourn in the cave at Mt Dicte. In lines 153-227, Vergil elaborated upon the 'inborn way of life' ("naturas") of the bees, which with "expediam" (ll.150), he has already promised to do (ll.147ff.). The author argued that the section at 149-52 was transitional but still Vergil evoked an *aetion* of Hellenistic fashion in it.

[61] Bees are recognised as the only animals that try to avoid the pitfalls of the animals of book 3. They do not indulge in sexual intercourse (G.4.197). Rather they find their offspring on leaves and grass. The initial sloth of love and by implication all its destructive repercussions are avoided. Death, too, they make no individual attempt to flee, preferring that the hive remain safe (G.4.203-9). However see E. Stehle 1974: 360: The bees have succeeded in recreating Golden Age plenty. [see bees "in medium quaesita reponunt" and cf. G.1.127: in the Golden Age men "in medium quaerebant"]. The bees are an inadequate paradigm for men: a.) their labour is not the conscious act of experience and understanding. b.) The bees are also subject to the inroads of decline upon which they need man's help

Orpheus was equally determined, adducing his endless energy from passion.[62] However, the artistic pattern of the honeycomb can be found both in Near Eastern and Greek tradition and it seems to be associated with death and rebirth, notions that certainly enjoy Aristaeus' attention in the fourth book of the *Georgics*.[63] It also seems that the bees along with honey and flowers were employed in Lucretius' work as symbols of Epicurean pleasure. Some clues for the understanding of Vergil's attitude towards passion (and consequently poetry) might be hidden in the third book of the *Georgics*.

Obviously in the third book of the *Georgics* Vergil understood how important the animals' reproduction was for the farmer, who relied on them for his well being.[64] However, it might be suggested

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(G.4.67-93). c.) They are totally dependent upon (G.4.212-4). Also, see J. Griffin 1979: 64; A. Parry 1972: 43 and B. Otis 1972: 58.

[62] E. Stehle 1974: 361 argued that in *Georgics* 3 'fertility is endangered constantly, and even love which should be a creative force, can express itself in sterility and destructiveness, so that it becomes allied to death, the completely irreversible decline.' M. Gale 2000: 186 is careful to underline the reference of Vergil's G.2.437-9 to the Lucretian verses DRN.1.926-50 where Lucretius takes pride in his poetic roaming through the "avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante /trita solo." Although Gale interprets the lines as opposite to Lucretius' claim in DRN2.37 (see n56 above), I think, that the poet here acknowledges the irrational "furor" of poetic inspiration as did Vergil in employing the deeply erotic motif of running in the wild, and wishes to offer a solution of chanelling frenzied energy in a creative way; cf. pp.191-2 of Gale ibid. where she reaches a similar conclusion. However, she views these tendencies in the poet's attitude as separate and not as aspects of a single nature.

[63] See B.C. Dietrich 1974: 119-127. Dietrich particularly refers to the cult of Artemis at Ephesus and that of Demeter whose priestesses where occasionally referred to as *Melissai* (cf. ch5p.354f.). In Hipp.563, Euripides compares Aphrodite who brings death to Semele with the bees. The bee is also particularly associated with Zeus as his nurturer, a story very popular in antiquity (as Dietrich remarks in p.120n307 we have it recorded as late as Ant.Liberal.Met.19). Finally, Dietrich quotes the myth of the Hittite god Telepinu who disappeared for a year until he was found by a bee as 'an interesting parallel of the connection between bees and the annually born male infant, symbol of vegetation.' For bees as symbol of the Epicurean theories, see M. Gale 2000: 182 (esp.n113).

[64] For the influence that Pindar might have exercised on Vergil especially as far as the proem of *Georgics* 3 is concerned, see R.K. Balot

that he also viewed animal and human sexual instinct as an extremely creative force that ruled all nature, in the way he concluded his tenth *Eclogue* with the realisation that love conquers all.[65] In the third book of the *Georgics* a young man's love was compared to the divine fury, which Dionysus imposed on the animals and possibly by analogy to humans as well:[66]

"Quid lynces Bacchi variae et genus acre luporum
Atque canum? Quid quae imbelles dant proelia cervi?"

Equally in the case of the mad mares, a goddess was to be held responsible, Aphrodite herself.[67] Hence, love not only had a quasi-divine nature, but it was also an important part of the nature

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1998: 83-94; cf. R. Thomas 1999: ch10, esp.270n11; Thomas argued that Vergil employed Pindar in his poetry mainly through the readings of Callimachus.

[65] E. Stehle 1974: 358-61; in *Georgics* 3, degeneration comes from personal emotions. The lioness abandons the cubs she already has to wander in the fields in search of a new mate (3.245-6). Animals turn savage. But the worst affected are the mares, who run wild on the ridges, conceive from the wind, and give birth to nothing more than the noxious *hippomanes* (3.271-83). Fruitful lovemaking is a labour for which the farmer must prepare the stallion (3.123-8). In book 3.464 the matter of death is discussed as part of deterioration. In G.3.66 the decline has affected vegetable nature and was irreversible through men's labour. Now individuals, man and animal, are involved. The story of Hero and Leander (3.258-63) pointed out that the Golden Age is no proof against the destructiveness of passion and death. Also, see ch1n191 and ch5n245.

[66] G.3.264-5; cf. M.C.J. Putnam 1979: 227. According to Plato, the truly wise man is the philosopher who cares nothing for the pleasures of eating or drinking or sex. He dishonours the body because its pleasures are enslaving. Intense pleasures and pains are called the greatest of the soul's diseases in the Timaeus and in the *Laws*, pleasure makes us the victim of a disease endless and insatiate of evils. Pl.Phd.64d, 65d, 66d: Ti.86b: Leg.714a. Though he is not as radical an absolutist rationalist as Plato, Aristotle still views the pleasures of taste and touch as 'slavish and brutish,' belonging to our animal natures: EN1118a-b, 1119b, 1095b.

[67] G.3.267-8: "…et mentem Venus ipsa dedit, quo tempore Glauci /Potniades malis membra absumpsere quadrigae;" see M.C.J. Putnam 1979: 199-201. Also, see G.3.245-8 for the impact of erotic desire on lionesses, an animal particularly discussed in ch1pp.34-5, 44-5, 83; cf. p.78. for lion(s) as a symbol of the procreation goddess (in the myth of Atalanta, the heroine is transformed into a lioness following her lascivious behaviour); cf. M. Gale 2000: 221-2.

of living creatures and more significantly a part which urged them to exceed their physical boundaries.[68]

Moreover, by repeating emphatically that the powerful urge of erotic passion ruled over animals and humans alike, Vergil defined man's place as a part of the natural cycle of life in which reproduction and death give way to each other.[69] The risky and

[68] B.S. Thornton 1997: 150-60; at Athens there was a temple of Aphrodite in the Garden which reflected the goddess' association with flowers, trees and vegetation. If marriage is a cultural technology, then the energy it uses is the sexual power of Aphrodite, the mutual desire of husband for wife and wife for husband that strengthens the household (Hom.Il.14.214-21). The flowers and fruit of the natural world, while symbolising the exuberance of youthful sexuality, suggested also the decay and death that are the warp to the weft of natural beauty. Agriculture provides the paradigm for coming to terms with this terrible ambiguity, this mingling of life and death. Through the ordering of the earth with furrows, some measure of control can be gained and the fertile power of nature tapped, just as marriage exploits the procreative power of women to provide citizens for the city. The rituals of festivals work to the same effect, binding sexual power in a communal civic order, even in a private festival like the Adonia: the mourning for the Adonis Garden thrown into the sea is an admission that unfulfilled youthful sexual beauty is a dead end, that the alternative to conception is death. In all these erotic technologies the awesome power of Aphrodite is channelled and limited, subjected to a larger order: the order of Zeus, the control of technology or the cult-metaphors of Sappho's poetic artifice.

[69] B.S. Thornton 1997: 130-2: 'The man who indulges in his lusts has made himself mortal Socrates says in Timaeus. But he who concerns himself with the love of learning and true thinking, exercising these qualities above everything else, must by necessity think things immortal and godlike, if ever he seizes on truth and as much as human nature can participate in immortality he must have a share in this.' See Democr.frr.40 and 189; Xen.Mem.1.6.10; 4.5.6, 10; Pl.Ti.90b-c; Arist.Pol.1260a, 1254b. Also, see Pl.Resp.485b-e where Plato claimed that the ideal man is 'the philosopher, the lover of knowledge, a knowledge that reveals eternal truth rather than the ephemera of the material world of change and decay.' Compare this philosophical idea with the Hesiod's definition of poets (Th.27-8 cited p.315). Also, see H. Fraenkel 1975: 303ff. who explained how the poetic tendencies of the late 6th century BC brought philosophical inquiries into lyric poetry from an early date. Note that M.W. Dickie 2001: 169-173, 202-5 and 208-212 referred to the philosopher cum magician Pythagoras. Therefore, the profile of poets, prophets and philosophers seem to have been easily conflated with that of

adventurous side of love had the unique potential of joining the vivid world of the living with the inescapable realm of the dead, and could perhaps anticipate and explain the quest of Orpheus for his wife.

> "omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque
> Et genus aequoreum, pecudes pictaeque volucres,
> In furias ignemque ruunt: amor omnibus idem."

Vergil turned the centre of his attention to humans and their advantage over the animal world in the fourth book of the *Georgics*, when Aristaeus managed to replace his bees, instructed by the gods. However, if Orpheus in his erotic disposition simply followed the natural law, then possibly this was the aspect of his character that Vergil wished to elucidate, perhaps even more than his actual emotions for Eurydice.[70] In the third book of the *Georgics* Vergil was occupied with two kinds of love: the fecundity of the carefully disciplined animals and the "amor caecus," which released violent and uncontrolled energies.[71] Hence, Vergil did not charge

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a magician, a person that possessed special /divine powers.

[70] C. Perkell 1981: 176 argued that a comparison of Orpheus with the Corycian gardener could illuminate further the significance of poetry and poets in the *Georgics*: 'Orpheus was passionate, dissatisfied and nostalgic like Vergil. "Amor" and "furor" precipitated his tragic loss of Eurydice, an unremitting torment to him. In his longing for Eurydice Orpheus became like Vergil nostalgic of an ideal past. (Eurydice should be regarded as the final embodiment of the meaning of the Golden Age). Through his music ("ipse cava solans aegrum testudine amorem," G.4.464) Orpheus' grief, austere and uncompromising, was preserved eternally as a memorial to the lost ideal….To place the Corycian gardener passage in this book was to point the contrast between the imperfect reality of both farmer and poet and an ideal of human existence, creative in pursuit of beauty at peace with nature and free from urban corruption. It was not the bees as often suggested but the gardener who embodied the ideal life.'

[71] M. Gale 2000: 96-100. B.S. Thornton 1997: 131: 'the philosophical goal is not to eliminate *Eros*, but to exploit its creative energy just as the farmer uses the fertile power of the earth, subjecting it to the technology of agriculture.' Plato argued that the human soul borrows many transformations from the animal world but it also has the 'lion,' which is not controlled rationally; it is the 'spirited element,' what makes us capable of experiencing righteous indignation or anger at injustice; Pl.Resp.588c-d, lion: Resp.439e-441c; Resp.440d; wolf: Resp.441a; Resp.589a; from this point of view, the importance of the lion as symbol of Near Eastern fertility deities might not be accidental (ch1pp34-5ff.). With regards to

Orpheus with falling in love, but with being unable to restrain his feelings. The obedient ox and the sober farmer managed together to channel their passion to work, and to trace the path to the New Golden Age in which the whole of nature found a different and easier existence. This was a necessary stage, since the New Golden Age was based on agriculture rather than divine providence, and on the farmer's ability to control nature. However, the farmer himself was also part of nature, and was often subjected to its laws like the bull and the horse, and therefore he should first manage to domesticate his own violent instincts. This could explain the military metaphor used by Vergil to describe the erotic adventures of the bulls and it complies with the message of the fourth *Eclogue* that wars and bloodshed would still highlight the way to the actual Golden Age.[72] Hence, in the third book, Leander driven by cruel love lost his life and equally Orpheus by submitting totally to his emotions provoked the reaction of nature personified in the revenge of the Maenads.[73] 'Arcadia' was not a carefree place

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"amor caecus" it is worth remembering that blinding was a common punishment for adulterers (cf. Daphnis, ch2n54); cf. M. Gale ibid.: 188 for the image of the soul as a chariot driven by emotional impulses.

[72] Also, see *Georgics* 2, esp.G.2.168-172 and 500-512. The book concludes with a reference to the Golden Age during which the sword had not been invented (ll.536-542). In ll.541-2 Vergil wrote: "Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus aequor, /et iam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla."

[73] In the later *Laws*, Plato argues that the temperate man will experience gentle pleasures and gentle pains, mild appetites and loves not partaking to madness. The licentious man will be violently excessive in his appetites, pleasures and pains, pursuing a love as maddening as possible. Cf. Pl.Leg.733b-734e; also, Resp.573a-c on the excessive nature of love (cf. ch1nn61 and 270 and pp.88 and 96f.; also see ch2n89 and App.Ip.459f.; cf. n43 above).this Platonic image sounds close enough to the Vergilian conception of the Corycian gardener. For the motif of falling in love to death, see ch2p.129f. The story of Hero and Leander, treated by Ovid in his Heroides (18 and 19), was placed just before the story of Acontius and Cydippe, discussed in ch1p.60f. In Ovid's version the stories of Endymion (Her.18.63), the Halcyons (Her.18.81 and 19.133), of Aurora (Her.18.111-112), Ino (Her.18.137), Medea (Her.18.157 and 19.175), Amymone (Her.19.131), Tyro (Her.19.132), Medusa (Her.19.134), Laodice and Celaeno (Her.19.135) are quoted by the two lovers as comparisons for the passion that they feel. In Her.18.149-53, a number of allusions to the stories of Callisto, Andromeda, and other loves of Dionysus and Zeus function in the same

anymore. Hesiod had already pointed out that even in the just city, which experiences the closest possible parallel to the Golden Age, conditions labour is still a necessity.[74] This double intepretation of "amor" could be applied to our understanding of "labor" in the *Georgics*.

VERGIL, THE BARD OF A NEW ERA

It seems that Vergil saw in Arcadia the environment that could provide him with pastoral, erotic, poetic and prophetic elements at the same time, and would therefore be the ideal host-country for his artistic path to self-awareness.[75] In this new order of things Vergil, who often compared himself to Orpheus and tried to assume some of his greatness[76] should accommodate, apart from his characters, his own poetic persona in the role of the bard who would sing of the new era.[77] In the fourth *Eclogue* Vergil not only

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direction. It is worth noticing that Hero is described as a Thracian maid (Her.19.100), therefore she could possibly be compared to Eurydice.

[74] See M. Gale 2000: 155. This division of love as well as a possible analogous division of labour sounds much closer to the Epicurean definition of pleasure; also see Gale ibid.: 181-3.

[75] Cf. P. Alpers 1979: 64: 'Virgil's shepherds regularly come together for song, and song is what unites them. But they and their creator understand that separation and loss are the conditions of their utterance, and the human connections their songs establish are felt to be real precisely because of this poetically self-conscious and sometimes sobering awareness.' Also, see M. Gale 2000: 244-5 who refers to the Epicurean ataraxia as a presupposition for the poet's inspiration.

[76] R. Buxton 1994: 179 pointed out a perfect idealised example of the power of Peitho in relation to the telling of a myth that can be found in Apollonius' *Argonautica*. One of the members of the Argonautic expedition was Orpheus, the peerless singer. To calm a potentially violent quarrel between two of the company Orpheus takes up his lyre. Similarly Vergil tried to soothe the wounds that the civil war had inflicted on his compatriots. See F. Graf 2002: 103 where he refers to Plotinus' association of magic spells with the effect of music: 'Thus, his explanation of magic by sympathy turns out to be a development of a psychological theory of magic: the sympathy on which magical acts rely functions only when the results of magic affect the non-logical, 'lower' parts of the soul.' Plotinus' understanding of magic clarifies the association of Orpheus with magic since his excellence in music already implies his power over the 'unconscious' or the 'irrational.'

[77] Cf. the end of *Eclogue* 4. D. Lyons 1997: 176 discussed the role of

sang of heroic deeds which would normally be placed in a glorious past, but he predicted the coming of the new era in the prophetic style of the ancient Sibyl, of whose words Vergil was aware.[78] Lyons remarked that Lucretius (G.1.102-6) 'lamented the ability of *"vates"* to fashion harmful 'dreams' for others:'[79]

> "Tutemet a nobis iam quovis tempore vatum
> Terriloquis victus dictis desciscere quaeres.
> Quippe etenim quam multa tibi iam fingere possunt
> Somnia, quae vitae rationes vertere possint
> Fortunasque tuas omnis turbare timore!"

Vergil seems to have been aware of the negative connotations associated with "vates" because in the third book of the *Georgics* (ll.491) he referred to the inability of the priest to avert a plague: "nec responsa potest consultus reddere vates." In addition, in the seventh *Eclogue*, Thyrsis, who introduced himself as a "vates" (ll.28),[80] was destined to lose the singing contest to Corydon and similarly in the ninth *Eclogue* Lycidas referred to himself as "vates" (ll.34) just before realising that poetry and song 'do not have the power to influence the real world that he once thought they did.' [81]

Vergil as poet-prophet in the *Aeneid* 7.37-41: "Nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora rerum, /quis Latio antiquo fuerit status, advena classem /cum primum Ausoniis exercitus appulit oris, /expediam, et primae revocabo exordia pugnae. /tu *vatem*, tu, diva, mone. Dicam horrida bella…."

[78] D. Lyons 1997: 177 quoted A. Kambylis 1965: 12-14 (and n2): 'In early Latin "vates" was given a bad name…The word was ennobled in the Augustan period to describe the poet in his inspired aspect.' See M.J. Petrini 1987: ch6 for the similarities between *Georgics* 4 and the prophecies in the *Aeneid*.

[79] D. Lyons 1997: 178; also see n6 where she cited J. Clay 1983: 222 and J. O' Hara 1987 regarding the meaning of the word "vates" which although primarily signified religious figures it also included poets secondarily. For Orpheus as a prophet, see ch5n128 and p.387. For the undermining of "vates" in Lucretius, see DRN.5.405-8.

[80] J. Van Sickle 1976: 502: 'In 7.28 Thyrsis claims he will become a "vates." His language actually echoes the fourth *Eclogue* as Servius observed (Ec.7.25, 27, 4.19, 49), so that his defeat implicates Four as well. He is a swelling poet who vows to erect a golden phallus in a modest garden: the effect is almost a parody of the rise of the golden race (Ec.7.36, 4.9).'

[81] D. Lyons 1997: 179; see J. Van Sickle 1978: 182-7 for a discussion on Vergil's treatment of the word "vates" in the *Eclogues*. Also, see D.O. Ross 1987: 214-33 for the role of Proteus in *Georgics* 4 as the all-knowing "vates" (G.4.387ff.).

In his ninth *Eclogue*, Vergil dramatised poetry's growing ineffectiveness in the years following the collapse of the Roman republic,[82] and the comparison of poetry with the Chaonian doves in the face of an eagle (Ec.9.11-13)[83] was indeed more than suggestive. The poem treated the growing 'failure of poetry as equipment for living,' that is a significant force in the lives of those who have heard it.[84] By the end of the poem, young Lycidas lost his faith in the ability of song either to move its audience to any significant action or to teach in any useful way. Yet Lycidas still expressed hope that song would be able to please. Lycidas' last hope was for poetry to function as an escape; he hoped that song, shared song, could create a moment of fellowship that itself could provide solace and pleasure, however tenuous or transient.[85]

It might be argued that Vergil in the fourth *Eclogue* wished not only to restore the prophecies of the old Sibyl, but also to cast a new meaning on the scorned and defamed role of the "vates" as treated by Lucretius.[86] It was not perhaps accidental that in *Epode*

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[82] A. Becker 1999 online: 'The eclogue enacts the failure of poetry to perform any of its rhetorical functions, for Moeris: it fails to move ("movere"), to teach ("docere"), or to please ("delectare"). When subjected to a political force that is unacceptable but also inexorable, Lycidas has found one sort of solution: to create a moment of fellowship, a friendship albeit temporary, with another, through song.'

[83] G. Zanker 1985: 235-7. On the weakness of doves in the face of a tyrannical and military force, Zanker mentions Lucr.DRN.3.752, Hor.Carm.1.37.17-18, 4.4.31-32, and Verg.Aen.11.721-724. Also note that dove was the sacred bird of Aphrodite who in the Iliad (Hom.Il.5.429) is rebuked by warlike Diomedes (cf. ch2n136).

[84] J. Van Sickle 1978: 576-603; M.O. Lee 1989; For *Eclogue* 9 of the *Bucolics*, see M.C. Giner Soria 1982: 337-344; J.T. Roberts 1982/3: 39-47; J. Ferguson 1988: 17-29 and W. Clausen 1994: 268: 'poetry fails in the end.'

[85] P. Alpers 1979: 63: 'there is a diminished confidence that poetic practice can restore presences or re-establish connections.' M.C.J. Putnam 1970: 294, points out that in *Eclogue* 8 poetry accomplished its purpose, it had the power to move. Also, see M. Gale 2000: 167.

[86] The regeneration of the bees symbolises the re-invention of the "vates" by Vergil; see W. Clausen 1994: 277-78; J. Ott 1998: 260-6 commented on Xenophon's (Anab.4.7.20) description of 'psychoactive honey poisoning.' During their famous retreat the Greeks encamped near Trebizonde in Asia Minor. Many soldiers ate liberally of honey found there and consequently 'lost their senses and vomited' and 'resembled

sixteen Horace employed the term "vates" precisely in a context where he offered to lead a group of Romans away from the horrors of the civil wars to the Isles of the Blessed.[87] It has been suggested that Vergil and the other Augustan poets 'saw in the unreliability of the "vates" and his associations with deception and illusion a fitting representation of the basic ambiguities and complexities of their work and the troubled political situation of the times.'[88] However, it

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drunken persons.' Pliny (NH21.45) also referred to the maddening effect of honey from this area which he described as *meli maenomenon* ('mad honey'). He also recorded (NH21.46) a medicinal honey from Crete, "miraculum mellis" or 'wondrous honey.' Ott also pointed out that the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* referred to *melissae* or bee oracles from Delphi's Mt Parnassos, who could prophesy only after ingesting *meli chloron* or 'green honey,' perhaps a reference to Pliny's 'mad honey.' It was assumed that 'these bee-oracles were the Pythia; hence psychotropic honey could have been a catalyst for the mantic utterances of the Delphic Bees. It is thought the source of *meli maenomenon* was Rhodeodendron ponticum L., which contains toxic glucosides called andromedotoxins or grayanotoxins found in other species of Ericaceae, notably Kalmia latifolia L., another plant whose honey has provoked poisonings.'

[87] Note that after a certain period the Golden Age was believed to exist in the isles of the Blessed; see S. Cole 2003: 193ff. for the role of the Elysium /Isles of the Blessed in the Dionysian /Orphic tradition; cf. Pind.Pyth.1.10-12: Even violent Ares warms his heart to Apollo's lovely music and conflict is resolved in the company of choral song. Also, see M.C.J. Putnam 2001: ch7 where he analyses the meaning of "carmen" in its original employment for any kind of ritual incantation with reference to the *Carmen Saeculare*. Putnam argues convincingly that Horace in this poem, written in a hymnic form, wishes to enhance the materialisation of the New Age by setting the conditions of its rise and by implying the qualities that should govern its *princeps* if he is bound to make the New Age happen. I accept that this is in general the concept on which Vergil is working in his *Eclogues* and this is the framework in which we are to understand his re-invention of "vates," whose wisdom can predict a glorious future after the heavy toll the Romans had paid during the civil wars.

[88] D. Lyons 1997: 181: '…when Vergil and Horace speak of peace or hope or happiness or freedom from cares, it is often with the scepticism of an age that had seen many promises broken, and many apparent settlements collapse. As they began to imagine (but not completely believe) that things could get better and that a poet could have some impact on this situation, they saw the appeal of the future of the "vates," who could prophesy a more optimistic future, and perhaps through his

might be argued that the term "vates" actually summarises in Latin what Hesiod had stated centuries ago as the true essence of poetry (Th.27-8):[89]

"ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
ἴδμεν δ' εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι."

Coleman, who examined the role of Gallus in Vergil's poetry in the hope of explaining the poet's choice to finish the fourth book of the *Georgics* with an epyllion,[90] argued that already in the sixth *Eclogue* Gallus was presented as the Roman Hesiod of the neoteric poets.[91] In the bucolic setting of the sixth *Eclogue* the song

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poetry's influence on society, could even help to bring about this better future. Since the "vates" prophecies, however, were traditionally associated with fantasy, dreams, and falsehood, they could be as uncertain or unreal as the poets' own hopes and expectations;' cf. M. Gale 2000: 127-8.

[89] See J. Van Sickle 1976: 496: 'Vergil does not refer to truth in his *Eclogues* unlike Theocritus. In the place of truth Vergil authenticates his prophecy by reference to the utterances of the Parcae (4.46-7), "fata," mere reflections thus of words- here an imitation of Catullus (64.327);' cf. S. Halliwell 2002: 62 where he comments on Plato's definition of truth beyond the mimetic skills of poets. For the eastern models of Hesiod's initiation to poetry and prophecy, see S. O'Bryhim 1996: 131-9; cf. C. Grottanelli 2003: 203-4 and 209 where he refers to Evenius and Epimenides who became seers due to their adventures as shepherds. For a comparison of Homeric singers and prophets, see ibid.: 214f. On page 215, Grottanelli wrote: 'The passages in which the *aoidos* and the *mantis* go together in Homeric and Hesiodic diction are too well known to be cited here; and the divine quality of *aoidoi* and *manteis*…was still stressed by Empedocles in the early fifth century BCE.'

[90] R. Coleman 1962: 57f. commented on the song of Silenus in *Eclogue* 6 which he regarded as a kind of catalogue of the themes favoured by the poets of the Alexandrian school, both Greek and Roman: 'It is as if Vergil were saying: Here are the subjects favoured by our neoteric poets, and set here in the midst of these subjects is the great master of the school, Gallus – your friend, Varus, and mine.' Notice that most of the themes included here appeared later in Ovid's Metamorphoses as well as in the works of Gallus' friend Parthenius (the lost Metamorphoses and the "ἐρωτικὰ παθήματα").

[91] It seems that the scene of Gallus' initiation to the Hesiodic poetry was drawn specifically from Gallus' own poem on the oracle of Apollo in the grove of Gryneum; cf. Servius' comments (ad Ec.6.72): "hoc [the tale of the grove] autem Euphorionis continent carmina quae Gallus transtulit in sermonem latinum." Indeed the phrase "Γρύνειος Ἀπόλλων" was used for the first time in Parthenius' lost poem on Delos (Steph.Byz.213.10). Gallus must have

of Silenus came as a surprise since he did not belong to this tradition.[92] However, Vergil seems to have underlined poetic substance as a condition that lacked a specific demarcation between fact and fiction and from this point of view the character of the legendary Silenus would be very appropriate to symbolise this borderline between reality and imagination. In addition, Orpheus also, the archetypal poet, should be included in the figures that waver between legend and universal truth.[93] The song of Silenus, who narrated the first creation of the world and its fall, had a diachronic value that can be compared with Apollo's song as well as with Orpheus', since they all share the same, invariable and universal truths (Ec.6.27-30):

> "tum vero in numerum Faunosque ferasque videres
> ludere, tum rigidas motare cacumina quercus;
> nec tantum Phoebo gaudet Parnasia rupes,
> nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orphea."

The proximity of Silenus and Orpheus seems to have been understood in antiquity[94] because the Song of Silenus as treated by

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been indebted to Parthenius' Δῆλος (ll.269-70), verses, which were also echoed in Verg.Ec.6.73. Propertius used the same motif in elegy 2.10 to say that he himself had not been initiated in the "Ascraeos fonts" but merely bathed by *Amor* in the waters of Permessus. According to Coleman 1962 (see previous note), that was because Propertius knew that he had not yet risen above the themes of personal love to the loftier and impersonal poetry of the etiological or epyllion genres (Catullus had attempted to make the leap and he was acknowledged not that much for his "nugae" but for his poems 61-8). However, Propertius' self-deprecation has an ironical character and its employment was almost a motif both for Alexandrian and Latin poets; the tone of the passage was reflected in Ecl.6.3ff. and in Callim.Aet.fr.1.21ff. Markedly, lovers employ the same motif of jumping into water for relieving their passion (e.g. ch2n265) which underlines once more the equation of lovers with poets (of love).

[92] Silenus, a forest sage, was connected with poetry and divination: Hes.Th.31-2; cf. Aelian VH3.18; cf. C. Segal 1981: 22-23 and 336-339.

[93] According to one of the stories about Orpheus' death, Apollo is charged with jealousy and anger because Orpheus' divinations attract more people that the visitors of his famous oracle. As remarked, Orpheus was a hierophant at Eleusis and therefore, he knew the secrets to a better life after death. As a theologian he 'knew the secrets of the universe – cosmogony and science-, and, he was also the father of the mythological song;' R. Coleman 1962: 58.

[94] C. Segal 1978: 106-42: on the one hand, Orpheus embodied the

Vergil in his sixth *Eclogue* sounded very close to Orpheus' role in Apollonius Rhodius[95] where Orpheus sang in order to calm down the quarrel between some of the Argonauts (cf. Hor.Carm.Saec. and Ep.16):[96]

> "Ἤιδεν δ' ὡς γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα,
> τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι μιῇ συναρηρότα μορφῇ,
> νείκεος ἐξ ὀλοοῖο διέκριθεν ἀμφὶς ἕκαστα
> ἠδ' ὡς ἔμπεδον αἰὲν ἐν αἰθέρι τέκμαρ ἔχουσιν
> ἄστρα σεληναίη τε καὶ ἠελίοιο κέλευθοι·

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ability to triumph over death by his art-music, poetry, language. The creative power of art allies itself with the power of love. On the other hand, the myth symbolises the failure of art in front of death. Antipater of Sidon (120 BC) writes in his epigram: "Οὐκέτι θελγομένας, Ὀρφεῦ, δρύας, οὐκέτι πέτρας /ἄξεις, οὐ θηρῶν αὐτόνομους ἀγέλας /οὐκέτι κοιμάσεις ἀνέμων βρόμον, οὐχὶ χάλαζαν, /οὐ νιφετῶν συρμούς, οὐ παταγεῦσαν ἅλα /ὤλεο γάρ· σὲ δὲ πολλὰ κατωδύραντο θύγατρες Μναμοσύνας, μάτηρ δ' ἔξοχα Καλλιόπα. /τί φθιμένοις στοναχεῦμεν ἐφ' υἱάσιν, ἀνίκ' ἀλαλκεῖν /τῶν παίδων Αἴδην οὐδὲ θεοῖς δύναμις;" see E. Stehle 1974: 366. Segal 1978: 106f. also argued that in the *Eclogues* Orpheus symbolised the capacity of poetry to evoke the sympathy between man and nature which is essential to the pastoral mood: 'The achievement of this Orphic poetry is to create the trust, peace and sensitivity in which man can listen to this music of nature and find a place for it in his own life amid the violence of war and the passion of love. But this is only a wishful dream, which like bucolic setting becomes a virtual symbol of the magic of this type of poetry.'

[95] P. Kyriakou 1994: 309-319 (esp.312): 'The song of Orpheus in Arg.1.498-511 ends with a succession myth which combines both Hesiodic and Pherecydean elements. Hesiod's succession myth, to which Apollonius undoubtedly alludes, is bristling with generational violence and it cannot be accidental that generational violence is used by Empedocles as the manifestation *par excellence* of cosmic *neikos* on the human level. [fr.124(137)];' cf. G. Zuntz 1971: 220-6. Orpheus employed the succession myth as an apotropaic exemplum for the quarrelling Argonauts, a reminder of the harmful effects of *neikos* on human life. It has been suggested that this clue reflected an analogy between cosmic and human *neikos* in Empedocles. However, one should bear in mind that the generational violence in Orpheus' song is by sex and not cosmic *neikos*; also, see L.S. Sussman 1978: 61-77 (cf. ch3n91).

[96] Ap.Rhod.1.496-515. On the nature of Peitho, which could be rhetorical, erotic, philosophical, poetical or political, see R. Buxton 1982. Also, Orpheus' song can be understood in effect as an incantation, especially since in line 515 Apollonius refers to it as "θέλκτρον ἀοιδῆς;" for the use of "θέλγω" in magic, cf. ch1n178.

οὔρεά θ' ὡς ἀνέτειλε, καὶ ὡς ποταμοὶ κελάδοντες
αὐτῇσιν νύμφῃσι καὶ ἑρπετὰ πάντ' ἐγένοντο·
ἤειδεν δ' ὡς πρῶτον Ὀφίων Εὐρυνόμη τε
Ὠκεανὶς νιφόεντος ἔχον κράτος Οὐλύμποιο·
ὥς τε βίῃ καὶ χερσὶν ὁ μὲν Κρόνῳ εἴκαθε τιμῆς,
ἡ δὲ Ῥέῃ, ἔπεσον δ' ἐνὶ κύμασιν Ὠκεανοῖο·
οἱ τὲ τέως μακάρεσσι θεοῖς Τιτῆσιν ἄνασσον,
ὄφρα Ζεὺς ἔτι κοῦρος, ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπια εἰδώς,
Δικταῖον ναίεσκεν ὑπὸ σπέος· οἱ δέ μιν οὔπω
γηγενέες Κύκλωπες ἐκαρτύναντο κεραυνῷ
βροντῇ τε στεροπῇ τε· τὰ γὰρ Διὶ κῦδος ὀπάζει.
Ἦ, καὶ ὁ μὲν φόρμιγγα σὺν ἀμβροσίῃ σχέθεν αὐδῇ.
τοὶ δ' ἄμοτον λήξαντος ἔτι προύχοντο κάρηνα
πάντες ὁμῶς ὀρθοῖσιν ἐπ' οὔασιν ἠρεμέοντες
κηληθμῷ· τοῖόν σφιν ἐνέλλιπε θέλκτρον ἀοιδῆς."

Vergil was often listed among the more conservative poets who supposedly shared the belief that in order to fulfil the model of the poet as a "vates" one had to go on to loftier kinds of poetry.[97] It has been argued that Vergil, who wished to rise poetically above mere erotic themes, tried to combine Orpheus and Hesiod in the way Gallus had obviously done. Therefore, the death of Orpheus in the fourth book of the *Georgics* could also offer literary hints to this direction.

In the ninth *Eclogue*, Lycidas was most surprised to find out that Moeris did not believe in the power of poets to change their world (ll.7-10). According to Becker, this stands as a clue that 'while poetry was expected to teach, and also to provide the pleasure of diversion, Lycidas' next lines show that song was also expected to move, to change both attitudes and actions.'[98]

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[97] See Ec.10 for the argument that Vergil composed pastoral poetry by reason of an unsatisfied love; cf. R. Coleman 1962: 62; also, see Seneca, Suas.3 about Ovid's Vergilian borrowings: "non surripiendi causa sed palam imitandi hoc animo ut vellet agnosci."

[98] Moeris replied to Lycidas (ll.11-13): "Audieras, et fama fuit; sed carmina tantum nostra valent, /Lycida, tela inter Martia quantum Chaonias dicunt aquila /Veniente columbas." A. Becker 1999 (online) continued: 'Moeris denies that poetry is an antidote to force, or that it could shield them from danger; in short, he rejected poetry's power to move. With Moeris' next words Lycidas heard that poetry was now so powerless that it took a lucky reading of a portent to save the beloved bard Menalcas (ll.14-6).' Lycidas still finds "solacia" to songs, which can create a "locus amoenus" as reflection of their perpetual "otium" of old.

"Certe equidem audieram, qua se subducere colles
Incipient mollique iugum demittere clivo,
Usque ad aquam et veteres, iam fracta cacumina, fagos,
Omnia carminibus vestrum servasse Manalcan."

It has generally been agreed that the tone of the ninth *Eclogue* was especially pessimistic for the role of poetry in the new era that was about to emerge and equally the end of the fourth book of the *Georgics* has been regarded as tragic. However, in the ninth *Eclogue* Vergil concluded with an affirmation that, even if Moeris does not find any consolation in the power and the pleasure of song, there will be better songs when Menalcas, the famous bard, arrives (Ec.9.66-7):

"Desine plura, puer, et quod nunc instat agamus;
carmina tum melius, cum venerit ipse, canemus."

Similarly at the end of the fourth book of the *Georgics* Vergil reported that the severed head of Orpheus would keep singing eternally. It might be argued that even if songs were powerless they did carry a memory of the world that had been as well as a vision of the world that would be, an idea deeply Epicurean, but derived from the religious piety that Vergil promotes.[99] Therefore Moeris would not sing with Lycidas (Ec.9.46-50) because the songs would remind him of the happiness that had been lost, while Vergil showed in effect that Orpheus could still move the audience with his tragic story.[100] Of course, the preservation of this memory was the task of an inspired bard, a station to which Vergil aspired.

[99] However, cf. E.W. Leach 1974: 208: 'For Lycidas, the present moment is everything;' see Lucr.DRN.3.964-71: "cedit enim rerum notivate extrusa vetustas /semper, et ex aliis aliud reparare necessest: /nec quisquam in barathrum nec Tartara deditur atra. /materies opus est ut crescant potera saecla; /quae temen omnia te vita perfuncta sequentur; /nec minus ergo ante haec quam tu cecidere, cadentque. /sic alid ex alio numquam desistet oriri /vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu," also quoted by M. Gale 2000: 49(also n93).

[100] Hence, it might be argued that songs in *Eclogue* 9 could at least keep one of their rhetorical functions, that was to 'move' the audience, at least emotionally; cf. A. Becker 1999 (online).

CHAPTER FIVE.

ARISTAEUS AND ORPHEUS IN *GEORGICS* FOUR

LITERARY REVIEW

Vergil employed the motif of the bees in every description of the Golden Age or its revival, both in the *Eclogues* and in the first book of the *Georgics*. In addition, the theme dominated the fourth book of the *Georgics*, where Vergil narrated the story of Aristaeus, the legendary founder of apiculture.[1] He was the first hero on whom the gods bestowed the *Bugonia*: the art of creating a new hive of bees from the rotted flesh of an ox.[2] According to Vergil, Aristaeus

[1] According to the earliest stages of the myth of Aristaeus, the master of honey had received an education which prepared him for a solemn marriage to Autonoe, the eldest daughter of the king of Thebes (Hes.Th.963-77). The alliance between the bridegroom and his father in law was sealed among other prestigious gifs with honey. Furthermore, Aristaeus was renowned for establishing harmony in conjugal relations; sweet honey could secure a married life free from adultery or seduction. P.A. Johnston 1980: 121-2 drew attention to the relation between Aristaeus and Acontius in Callim.Aet.75.32-4 (cf. ch1p.60f.). In *Acontius and Cydippe*, the oracle of Delphi informs Cydippe's father that Acontius was descended from the priests of Zeus Aristaeus. Acontius' ancestry made him a desirable husband for Cydippe; in Aet.30-1 their relation is described as mingling electrum with shining gold rather than lead with silver; cf. F. Cairns 1969: 131-4 and D.O. Ross 1975: 72.

[2] L. Morgan 1999: 17 argued that the *Bugonia* offers 'the key to an understanding of the *Georgics*.' C. Perkell 1989: 102ff. argued that throughtout the *Georgics* Vergil created replications of the Golden Age apart from book 4 where the bees were clearly compared to the human society without representing it. For instance, in book 3 Vergil described the life of the Scythians and the Noric plague which was perhaps designed as a reminiscence of the Golden Age especially since the Scythians were said to lead a life of leisure, but one devoid of feeling for fellow creatures.

had lost his bees, and in his devastation, he visited his mother, the Nymph Cyrene, for advice.[3] The latter instructed her son to consult Proteus,[4] the only divine seer who could reveal to Aristaeus the reason that the bees had deserted his hives.[5] During the Dog days, Aristaeus lay in wait. He managed to capture the sea-god while he

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The plague they suffered could be compared to end of the Golden Age; cf. Lucr.DRN.6.1090-1286. M. Gale 2000: 76-7 viewed the Norici as the example of a people so pious that they resorted to extremes in order to practise their rituals-therefore, in the absence of domesticated animals they yoke monstrous wild oxen. Equally, she sees (pp.224-5) the land of Scythia as a reversal of nature, which anticipates the plague in book 3.

[3] Cyrene and Aristaeus prayed to "Oceanus pater rerum" in G.4.380-3, an episode which L. Morgan 1999: 32-75 understood as an allusion to Homer. On page 75 Morgan suggested that Oceanus was intended as a 'physical allegory' to Homer (cf. ch1p.57). According to J. Farrell 1991: 272, Vergil wished to allude to Homer as a natural philosopher by identifying Aristaeus with Achilles in Hom.Il.1.345-427 and 18.22-137. Both episodes 'introduce passages that ancient critics regarded as allegorical cosmogonies' (cf. n6). For a counter-argument on Achilles' comparison with Aristaeus, see App.Ip.445f. where Achilles seemed to exhibit passionate attitude similar to that of Daphnis. Therefore, his temperament could be compared to that of Orpheus in the *Georgics*.

[4] The episode of Proteus is modelled on Homer's Od.4.384ff.; cf. G.4.401, 408, 528 with Od.4.407, 456, 570. There, Proteus advised Menelaus to make a propitious sacrifice to the gods. Perhaps this was the reason why in Vergil Proteus revealed only the reason of the divine wrath and not the solution, which was already known. Hence, Vergil dramatised the plot more by giving an extended role to Cyrene. At the same time, he created a comparison of Aristaeus' relation to his mother with that of Thetis and Achilles; cf. Hdt.2.112 and Eur.Hel.4. See P. Murgatroyd 1997: 286f. for Vergil's Homeric model in having Aristaeus' travel from Macedonia to Arcadia.

[5] L. Morgan 1999: 27 understood the episode as an allegory of Octavian's victory in the civil wars. He relied on the similarity between Proteus' capture by Aristaeus in G.4.387-529 and his seizure by Menelaus in Od.4.383-570, especially since both episodes are placed at a similar position. Therefore, he concluded that Vergil intended to style the *Georgics* as 'a Latin Telemachy, written of course, by a Latin Homer.' D.E.W. Wormell 1971: 429-35 and B. Otis 1972: 40-62 believed that Aristaeus stood for the sinful self-destruction, atonement, and revival of the Roman people. Life emerges from death and therefore Augustan restoration comes from the anarchy of civil war. Otis overlooked the possible ritual side of Vergil's treatment.

was taking his siesta at noon, and despite his various changes of shape,[6] the god was finally forced to reveal to Aristaeus that the extinction of the bees was the punishment for a serious offence he had committed.[7] Aristaeus had lasciviously pursued Eurydice, who in her attempt to escape him, had trodden on a monstrous water-serpent.[8] In desperation, her husband, Orpheus, went to look for her in the Underworld.[9] Aristaeus' visit to his mother, Cyrene,[10] has

[6] L. Morgan 1999: 89 interpreted the chains, which Aristaeus used to tie Proteus as an allusion to 'the cosmic *desmos* by which Zeus, *logos* or the active principle of Stoic theory ensures the continuing order of the universe.' However, he remarked (p.46n82) that plausibly the employment of the chains was not a Vergilian innovation but part of the tradition he inherited. On page 80, Morgan associates the Homeric transformations of Proteus with the four cosmic elements; cf. Ec.6 where Silenus is allegedly captured by fetters before singing of the creation of the world. J. Farrell 1991: 272 wrote: 'Vergil united in the Aristaeus' allusions the central themes of the Homeric poems as determined by the allegorical tradition that explained Homer as a poet of natural philosophy.' For the Latin elegiac imagery that often presented lovers as being fettered, see ch1n283 and pp.94-5.

[7] L. Morgan 1999: 41-4 remarked that in listing the animals into which Proteus changes in G.4.407f., Vergil replaced the panther and the lion of Od.4.456f. with a tigress and a lioness. He associated this with *Georgics* 3 about the "furor amoris," where a lioness (ll.245) and a tigress (ll.248) are placed side by side with a boar (ll.248: "aper," but in ll.255: "Sabellicus sus"). Just as the natural force of love seized these animals, in Morgan's view Aristaeus seized Proteus. By this, Morgan suggested that Vergil wished to compare him to 'cosmic powers of destruction.' However, one could assume that Vergil opted for the female animals for metrical reasons; E. Stehle 1974: 358 believed that the lioness symbolised the degeneration that erotic passion can effect on nature; cf. ch1p.78.

[8] See ch1n146 for Plato's views on marital sexual exclusiveness. S. Blundell 1998: 48-9 argued that adultery became a public offence for which the maximum penalty was death, while the wife involved in an adulterous relationship was punished by being barred from participation in state religious activities. Marriage was being accorded a high cultural profile and it had potency as a civilising force.

[9] E. Stehle 1974: 361: 'The Aristaeus-Orpheus episode, therefore, has the double burden of completing the thought of the theodicy (whose continuous reappearance in the poem has been noted) and of providing men with some bulwark against the pressures that pain of love and death bring. The epyllion is in fact the final formulation of the difference between the Golden Age and Iron Age worlds and reveals that the latter

been often compared with Orpheus' *katabasis* to the Underworld.[11]

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does provide men with a form of resistance as the former had not.' The interpretation of book 4 as a graphic opposition of the hard-working farmer (Aristaeus) and the slothful, pathetic poet (Orpheus) has been mentioned. This view relied mostly on the end of the Golden Age as presented in *Georgics* 1.121-4 and 133-45 where Zeus was said to have brought the end of the Golden Age so that humans would have to improve their skills and leave their Golden Age sluggishness. Vergil's view agrees with that of Euhemerus ap.Lact.1.2.32: "Item si quis quid novi invenerat quod ad vitam humanam /utile esset, eo veniebant atque Iovi ostendebant" and ibid.: 1.2.44: "Deinde Iuppiter…reliquit hominibus leges mores frumentaque /paravit multaque alia bona fecit" quoted by P.A. Johnston 1980: 69. For a detailed discussion of the differences between the Hesiodic cycle of the races and that of Vergil, see P.A. Johnston ibid.: 62-89.

[10] The complaints of Aristaeus to his mother Cyrene about the loss of his bees have been compared with Achilles' lament to Thetis in Hom.Il.1 and 18 about the seizure of Briseis and the death of Patroclus respectively. An equally important model for Aristaeus is Catull.64. Vergil fused epic and neoteric poetry in order to create something new and his technique was particularly obvious in the description of the bees which combined Callimachean rules and epic allusions ("reges et proelia"); cf. L. Morgan 1999: 96; also R. Cramer 1998: 210-12.

[11] The contrast between Aristaeus and Orpheus was often viewed as reflected in the contrast between Cyrene and Proteus. E. Stehle 1974: 365 argued that the difference in the characters of Aristaeus and Orpheus 'is mirrored in the difference between the two descents. Orpheus' descent is made by force of will and magic art and takes him to the region where prayers have no place (ll.470), a place whence he cannot bring life. Aristaeus' journey, in contrast, is to the source of rivers-givers of life-and made at the command of his mother, a goddess.' Nevertheless, magic is employed in both cases; cf. Gilgamesh's journey to the Underworld in N.K. Sandars 1960: 94-104 (= A.R. George 2003: 689-91, ll.167-206). Gilgamesh also had to cross the Ocean before coming to the place of Utnapishtim, whose wisdom secures the hero knowledge of the plant of everlasting life and his return from the dreaded Underworld (of course, the similarities between Gilgamesh's adventure and Heracles' labour at the Garden of the Hesperides are striking; cf. ch2n279). A. Bradley 1969: 355-58 and C. Segal 1966: 311-18 have both discussed the oppositions between Orpheus and Aristaeus. Generally, they concluded that while Aristaeus stood for productivity and control of nature, Orpheus stood for creativity and sympathy with nature. C. Segal ibid.: 321 tried to apply an analogous opposition between Vergil and Augustus; cf. M. Gale 2000: 52-6, 183-6, 230-1; in 231 Gale writes: 'Proteus metamorphic power, which

Persephone (Proserpina in Latin) moved by Orpheus' love and by his 'honeyed' voice agreed to allow him to take Eurydice back to the upper world.[12] However, on the way to the surface, dominated by his passion, Orpheus disobeyed the goddess' instructions and took a glimpse at his wife's face. Eurydice disappeared again in the shades of the Underworld, and Orpheus never found his old self.[13] He found tragic death in the hands of furious women who tore

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must be controlled by Aristaeus if the prophet is to be of any use to him …' Gale approaches the implications of the poem with sensitivity but is convinced of the chiastic opposition between the pair of Orpheus and the poet and that of Aristaeus and Octavian. However, the rejection of one of the two heroic personalities (Aristaeus or Orpheus) does not have to apply to different personas. In fact, if we are to take Vergil's association with initiation patterns seriously, then it could apply to one aspect of the Self; on the similarities of Orpheus and Aristaeus see below (p.365ff.).

[12] Aristaeus posed for the active farmer in contrast with the more passive Orpheus; see D. Wender 1969: 431-2; he thought that the farmer must of necessity violate nature in order to make it productive. E.M. Stehle 1974 would see the violence rather as part of the larger need to repress or correct slothfulness. This tension between the earth's 'downward' tendency and man's forcing it 'upward' to fertility fits well with the imagery of ascent and descent in the *Georgics*, to which S.P. Bovie 1956: 337-58 called attention.

[13] According to Ovid (Met.10.1-10), Orpheus lost Eurydice on their wedding day. C. Perkell 1990: 178: As Meliboeus, unlike Tityrus, failed to heed a warning (1.16-7) and take action when he went to Rome, so Orpheus cannot make accommodation to imperfect reality, but he wanders lonely in the woods singing hopelessly (even his severed head continues to lament). Ovid makes a mockery of Orpheus' extravagant mourning (cf. W.S. Anderson 1982: 36-50) but Vergil sees in it something authentic and true. Thus, he compares Orpheus to the nightingale, nature's paradigmatic singer, whose beautiful song is interpreted, at least by human auditors as sorrowful, as a lament on the irremediable loss of its offspring (G.4.511-15). Tragedy, beauty, and powerlessness are associated with both Meliboeus and Orpheus. A.J. Boyle 1986: 17 idealised Meliboeus. However, C. Perkell 1989: 139 argued that Vergil perhaps implied that the sensibility and imagination, which create beautiful song, are not fundamentally compatible with success in the world. She wrote: 'there is a tension within the poem, most clearly reflected in the poem's final book, between two types of knowledge and value. The one is materially useful and real, the farmer's knowledge...The other knowledge, the poet's, is not aimed at material usefulness, but, embodied in myth and mystery, it adumbrates a vision of the quality of human experience.'

him to pieces, offended by his obliviousness to anything but his wife's memory.[14] Aristaeus was left deeply repentant, and although Proteus revealed to him the reason for the loss of his bees, he did not suggest any remedy.[15] It was Cyrene who finally told her son how to appease the Nymphs, the companions of Eurydice.[16] He had to offer them a sacrifice of four bulls, whose flesh when rotted would, amazingly, produce new swarms.[17]

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[14] See Conon FGrH26F1.45 (cf. ch3n199 and 212) who presents Orpheus as the leader of a warlike society from which women were excluded. Their attack against the hero was just an effort to win their husbands back. D. Wender 1969: 433-36 thought that the "matres" fertilised the fields with Orpheus' limbs. She recognised the importance of fertility in the epyllion. She suggested that Orpheus represented the Orphic horror of the fleshly, which cannot cope with the demands of the physical world. Dirt and persistence are essential; success will come after failure. For an opposite view, which interprets Orpheus as the positive character, see A. Bradley 1969: 347-58. According to Bradley, Orpheus is released from aggression and controlling through sympathy until crushed by representatives of the work ethics.

[15] C. Segal 1966: 307-25: 'Proteus occupies the middle ground between god and animal and exists in a realm between myth and nature. He is connected with primal forces of nature and like them he is ambiguously both helpful and reluctant.' It might be suggested that Vergil included the image of Proteus here as an allusion to the various qualities that human soul can acquire from the animal world, as Plato had taught; see ch4n66.

[16] In G.4.553 Aristaeus sends funeral gifts to the dead Orpheus; cf. Sen.Med.630-33: "Thracios sparsus iacuit per agros, /at caput tristi fluitavit Hebro; /contigit notam Styga Tartarumque, /non rediturus." See M. Gale 2000: 55 who quotes C. Segal 1989: 24 on arguing that the contrast between Proteus and Cyrene or Orpheus and Aristaeus is that of poetry as a civilising means with poetry as a means of self-expression.

[17] The reference to the bees is very important because often scholars have seen in their example a model for Octavian's regeneration of the Roman republic. In addition, Vergil devoted more space to them than we might expect in a truly didactic work. The symbolic meaning of the bees is not to be doubted; Vergil alluded specifically to the Roman people (G.4.43, 155, 201). C. Perkell 1989: 115ff. objected the traditional interpretation of the bees as a reflection of the Augustan miracle. Her main argument was that the bees were militaristic little creatures that lacked sexual desire. However, it might be argued that the Romans were perceived as capable soldiers and often in Roman elegy a brutal soldier was depicted as winning over a girlfriend thanks to his money and not his feelings. In addition, Vergil was aiming beyond the society of the bees and

The association of Orpheus and Aristaeus has challenged scholarly interest for many years, since none of our existing sources had related the two heroes previously;[18] most often ancient authors would rather focus on the tragic fate of Orpheus.[19] Norden attributed the invention of the myth to Vergil.[20] Some other scholars[21] suggested that Vergil must have been influenced by a lost Hellenistic source.[22] However, the inclusion of the *Georgics* in the

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perhaps beyond the Roman society to a universal law that would suppress the wars and channel sexual desire to creativity.

[18] On the thematic relevance of the Aristaeus-Orpheus episode to the *Georgics* as a whole, see G.E. Duckworth 1959; S.P. Bovie 1956: 337-58. Also B. Otis 1964: 187-90 and 213-4 (also, see his Appendix: pp.408-13).

[19] G.E. Duckworth 1959: 225ff. and R. Coleman 1962: 55 agree that the conclusion of the epyllion was happy. Duckworth (p.233) stated that 'the episode of Aristaeus is the framework for the beautiful and tragic story of Orpheus and Eurydice,' which was undoubtedly the real focus of the reader's attention. The myth of Orpheus in the form in which it entered European consciousness is quite young. It was Vergil (G.4.453-525) and Ovid (Met.10.1-11.84) who narrated it in its canonical form. F. Graf 1987b: 80-107 argued that the earlier testimonies and the mythographers point to 4 different themes in this narrative: Orpheus' loss of Eurydice and his effort to fetch her back; the ability of his music to attract animals, trees and even rocks; his death at the hands of the maenads or of Thracian women, and the tradition about his severed head. These four themes account for nearly all the myths we know about Orpheus: a fifth theme attested at the earliest date is Orpheus' participation in the Argonautic expedition; cf. ch4n76.

[20] E. Norden 1966: 468-532. However, the Alexandrians seemed to have a strong prejudice against inventing mythological versions. See Callim.Ep.28 (Pfeiffer) with *Hymn* 5.56. Also, see fr.612 (Pfeiffer). It was so rare for a poet to invent details that when it happened it was immediately commented. Generally for the Hellenistic background of Vergil's work, see B. Otis 1964: 5-40 (also cf. nn31 and 32 below).

[21] U. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1955: 244ff (esp.n2). Also, see L.P. Wilkinson 1969: 325-6. P. Murgatroyd 1997: 286n3 rightly points out that 'in 4.318 "ut fama" implies some sort of earlier tradition.'

[22] C.M. Bowra 1952: 113ff. thought that Vergil deliberately chose or invented a more pathetic version. He suggested that Vergil and Ovid (cf. Met.10.1-85) used the same Hellenistic model. However, J. Farrell 1991: 17 argued that the epics of Vergil and Ovid 'on a grand scale' would not conform with the Callimachean principles; their allusiveness was based on a significant variety of sources which explains the character of all later Latin poetry and it mainly aimed at Homer.

Callimachean tradition has been problematic, because of Vergil's lack of clear allusions.[23] Furthermore, in the *Georgics* the influence of Lucretius' didactic poem on Vergil becomes more explicit.[24] As it has been argued, through the extensive imitation of Lucretius in the second and third books of the *Georgics*, Vergil established Lucretius' place in the tradition of didactic *epos* in which he intended to include his own poem.[25] Vergil used the agricultural

[23] S. Shechter 1975: 347 suggested that Vergil is compared with Propertius and Ovid only to be found more enigmatic: 'In Vergil's *Georgics*, on the other hand, the adaptations are hidden, and the analysis or appraisal of them may easily become elusive. Even if Vergil actually alludes to the Callimachean prologue now and then, he does not explicitly reveal an intention of imitating *aitia*.' See G.3.289-94; also see 3.8-15, 40f., fr.1.21-8. For the influence of Callimacheanism in the *Georgics* (esp. book 3), see R. Thomas 1999: 80-5 and M. Gale 2000: 15, 18, 186-94. The *Georgics* were subjected to the rules of intertextuality as much as the *Bucolics*. R. Thomas ibid.: ch5 examined the prose models of Vergil such as Varro, Cato and Theophrastus. Also, see ch8 where he argued that the motifs employed in the *Georgics* often originate from rustic songs and prayers.

[24] J. Farrell 1991: 93 argued that Vergil is engaged in a 'cooperative dialectic' with the text of Lucretius from which he often adduced themes, images as well as poetic mannerisms; cf. P.R. Hardie 1986: 235 referred to a 'closely-argued dialogue' between the two poets; also M. Gale 2000: *passim*. It might be argued that Vergil almost tried to interpret the *De Rerum Natura* in the *Georgics* which could be read as a philosophical discourse; see D.O. Ross 1987. However, see G. Kromer 1979: 19: 'While earlier didactic poets celebrate the efficacy of non-heroic virtues and actions Vergil counterbalances the attitude of the didactic narrator with that of the individual, thereby demonstrating the incapacity of didactic poetry to resolve the problems posed by individual suffering and death.'

[25] See J. Farrell 1991: 206 claimed that above all Lucretius introduced Vergil in interpreting Homer as a poet of nature (ibid: ch6, esp.319-26). In Farrell's view, Homeric imitation could be traced in the *Georgics*, especially in book 4 where the episode of Aristaeus takes place. In addition, allusions to Homer function programmatically since they 'elevate Vergil's notionally 'humbler' didactic discourse to a plane nearer that of heroic *epos*' and interpret Homer as a poet of natural philosophy. Vergil managed to place the *Georgics* within the (didactic) epic tradition about nature, which was founded by Homer and Hesiod and continued by Aratus and Lucretius. For Homer as a poet of nature, see Farrell ibid: 305-20 (esp.305-7) where he focused on Lucr.1.117f. There, Lucretius describes Homer's speech in Ennius as natural philosophical ("rerum naturam expandere

theme[26] of the *Georgics* as the frame in which he expressed his concept of the interdependence between humans and nature,[27] an essentially pastoral theme. The understanding of this rule should be the most important step towards the realisation of the new Golden Age.[28] Nevertheless, it has been accepted that the episode of

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dictis," ll.126). Also, see P.R. Hardie 1986: 69-83 (esp.83) where he suggested regarding the same text that 'the possibility arises that Ennius was of prime importance as a model for the combination of the cosmological and historical in Virgil.'

[26] Seneca wrote (Epist.86.15: "nec agricolas docere voluit sed legentes delectare." All the technical doctrine of agriculture could be taken more fully and more precisely from the Greek and Latin manuals on the subject, notably from the recently published work of Vergil's fellow-Italian Varro.

[27] C. Segal 1966: 307ff. argued that the fundamental theme of the *Georgics* was the relation between man and nature. The difficulty arises from the fact that man violates nature and *vice versa*. The tragedy of Orpheus is the tragedy of man and of civilisation. Unlike the bees, man cannot accept the conditions of life and nature, the fundamental facts of existence, and challenges death itself; thus, he even looses the fruits of victory because of "dementia" and "furor" (G.4.488, 495). Man finds the laws of nature brutal, unfeeling, unjust: "ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere manes" (ll.489) and for him life without sexual desire is but a form of death: "nulla Venus, non ulli animum flexere hymenaei" (ll.516). This line, of the doomed Orpheus, contrasts the happy activity and chaste energies of the bees: "nec corpora segnes /in Venerem solvunt" (ll.198-9). Orpheus is deeply human; he loves, suffers, and dies. What survives him is precisely that which arises out of his suffering and love, the echoing cry for his lost wife (ll.523-7). It has been argued that this ending does not promote the reconciliation between passion and work, "amor" and "labor," and therefore, the aforementioned interpretation does not comply with Vergil's optimistic teaching; cf. G.E. Duckworth 1959: 225-37. B. Otis 1964: 153-4 suggested that we could regard the 4 books as contrasting movements of a musical opposition: *allegro maestoso-scherzo-adagio-allegro vivace*. Also, it is notable that in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the homonymous hero found the plant of everlasting life in the bottom of a lake and kept hold of it very briefly before a water snake snatched away from him the 'the toils of his hands.' Gilgamesh, the notorious lover of Ishtar, who roamed all over the earth and in the Underworld in frenzied passion ("amor," perhaps) to solve the mystery of death saw his labours wasted because of a serpent. In addition, the theme of echoing is deeply erotic; see ch1p.98 on Prop.1.18; cf. ch2p.151.

[28] In addition, only if the *Georgics* are listed with the other products of the Alexandrian didactic tradition could the "laudes Galli" find a place in this

Aristaeus and Orpheus was composed in the fashion of the epyllion[29] so favoured by the Alexandrians and the Roman 'neoteric' poets.[30] Ovid had depicted Eurydice as dying of snakebite when out walking with the Nymphs on her wedding day, an "ἐρωτικὸν πάθημα" very much in the Alexandrian manner, and so nearer to whatever Greek model Vergil and Ovid may have been using. In addition, although the Alexandrians relished the more obscure corners of traditional mythology, there seems to have been a strong prejudice against the actual invention of any details in the stories.[31] However, Servius specifically pointed out the occasional liberties that Vergil took with certain details of the Aeneas story whenever his poetic conceptions required them.[32] In the case of the

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work. The challenge, which the Alexandrian didactic poets took up, was in fact to 'transmute the base metal of scientific and technical precept into the gold of poesy.' R. Coleman 1962: 63.

[29] Equally, it has been argued that in the *Eclogues* Vergil fuses together genres hitherto distinct, the Hesiodic and the *bucolic* tradition as observed in the *Song of Silenus*. However, it might be argued that in this feature as well Vergil simply follows -to his personal taste surely- the rules imposed by the Hellenistic poets. Theocritus had tried the same before him in his *Idylls*, which are anyway written in hexameters. For an opposite view, see J. Farrell 1991: 32-45; in G.2.176 Vergil argued that he would create an "Ascraeum Carmen." The author argued that the phrase 'refers, no less and perhaps more than to the poet of *Works and Days*, to Hesiod the ideal poet as conceived by Callimachus along with his Alexandrian and Neoteric followers.' He concludes (p.45): 'the sudden popularity of *ho Ascraios* in Hellenistic times is due to the active promotion of Hesiod as a conceptual model by Callimachus and his followers.'

[30] R. Thomas 1988: ad loc. argued that the Aristaeus episode functioned as a programmatic reference to Homer rather than a recognition of the Hellenistic re-working of Homer; cf. ibid. ad G.4.333-44 (Callimachean *Catalogues of Nymphs*); 4.363-73 (list of rivers); G.4.351-6 (the influence of Gallus); G.4.453-527 (the influence of Catullus poem 64). On the role of the 'neoteric epic' in *Georgics* 4 and particularly the influence of Catullus' 64 on Vergil, see A. Crabbe 1977: 342-51.

[31] For Vergil's Callimacheanism, see C. Segal 1981: 302 and 226; M. Gale 2000: 12-14 (esp.n12), 186-192, and 130-133; cf. R. Thomas 1979: 179-206 and 1986: 171-198 (cf. n20 above).

[32] See Aen.1.267; 3.46; 9.18: "figmentum hoc licet poeticum sit, tamen quia exemplo caret, notatur a criticis." On Servius' credibility, see T.G. Haarhoff 1960: 101-2; Servius proved accurate in his remarks about the relation of Augustus with Gallus. He quoted correctly that Augustus was in friendly

story of Orpheus and Eurydice in the *Georgics* Servius remained notably silent, yet another sign that Vergil did not invent a more 'pathetic' version of the story. A first hint about the connection between Aristaeus and Orpheus was given by the scholiast on Aratus:[33] "quem (sc. Aristaeum) Apollo fertur ex Cyrene procreasse, quam compressit in monte Orpheo qui Cyrenis appellatur." Coleman argued that Vergil would not need to establish any connections between the leading characters of the epyllion as long as a set of similarities or differences between the two would involve them in a dramatic relation.[34] It has been suggested that in the last book of the *Georgics* the poet wished to stress specifically the idea of "pietas:"[35] hence, Aristaeus atoned for his sin by the act of

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terms with Cornelius Gallus, a clue historically confirmed by the latter's meteoric rise in the political world. He also proved right in reporting that Gallus was later accused of conspiracy against the emperor as a result of which he perished. Servius was also aware of the friendship between Vergil and Gallus that was explicitly presented in *Eclogue* 10.

[33] The association relied on poetry's comparison with honey already established in Pind.Pyth.10.83. Also, see schol.Germ.Aratea 154, 15. The fact that Aratus recorded a previous name of the Mt Cyrene as Mt Orpheus could be regarded as another link of Orpheus with Egypt. Hence, Egypt might have functioned as a link between the two heroes since Vergil presented the Egyptians as exceptionally practising the *Bugonia*. R. Cramer 1998: 242-4 claimed that the choice of Egypt seems natural given the miraculous fertility of the country, which appears to be the appropriate geographical background for the similarly miraculous method of the *Bugonia*. Again on page 284ff. he stressed that there would no need for it to be linked to Octavian's final victory over Antony and Cleopatra; cf. M. Gale 2000: 229: 'The designation of the Egyptians as *gens fortunata* (4.287) already suggests a connexion with the Golden Age or the islands of the Blessed, and the mysterious flooding of the Nile which fertilises the land adds to the effect;' cf. nn260 and 265 below.

[34] R. Coleman 1962: 64 believed that the story of Aristaeus and Orpheus belonged to the second edition of the *Georgics*: 'however, there was apparently no necessity within the conventions of epyllion to establish any connection between the leading characters in the two different sections of the work, so long as the two narratives concerned could be brought into some dramatic relation of comparison or contrast as in Catullus 64.'

[35] For a shift in the *Eclogues*' orientation towards piety, see T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 125-6; C. Perkell 1989: 149 commented on the prayers that open and close *Georgics* 1. She argued that by asserting the need for

propitiation, whereas Orpheus set the seal irrevocably upon his misfortune by his disobedience to the command of Proserpina.[36]

Furthermore, the myth of Orpheus in the *Georgics* referred to a factual history explained in detail by Servius and his commentary on the works of Vergil.[37] It has been argued that the episode of Aristaeus and the myth of Orpheus and Eurydice were inserted in the second edition of the *Georgics* to replace a section in honour of Gallus, the poet-friend of Vergil and prefect of Egypt who was

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prayer and by praying, Vergil acknowledged 'the reality that technology is not, in fact, in complete control.' For the comparison of Aristaeus with Aeneas whose piety had a stirring role in his character in the *Aeneid*, see below (p.359ff.).

[36] B. Otis 1964: 190-208 remarks that Orpheus is fully empathetic, full of feeling and sympathy, while Aristaeus is objective, less emotional and less personally involved. Segal argued that Vergil designed the heroes' profile as such in order to urge the audience to sympathise with Orpheus and not Aristaeus. For C. Perkell 1989: 139 'there is a tension within the poem, most clearly reflected in the poem's final book, between two types of knowledge and value. The one is materially useful and real, the farmer's knowledge…The other knowledge, the poet's, is not aimed at material usefulness, but, embodied in myth and mystery, it adumbrates a vision of the quality of human experience.' Also, M. Gale 2000: 274 in concluding her book wrote: '…and at the conclusion of his work, the poet seems to identify himself more closely with the unpractical and uproductive singer Orpheus than with the successful farmer Aristaeus or the conquering hero Caesar.'

[37] C. Segal 1965: 255. R. Coleman 1962: 55-71 and T.G. Haarhoff 1960: 101-2. Servius commented on the possible discrepancy between the first and the second edition of *Georgics* 4 in *Eclogue* 10: "hic [Gallus] primo in amicitiis Augusti Caesaris fuit; postea, cum venisset in suspicionem quod contra eum coniuraret, occisus est. Fuit autem amicus Vergilii adeo ut quartus Georgicorum a medio usque ad finem eius laudes teneret, quas postea, iubente Augusto, in Aristaei fabulam commutavit." However, while in his commentary on the *Eclogues* Servius mentioned that the "laudes" were replaced by the story of Aristaeus, in *Georgics* 4 he prescribed the same role to the tale of Orpheus: "Sane sciendum, ut supra diximus, ultimam partem huius libri esse mutatam; nam laudes Galli habuit locus ille qui nunc Orphi continet fabulam, quae inserta est postquam, irato Augusto, Gallus occisus est." In the first comment, Servius was adamant that Vergil had altered the lines on the emperor's request. However, it should be also stressed that Servius did not refer to any specific edition. This could also signify a difference in the poetic text between the first time that Augustus heard the *Georgics* in Atella and the actual year of its publication.

forced to commit suicide after losing favour with Augustus.[38] It has been assumed that Vergil chose to tell this story because the adventure of Orpheus gave him the opportunity to make a discreet allusion to his departed friend and in particular to Gallus' conviction that passionate love was a central element in human life.[39] Servius' inconsistency in his commentary on the end of the fourth book of the *Georgics* has raised much scholarly debate,[40] although it is generally acknowledged that Servius probably regarded the two stories, that of Aristaeus and that of Orpheus, as inseparable. As already mentioned, it has been assumed that Vergil identified Gallus and himself as poets with Orpheus and his fate, while he aligned Aristaeus with Octavian as a symbol of success.[41]

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[38] Horace (Sat.1.6.54-5) claims that he first met Maecenas, the great literary patron and friend of the emperor, through Vergil. *Eclogue* 1, where the land expropriations for Octavian's veterans form the fictional background, refers to an "iuvenis" at Rome who graciously let Tityrus keep his own land, and many readers believe that Octavian is the youth being thanked. As the *Georgics* are dedicated to Maecenas, it is understood that by the time of the book's publication, Vergil enjoyed the friendship of Maecenas and Octavian himself. Donatus' life of Vergil (ch31) relates that upon beginning the *Aeneid*, Vergil was assailed by 'pleas and threats' from Augustus, who wanted to read whatever parts Vergil had completed. We know from the same source (ch35) that Vergil died while travelling with Augustus from Greece to Rome.

[39] J.P. Brisson 1966: 305-29. It was also suggested that Orpheus was employed as an example of *hubris*; an implicit criticism to the emperor. The chorus of the *Oedipus Rex* sings that excess /outrage (*hubris*) breeds the tyrant. Plato in the *Republic* exploits this popular image of the tyrant when he links pleasure to *hubris* and incontinence, asserting that the man given over to his pleasures is tyrannised by them; Soph.Oed.Tyr.872; Pl.Resp.403a, 553c, 577d, 589d.

[40] G.E. Duckworth 1959: 230ff. suggested that Servius confused the *Bucolics* with the *Georgics* here or failed to see through someone else's confusion. He wrote (p.235): 'the myth of Orpheus and Eurydice cannot be a later addition, as it is an integral part of the epyllion of Aristaeus.'

[41] Vergil intended to condemn Gallus' poetic limits as far as his thematic range was concerned, and stir the audience's sympathy for the modern poet who died in the steps of Orpheus. However, it must be stressed that in this case, the whole purpose of the *Georgics* would differentiate from a larger cosmogonic plan to a threnody for Gallus. This view sounds closer to G. Murray 1946: 228 who argued that the epyllion was composed for the sake of art: '[it was] a mere mythological *idyll* about

Indeed Gallus' death must have come as a shock to Vergil and Servius must be right in his information about the alteration of some verses.[42] Coleman suggested that the theme of personal tragedy that comes out of the central panel of the story reflected Vergil's own reaction to the death of his friend Gallus.[43] According to him,[44] Vergil could not be consoled effectively for his loss and

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things that were never done by people who probably never existed, with no reference to historical fact from one end to the other. A great piece of poetry is a piece of very noble living - that is of high intense and beautiful experience- and a source of noble living afterwards to those who read it.' The text was also quoted by R. Coleman 1962: 55.

[42] E. Coleiro 1971: 113-23 suggested that perhaps Vergil wished to have stressed that Gallus would have survived had he humbled himself like Aristaeus. R. Joudoux 1971: 67-82 totally ignored the friendship between Gallus and Vergil and argued that the latter intended to celebrate the supremacy of Augustus. T.G. Haarhoff 1960: 102-9 thought that the emperor could not afford to leave his enemies unpunished. Vergil did not refuse the imperial order to alter the end of the *Georgics* but felt that it was deeply unjust to his friend. Therefore, he substituted the poem with a subtle criticism against Augustus.

[43] R. Coleman 1962: 55-71. Moschus had also associated his grief for the death of Bion with the tale of Orpheus and Eurydice. At the end of his poem, Moschus promises to use his musical powers to persuade Persephone to restore Bion to him as Orpheus had once persuaded her to give back Eurydice (ll.115-26). It is the earliest extant reference to Eurydice as the wife of Orpheus. In Herm.Leont.3.1ff. the wife's name is Agriope. Bion's version does not necessarily imply that Orpheus was successful in restoring Eurydice from Hades, since he only says that he was able to persuade Persephone, a detail that most accounts do not deny. However, it does imply that music and Orpheus' enchanting words had a magical effect on the Queen of the Underworld; cf. ch4n39.

[44] D. Fowler 1989: 75-122 suggested that the modern methods of analysing the conclusion of literary works could perhaps be applied in the reading of ancient literature as well. He believed that this method of study could reveal objectively the author's intentions about the text (esp.79-82). Nevertheless, in 1997: 5-6 Fowler admitted that the reader's response to an ancient text is rather dependent on personality. Furthermore, he proceeded to criticise those who adopt a 'pessimistic' view on the *Georgics*: 'the choice between a reading that stresses unresolved ambiguities and one that tries to mediate and subsume them within a higher resolution is not simply one between a good liberal openness and anal-retentive boorishness.'

thus, his story rendered a sense of gloom.[45] However, the lack of evidence that a first edition actually existed makes it doubtful whether a second edition should be suspected at all.[46] Vergil wrote the poem within seven years 'while mighty Caesar was fighting in the Euphrates' (G.4.560), hence before Augustus returned to Rome from the East in August 29 BC. Gallus committed suicide either in 27 (Jerome) or in 26 BC (Dio).[47] Hence, if an initial edition of the *Georgics* was ever produced, it must have been in circulation for at least two years before the addition of the "laudes Galli."[48] Moreover, despite the mentioned order of Octavian, which Vergil had every reason to obey; nothing else is really known about its nature or its tone.[49] On the contrary, our sources confirm that Augustus was a

[45] The poet's attitude towards death was also evident in *Eclogue* 10 where Vergil made it clear that even in Arcadia the tragedies of love and death remain. R. Coleman 1962: 55ff. thought that *Georgics* 4 was an offering to the memory of Gallus who would have been especially pleased by the theme of a tragic story. Hence, Coleman believed that the second part of the *Georgics* embodied "laudes Galli" at two levels: first as in *Eclogues* 6 and 10, by allusion to the character and content of Gallus' own work and secondly by the use of a traditional tale that was like the truth as a symbol for true tragedy, an expression of Vergil's personal feeling and a funeral lament for Gallus. Also see A.J. Boyle 1979: 65: 'The pessimism of the *Eclogues* is pronounced. Often denied, that of the *Georgics* is yet evident.'

[46] Donatus, drawing on Suetonius, wrote that the *Georgics* were first read as Octavian was on his way home after the battle in Actium in the emperor's summerhouse in Atella. There, Vergil, who was then living in Naples, and Maecenas read the *Georgics* in turns, as the work was too long. Maybe this is the first version of the work to which Servius refers. Servius does not use the word "editio" or any other similar word.

[47] See J. Griffin 1979: 75; also see L.P. Wilkinson 1969: 69 and R. Syme 1939: 309n2.

[48] Ed. Fraenkel 1952: 1-9 argued that after Vergil's death there was an increased demand for his poetry, which was fed with so mediocre a composition as the Culex. In this atmosphere, it is unlike that somebody could have failed to unearth a valuable copy of a suppressed first version of such a great poem. At least Asinius Pollio would have kept a copy since he was a patron of Vergil at the time of the *Eclogues* and a friend of Gallus. Pollio to Cicero Fam.10.32.5: "Gallum Cornelium, familiarem meum."

[49] A significant feature of the portrayal of Octavian in the *Georgics* was the comparison between his deeds and the poet's own accomplishment (G.4.559-66). Vergil set up a contrast between the leisure that allowed him to write carefully and Caesar's active life. In addition, throughout the

characteristically clement emperor in his relations with his critics, and especially with poets.[50] In addition, he had a personal friendship with Gallus and he was reported to have publicly lamented his death.[51] These clues would serve to justify the view of scholars such as Otis and Wilkinson, who have convincingly argued that probably all that Vergil suppressed was a few verses.[52]

THE ROLE OF THE BEES

Nevertheless, regardless of whether Vergil did generate a second edition of the fourth book of the *Georgics* or not, the various interpretations have failed to promote the understanding of the myth of the *Bugonia*.[53] The possible allusions to the new society that

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corpus the prevalent theme of death and rebirth was seen as an optimistic celebration of Octavian's administration. The theme was introduced in the *Eclogues* with the apotheosis of Daphnis, developed in the *Georgics* through the instructions on farming and animal breeding, and treated more explicitly in Aeneas' visit to the underworld in *Aeneid* 6.

[50] Tacitus made a comment on the affair of Cremutius Cordus, under Tiberius (Ann.4.35): "egressus dein senatu vitam abstinentia finivit. libros per aedilis cremandos censuere patres: set manserunt, occultati et editi. quo magis socordiam eorum inridere libet qui praesenti potentia credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis aevi memoriam. nam contra punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas, neque aliud externi reges aut qui eadem saevitia usi sunt nisi dedecus sibi atque illis gloriam peperere." The incident with Timagenes (Sen.Ir.3.23.4-8) is also instructive of how moderate the emperor was with a writer that personally angered him.

[51] Suet.Aug.66.2. See B. Otis 1972: 45 and L.P. Wilkinson 1969: 111-3. See J. Griffin 1979: 75-6.

[52] M. Grant 1962: ch12 rejected the assumption that Vergil replaced the "laudes Galli" with this epyllion. He suggested that probably there was an early, lost *Descent of Orpheus* to the Underworld. Such *Descents*, in the eastern Mediterranean at least have a source in common with the Sumerian *Epic of Gilgamesh*. These adventurous journeys were undertaken in order to search for the dead and interrogate them for revelation of the afterlife. Plato sees such descents as temporary absences of the soul from its human frame.

[53] C. Perkell 1989: 17 argued that 'the *Georgics* is a deliberately ambiguous poem.' On page 82ff. the author also argued that the "laudes Italiae" of book 2 celebrated values which Vergil understood as ambivalent towards the traditional Roman values, especially the praise of the countryside (the typical place of "otium" which traditional Romans would scorn). Vergil's ambivalence was underlined by reference to the departure of Justice from this world (G.2.473f.) and by the allusion to Romulus and

Vergil may have aspired to in relation to the model of the bees have been already mentioned.[54] It seems that by employing the tale of the bees Vergil did not wish to make a statement about poetry only,[55] but he included poetry in the total of cultural values represented by Orpheus and Aristaeus.[56] His approach to these values tends to be essentially philosophical, as the rest of the chapter will argue.[57] In addition, in order to express his

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Remus (G.2.533), whose fraternal strife was for the Romans an archetype of civil war.

[54] L. Morgan 1999: 117-22 thought that *Georgics* 2.537f. and 4.284f. were associated. He viewed the reference to Remus and his brother in G.2.533 as an allusion to the fratricide that preceded the foundation of Rome: '... the death of Remus gestured at towards the end of book 2 is framed as an unqualifiedly disastrous event, an equivalent to civil strife: the myth of Romulus and Remus reflects the fratricidal nature of the Civil Wars. But in the immediate context of the *ktistic* preoccupations of the proem to book 3 explicated by Buchheit and the depiction of Octavianic power as the "victoris arma Quirini" (G.3.27), the killing of Remus must also be read as a prerequisite of the foundation of Rome;' cf. B. Otis 1972: 58 and A. Parry 1972: 43.

[55] T.G. Haarhoff 1960: 101-9 suggested that Vergil associated Egypt with the *Bugonia* as an indirect allusion to Gallus who might have treated a similar theme in his poetry and was a prefect of the province from 30 BC. However, his arguments are purely hypothetical and rather unconvincing.

[56] C. Perkell 1989: 75-6 argued that for the ancients the '*bougonia* is not a precept of verified and routine value;' in point of fact 'the less the practical value of *praeceptum*, the greater is its symbolic value'. However, precisely what is the symbolic value of the *Bugonia* in *Georgics* 4? According to Perkell, the *Bugonia* signified 'an exchange of death for life' (p.76). After all, the *Bugonia* does not restore life to the hive. Rather, it creates a new one. Since in the process of the *Bugonia* sacrifice was underlined Perkell argued that Aristaeus 'embodies the moral ambiguity of the Iron Age towards nature and other men' (p.80). By contrast, Orpheus' restoration of Eurydice, had it succeeded, would have represented a genuine resurrection of a unique individual. Orpheus desires Eurydice, not just a new wife. His achievement is, however, spoiled by his own "dementia" (ll.488). Both Aristaeus and Orpheus are flawed human beings.

[57] Also, see L. Morgan 1999: 107: 'Virgil ... presents the Civil Wars as a catastrophic cosmic dissolution, …but yet as a destruction which is the necessary prerequisite of the restoration of order.' Morgan believed that Vergil employed the picture of the Nile in G.4.287ff. as an allusion to the *Bugonia*: creation comes from destruction like the Egyptian river fertilises the "harena" by overflowing its banks. M. Gale 2000 disagrees with Vergil's

philosophical views Vergil employs and reworks ritual patterns, some of which were discussed in the previous chapters.

It has been suggested that the tale of the bees stressed the agricultural character of the fourth book and created a sequel both to the other books of the *Georgics* and to the *Eclogues*.[58] Johnston explained that the bees 'like Saturnus, also function as a bridge between the metallic golden age and agriculture.'[59] Furthermore, the bees, which were often regarded as an animal projection of the level that the farmer should aspire to,[60] could be viewed as the

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philosophical intentions in the *Georgics*: 'The hero of the *Georgics* is no godlike philosopher, pointing out the road that leads to salvation, but the poor farmer, ignorant of the way and unable to understand the blessings which he (at times) enjoys.' However, simple as he might be, the farmer (certainly not Vergil) can adduce knowledge from his Arcadian (quasi-bucolic, quasi-agricultural) tradition, which includes the 'mysterious' episode of Aristaeus and Orpheus.

[58] For the significant structural parallels and differences between the end of book 3 and that of book 4, see R. Cramer 1998: 240f.; cf. E.W. Leach 1971: 167-84. E. Stehle 1974: 355 argued that Zeus' theodicy separated men from their 'mother.' Then through the two books labour grew to a crescendo and gave way, as men matured, to revived mutual thriving. On the one hand, men aid nature and on the other, they make use of what she gives. Men are in control over nature, although they must still exercise art on the gifts of nature to make them helpful (G.2.440-4).

[59] See P.A. Johnston 1980: 90: 'on the one hand, they still enjoy some of the advantages, which were available to human beings during the metallic golden age. On the other hand, the fulfilment they achieve by practising their special skill, an activity in which they mimic, to some extent, the activity of the farmer, is an eloquent testimony to the satisfactions of agricultural life.' For an analysis of the 'degree to which the bees correspond to the golden race of Hesiod and of Vergil's fourth *Eclogue*', see ibid.: 91-105.

[60] P.A. Johnston 1980: 98: 'The superior bees, on the other hand, might be seen as a tiny version of an agriculturally oriented "gens aurea." The farmer merely disposes of those who fall short of that denomination, just as the gods, in Hesiod's account, disposed of the metallic golden race. Vergil does not seem to envision Jupiter replacing a lazy generation of mortals with one which was more energetic and dedicated, however, but instead to have forced the existing race to become as active and hard-working as these tiny bees.' Vergil referred to an inferior race of bees who having lost their leader end up destroying the hive (G.4.213-4): "constructaque mella /diripuere ipsae et cratis favorum."

embodiment of Jupiter's providence.[61] Stehle summarised Zeus' plan for humanity as follows:[62]

> *…here too is the justification for Jupiter's Iron Age world. By forcing men to become responsible for something outside themselves, he has saved them from excessive involvement with their own internal life. He has not given them a way out of death, but he has made it possible to escape despair and destructiveness resulting from the loss, to offset the loss with new fertility. Not all men accept the burden of caring for the earth: those at the end of Book 1 and the city-dwellers at the end of Book 2 do not. They are in a way trying to live a Golden Age life, self-centered and irresponsible, in a world which no longer tolerates such attitude. Thus they come to grief. Vergil points the way to salvation: through emotional commitment to responsibility for nature, which can be regenerated, man has a bulwark against the human, emotional decline and sterility of the Golden Age world.*

The golden bees, like the active farmer, were liable to restore Justice through hard work and technological advance.[63] In G.2.35

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[61] S. Shechter 1975: 370: At G.4.149-52 Jupiter himself has granted to bees their idiosyncratic habits as a reward for feeding him during his sojourn in the cave at Mt Dicte. At lines 153-227, Vergil elaborates upon the 'inborn way of life' ("naturas") of the bees, which through "expediam" in line 150, he has already promised to do (ll.147ff). The section at ll.149-52 is thus transitional. Yet, it also evokes an *aetion*. On pages 362-3 E. Stehle 1974 argued that Vergil was not interested in the effects of a life of ease on men who were thrown out of the Golden Age, but in the effects on men living in the Golden Age itself. Instead of Daemones Vergil employed Jupiter; in the first instance, the Daemones had to abandon men in order to initiate their creativity, in Vergil's version Jupiter had to interfere so that men could shake slothfulness from their nature.

[62] E. Stehle 1974: 69; cf. M. Gale 2000: 83-6 and 161-6.

[63] M. Gagarin 1973: 81-94; cf. I.S. Ryberg 1958: 112-31. See J. Farrell 1991: 253 who argued that the bees confirmed Vergil's pessimistic view of the world. When Homeric heroes were compared to bees, they were going to war (especially Il.2.87-93). He concluded: 'the sound of bees, moreover, is mentioned only twice: when they swarm - i.e. when they go to war - and when they are sick. It is at this point, when their warlike nature succumbs to disease and death, that the bees are most frankly Homeric. It is at this point too, when the hive has been irrevocably lost, that we must learn how to acquire a new one;' cf. M. Gale 2000: 174-175 who argued the equation of "labor" and "amor" as well as "labor" and disease in *Georgics* 3; it could be said that the warlike "labor" of the bees is equally condemned by Vergil (cf. n27 above and see ch4n37).

Vergil addressed Maecenas:

> "quare agite o proprios generatim discite cultus,
> agricolae, fructusque feros mollite colendo,
> neu segnes iaceant terrae."

The reason why the earth should not be allowed any idleness is given a few lines later (G.2.47):

> "sponte sua quae se tollunt in luminis oras,
> infecunda quidem, sed laeta et fortia surgunt;
> quippe solo natura subset."

The emphasis was on the exuberance of nature, but the farmer's techniques were still necessary to bring the trees to fruition.[64] More allegorical approaches to the role of the bees in the fourth book of the *Georgics* often interpreted the tale as a reflection of the death and rebirth of Roman society that had experienced the traumas of the civil war(s);[65] the bees stood for the coming of age

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[64] W. Liebeschutz 1968: 30-40. Stehle 1974 claimed that the farmer's relation to nature could not be an external one; he must know the processes by which nature works. This is why Aristaeus' journey to Proteus is so important that it overshadows the giving of "praecepta." However, see R. Jenkyns 1998: 340: 'the opening topic leads to a remark about Jupiter's severity, which proves to be much more than a remark, as out of it springs a great vision of human progress which rises to a climax, twists, turns, and falls again, back from god to man, from past to present, back too to that familiar tone of wry, dour irony which was never quite absent even when the declamation was at its height.' Cf. p.314 where Jenkyns claimed that bees were just bees.

[65] J. Farrell 1991: 257-65 rejected Servius' claim that the second half of the *Georgics* was a replacement of the praises in honour of Gallus, and suggested that the text functions as a literary and philosophical allegory. He compared *Georgics* 4 with Aen.1.742-46 where Iopas also sang a didactic poem concerning natural philosophy. Farrell argued that the song of Iopas alluded to the songs of Demodocus in book 8 of the Odyssey. Demodocus' second song referred to Ares and Aphrodite as representations of Love and Strife, the basic cosmic opposites of Empedocles theory (cf. Lucretius). Farrell claimed (p.260): 'we are therefore justified to infer that Vergil followed this tradition by substituting Iopas' overt cosmogony for Demodocus' 'allegorical' one.' Love and strife symbolised rebirth and death. This is the process mirrored in the lives of the bees, especially through the *Bugonia*: 'the *Bugonia* holds out the possibility of rebirth, just as the story of Orpheus and Eurydice acknowledges the forces of oblivion' (p.265). Proteus, furthermore, offers Aristaeus (and Menelaus in Odyssey 4) the possibility of a *nostos* - a type of

of a nation destined to conquer the world.

Furthermore, the *Bugonia* was also associated with the primal error of Prometheus or Lycaon and its expiation. By terminating the Golden Age Zeus established religion and the need for piety that was normally expressed through sacrifice.[66] In the fourth book of the *Georgics* Aristaeus was the first to appease the gods with the method of the *Bugonia*. At the same time, he was the first to apply the theodicy of Zeus and successfully restore the beehive, which should be viewed as a symbolic recreation of the Golden Age state that men enjoyed in the Age of Saturn.[67] In his description Vergil seems to have combined elements from two traditions regarding the end of the Saturnian (Cronian) reign: one that related to Cronus' overthrow by Zeus and one that narrated humanity's fatal error which both in the cases of Prometheus and of Lycaon was associated with the sacrificial code.[68] Although Hesiod was rather

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rebirth; cf. D.S. Wender 1969: 424-36 (esp.434). See ch4p.305-6 for the association of the bee with death and rebirth.

[66] Based on the phrase "caesis ... iuvencis" (G.4.284 and 2.537), L. Morgan 1999 paralleled the killing of the ox, a prerequisite of the *Bugonia*, with the killing that had put an end to the Golden Age. However, the phrase occurs often in the Vergilian corpus: G.3.23: "caesos ... iuvencos;" Aen.8.719: "caesi ... iuvenci;" Aen.3.369 and 5.329. Also, see Nic.Ther.367f. and Ap.Rhod.2.516f. where the Etesian winds were interpreted as the divine response to a sacrifice by Aristaeus; cf. Ap.Rhod.2.513-5 and G.4.317 ("pastor"). For Aristaeus' profile as a culture hero, see below (pp.343, 372f.).

[67] L. Morgan 1999: 108 referred to 'the accession to power of Jupiter and the first consumption of beef' in G.2.536f. as features of the Iron Age. Vergil seems to have also included war in the disasters of the Iron Age in G.4.539f. The poet offered three plausible reasons for the loss of the bees. Perhaps they died of hunger and disease (G.4.251ff, 318-19), they vanished because of Orpheus' animosity (G.4.453) or by the anger of the Nymphs (G.4.533-4). Vergil assumed that the bees disappeared either of natural cause or because of divine wrath. Hence, it might be argued that (at least some) of the bees in Vergil's account suffered from the symptoms of the Iron Age. In addition, Vergil stated that the bees were fighting with each other, a clue possibly alluding to the civil war that was so fresh in his memory. From this point of view, the bees like those who conducted the civil bloodshed were perceived as sinners (see ch4n54 and pp.300f.; cf. n60 above). Thus, Vergil suggested that they should be eliminated.

[68] L. Morgan 1999: 165ff. argued that Vergil deliberately contrasted

vague in specifying the chronological order of the two events, Vergil already in the *Eclogues* had identified them with each other.[69] However, the tales of Prometheus and Lycaon were essentially allegories that could explain human progress towards civilisation and communal life. Above all, they aspired to interpret human nature and its laws, the necessity of death as an inevitable symptom of mortality, and the frightening experience of decay.[70] These tales

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the killing of the ox with the Canopians, described just before as sailing happily in their small painted boats, as well as with the image of the spring that followed. His intention was, according to Morgan, to present the killing of the ox as a metaphor for civil strife. In other words, Vergil wished to state that, even in the worst condition of decay, there is still hope for recovery. However, such an explanation would leave the tale of Orpheus lacking a fundamental *aetion* for its inclusion in the *Georgics*. Morgan (pp.184-93) suggested that the death of Orpheus could be explained as an allusion to an ancient mystery cult [cf. J. Chomarat 1974: 185-207]. Orpheus stood for Dionysus, whose dismemberment was followed by his rebirth. Orpheus acted as a sacrificial animal and fertilised the earth with his limbs; he, therefore, counterbalanced the agricultural activity of Aristaeus. Cf. D. Wender 1969: 424-36. As argued below, Morgan seems to have reached a potent conclusion although he follows a different line of argument.

[69] Note that while the sacrificial meal of Lycaon altered permanently the character of the relation between mortals and immortals, Arcas, Lycaon's grandson, was believed to have made up for the transgression of his generation by introducing people to the basic principles of civilisation. The same ambiguity between perceiving a culture hero's initiative as beneficial to the races of people yet as a sign of impiety towards the gods is found in the tale of Prometheus. The identification of the two events already sets the basis for the comparison of Aristaeus with Prometheus that will follow.

[70] The fear of old age had dramatically nourished the imagination of archaic lyric poets; Mimn.1 mourned that man in his old age becomes less erotic, a shadow of his ardent youth. He often has to experience disgrace as a lover as Anacreon testified (poem 358). Sappho was most anxious about growing old: "]χρόα γῆρας ἤδη /]ν ἀμφιβάσκει /]ς πέταται διώκων." Hellenistic epigrammatists seem also very concerned with old age, which they described, in very physical terms. In their work ageing is often used as a threat towards arrogant lovers or frivolous courtesans. See Nicias Anth.Pal.6.122; Alcaeus of Messene Anth.Pal.12.29 and 12.30; Callim.Anth.Pal.5.23. For the dilemma of dying young and beautiful or have a long life and experience ageing, see Mimn.2. Theognis (ll.1069-70b) advised people not to weep for the dead, but for the loss of youth; For

constituted a theory that investigated the conduct of humans with the divine and regulated it, mostly through sacrificial formulas.[71] The possibility that Vergil understood the *Bugonia* as a cultural and religious revelation that could challenge the old theories and prepare the soil for a total restoration of the Golden Age needs to be examined.[72] His familiarity with a range of Greco-Roman texts and several eastern ideas (at least) has been discussed throughout this book. His allusiveness and intertextuality, his interest in religion and philosophy and the intensive cultural syncretism of his age point to a deeper ideological stratum, which Vergil possibly employed in the 'obscure' fourth book of the *Georgics*.

In his independent tradition, Aristaeus was renowned as a

Menecrates in Anth.Pal.12.138 old age was like poverty one of the misfortunes which Zeus sends to humans (cf. Thgn.173-182).

[71] The Greeks prohibited strictly birth, death, and sexuality from sacred places in order to emphasise the gulf that separated the nature of god and man. The birth and sexual adventures of the gods were celebrated in religion, but gods do not die. It was accidental that Golden Age myths often stressed that originally there was neither sexuality nor death. R. Parker 1983: 66-70; cf. R. Buxton 1994: 149; Hes.Op.735-6; sexual activity belonged to life and should not be introduced into situations associated with death. To mix the two was regarded as sacrilegious; equally, death-pollution could be effaced elsewhere by ritual copulation. Empedocles saw sexuality as characteristic of the flawed world of strife. For example, the blessed cattle of the sun are not born and do not die (Hom.Od.12.129-31). See also the criticism of Xenophanes who complained that Homer and Hesiod had attributed to the gods everything shameful and a reproach among humans –theft, adultery, and lying. Xenoph.DK21fr.11, frr.14-6; Pl.Resp.378bff; also cf. Soph.fr.623N; Eur.IT391; Ion 441-51; fr.292N; fr.606. The association of sexual activity with death (or premature death) in metaphoric terms as well in Hesiodic terms has been discussed in ch2p.135ff.(esp.n120).

[72] The association of each of the heroes with honey and its implications with regards to poetry and agriculture have been already investigated. However, it seems that Vergil wished to allude to a ritual aspect of the bees and their symbolism, which could explain better why he did not mention the association of the bees with poetic inspiration. It might be argued that Vergil saw in the story of Aristaeus and Orpheus a reflection of the cosmic laws that rule humanity. This study will examine the bees in association with Aristaeus, Orpheus, and Eurydice from a ritual point of view and see how this theory could reflect the interaction of the persons as described by Vergil.

solemn husband and a pioneer beekeeper, two qualities that belong together.[73] Aristaeus had sealed his marriage with honey and its importance along with fruits in the wedding ritual was well established;[74] Aristaeus posed as the ideal protector of marriage because of the conventional association of procreation with agricultural advance.[75] Furthermore, in antiquity the ability to control the productivity of the earth was highly esteemed and was believed to reflect the personality of the farmer.[76] Farmers were

[73] Bee keeping was extremely important since the Palaeolithic times. The culture of the bees seems to be as early as the Mesolithic period. Solon (Plut.Sol.23.8) introduced a law with regulated bee keeping. Greek towns and the Ptolemaic Empire introduced special taxes on bee keeping and organised enterprises for honey production. Different methods of bee keeping and breeds of bees were developed mostly in the centuries between Alexander and Augustus. Arist.HA5.21-2; 9.40; Gen.an.3.10; Varro Rust.3.16; Colum.Rust.9.2-16; Plin.HN11.4-23. In addition, bee keeping was included in the agricultural tasks and as a result of the Hesiodic tradition it was believed that the farmers made the best of citizens. Socrates in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* (6.10) argued that farming was held in the highest repute among the Greeks, for it created the best citizens and the most loyal to the community.

[74] Fruit signifies abundance and fertility specifically in the context of agriculture, for fruit grows in the orchards created and nurtured with technological skill. In the end of Aristophanes' *Pax*, Trygaios marries Opora. Their wedding song celebrates the return of peace in terms of the fertility of the fields and sexual exuberance, both contained by the cultural orders of marriage and agriculture: rich harvests, granaries full of grain and wine, plenty of figs (sexual fruit *par excellence*), and wives who bear offspring; see ch1n150.

[75] The metaphor of ploughing to describe conjugal sex made the parallelism of marriage and agriculture explicit (see R. Parker 1983: 239esp.n18; C. Calame 2003: 71-4). References to marriage included sowing arable land or referring to a woman as 'a furrow' as when the chorus of *Oedipus Rex* wondered how his father's furrows (Iocasta) could bear such an outrage as incest (Soph.Oed.Tyr.1210-11). Women were often described as yoked with reference to getting married, which highlights marriage as a technology that uses and limits the natural power of sex as symbolised by the horse. Eur.IA1148-63; Eur.Or.558.

[76] Or actually to be reflected in the personality of the farmer ("Tellus iustissima;" see W. Wili 1930: 59-64, cited by P.A. Johnston 1980: 102n10 argued that Vergil's Golden Age is a reflection of "Iustitia"). The *Oeconomica* of Pseudo-Aristotle (Arist.Oec.3.2, also, cf.1.4; Xen.Oec.10.9) focused

expected to show exemplary sensibility in the control of their instincts,[77] because agricultural tasks were parallel to dealing with the divine.[78] Bees were believed to be asexual, and to hold conjugal faith in special honour,[79] while the comparison of a dutiful wife with a bee was as old as Semonides.[80] Adultery in Greece was

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particularly on the male fidelity which he requires as necessary for a household to flourish. Commenting on the sexuality of women, the writer suggests a moderate passion, so that the wives neither importune their husbands nor are agitated when they are gone, equally content when they are home or away. Also, see B.S. Thornton 1997: 179.

[77] See R. Parker 1983: 77; in Hdt.1.198 Babylonian spouses were described as purifying themselves after intercourse before touching any household utensil. In addition, the planting and harvesting of the olive, bee-keeping and the preparation of food were performed according to Roman agricultural writers, by children, or the abstinent or only after purification (olive: Pallad.1.6.14 ("Graeci iubent"); cf. Colum.Geop.9.2.5-6; bees: Colum.Geop.9.14.3; food: Colum.Geop.12.4.3). Unfortunately, we cannot be sure of the provenance of these rules. The Hellenistic agricultural treatises that to some extent lie behind the Roman writers had undergone non-Greek influences, and cannot be assumed to reflect primeval lore (Colum.Geop.12.4.2 asserted Carthaginian influence).

[78] In Hom.h.Dem.305-7 the goddess is depicted as presiding over the fertility of land. In addition, her protégé Triptolemus was depicted as one of the 'ministers of law' (ll.473), (A. Kleingünther 1933: 6-7, 18-9) rather than as a recipient of agricultural skills. Cf. Callim.h.6.19-21; these lines are descriptive of the permitted cutting down of Demeter's property and the rewarding of the pious. The counterpoise (32f.) is the depiction of the misconduct of Erysichthon in chopping down a tree situated in Demeter's precinct and the punishment the goddess metes out to him for his crime.

[79] Ar.Thesm.787-99; Arist.Gen.an.553a; Plut.Mor.144d; Semon.fr.83-95E. The late 2nd cAD naturalist Aelian said that a bee would attack a man who has recently come from 'excessive intercourse' and Plutarch advised the beekeeper to be faithful to his wife or he would have to face the anger of the bees. It seems that the bees had a great distaste for excessive smells: see Arist.Byz.Anec.Graec.2.23.2-8 (Rose); Arist.HA9.40 and 6.26aff., Theophr.Caus.pl.6.5.1. The bees' detestation of perfumes was explained as a sign of their hatred for effeminacy and hedonism and of their particular hostility towards debauchees and seducers, who would normally, misuse ointments and aromatics; see Ael.HA5.11 and Cass.Bass.Geop.15.2.19.

[80] Cf. Semon.fr.7.108-11E for the bee as a symbol of a good wife; B.S. Thornton 1997: 170; The 6th century BC poet Phocylides in his catalogue of beast women, similar to that of Semonides, defines the bee-woman as a

described in terms of pollution, and adulterers were banned from religious life.[81] Sexual irregularities were seen as sources of religious dangers and punishment was manifested in the form of a disease or crop failure, as in the case of Aristaeus.[82] Therefore it seems that Vergil drew from the long tradition that associated the bees with abstinence and agriculture with marriage, in a religious context in which a solemn marriage as the nucleus of a civilised society should promote order and facilitate the contact with the divine.[83]

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good *oikonomos*, housekeeper. (h.Dem.156; Hippothoon fr.6 (Nauck), Phoc.fr.3 (Edmonds); Ar.Eccl.211-12; cf. Lys.567ff., Pl.Leg.805e.

[81] R. Parker 1983: 95; Eur.Hipp.408, 420, 601-6, 653-4, 944-6, 1165, 1172, 1266; Or.575, Hel.48 (cf. Hec.366); Anth.Pal.3.5.2; Men.Sam.507; Hes.fr.176.7. The verb "αἰσχύνω" was also used to denote rape.

[82] Hesiod (Op.706-64) also explained disease as a consequence of crime. M. Douglas 1966: ch10; R. Parker 1983: 95-6. The worst automatic punishment for sexual crimes would be an attack by bees; hostile to sexuality in any form, they especially abhor adulterers, and sting them savagely, disgusted by their smell; Plut.Quaest.Nat.36 (Sandbach); Orestes described his mother's adultery as a strange /peculiar wedding without self-control. He defined Clytaimnestra's wedding with Aegisthus as an anti-marriage since it lacked by definition the essential quality a woman should bring to a legitimate marriage, sexual self-control. That Aristaeus should be understood as an adulterer in this context was confirmed by Servius who in his commentary ad G.4.317 specifically referred to the hero's intention to seduce Eurydice and even to his attempt to assault her ("stuprare," "vitiare").

[83] As mentioned (ch1nn125 and 209, ch2nn119, 120, 123, pp.135f.), in antiquity women were regarded as lacking any sense of sexual control (also see App.IIp.465f.); however, a good wife had an essential role in bringing modesty at her household; Eur.fr.543, 909 (Nauck); Ar.Lys.473; Arist.Rh.1361a. According to Xenophon in the *Oeconomicus*, Ischomachus and his wife received similar advice from their parents that they need *sophronein*. The dialogue, which also refers to farming, associates the control of *Eros* and the economic order of the household. Sexual self-control is a part of a larger rational control over the appetites, one leading to the flourishing of the household. This same need to control the appetites determines an important criterion for selecting a housekeeper and an overseer of the farm –such workers need to control their desires for sex, eating, drinking, and sleeping. To describe the important function of the wife in the house Ischomachus repeatedly uses the bee metaphor. The bee, well known for its supposed chastity, symbolises the devotion to marriage that apparently both husband and wife need to show. See

Aristaeus' relationship to the civilising process (in which the bees symbolise the highest level),[84] as well as his punishment as accounted by Vergil,[85] seem to reinforce the unity of the fourth book with the rest of the *Georgics*. In addition, his involvement with the *par excellence* couple of Orpheus and Eurydice seems to make more sense if we accept that Vergil intended his audience to take into account the tradition of Aristaeus.

In the ritual festivals that the Greeks had instituted to celebrate the bestowal of cultural techniques on humans and on the heroes who had introduced them, the bees played a significant role.[86] Bees had an important role in cult,[87] and they were especially

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Xen.Oec.3.12, 3.15, 7.12 (cf. 19); also 7.13, 7.14, 7.15; cf. 9.11, 12.13-4. See also R. Parker 1983: 175-7.

[84] P.A. Johnston 1980: 102-3; in G.4.540, 551 the combination of bee and cattle, the one growing out of the other reflects Vergil's notion that the new Golden Age can be renewed through agriculture. The bees symbolise the Golden Age, while cattle symbolise agriculture. At the close of the poem a new hive of bees emerged and assembled into the shape of a grape cluster (cf. G.2.454). Those primitive bees were part of a more primitive but nonetheless agricultural existence; the life once lived by "aureus Saturnus." The highly symbolic art of the bees seems to suggest that earlier, idyllic life of *Georgics* 2 can now be repeated largely as a result of the information Vergil has revealed through his poem. The next Golden Age, however, will be more advanced technologically for the farmer continues to benefit from the accumulated wisdom of his predecessors who not only carry on the tradition but also develop new skills for posterity. Aristaeus' greatest advance is his discovery of a means of cultivating a new hive of bees. Agriculture symbolised by cattle will provide the economic basis out of which will grow a new, agriculturally oriented, golden race.

[85] In the *Laws* (733b-734e), Plato argued that the temperate man would experience gentle pleasures and gentle pains, mild appetites and loves not partaking of madness. The licentious man will be violently excessive in his appetites, pleasures, and pains, pursuing a love as maddening as possible; see B.S. Thornton 1997: 130-4. Indeed the youthful and maddening cases of love that were examined in chs1p.54ff. (esp.pp.67-103*passim*) and ch2p.127f.(esp.nn89-90) seem to agree with Plato's definition of the passionate man.

[86] In addition, the religious associations of honey were derived from the notion that it is a "ros caelestis," which bees gathered in the upper air as well as from flowers (Arist.HA5.22, 55, 329). As celestial, it possessed mystic virtues; for example, honey from Pontus was poisonous and it was

associated with Zeus who had acquired the epithet Melissaeus;[88] according to tradition, Rhea gave birth to the god in a Cretan cave sacred to bees that were his nurses.[89] Ancient authors decreed that

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thought to induce madness. It was used in libations for the dead and in literature is often given to infants to impart numinous qualities such as wisdom or eloquence. Bees fed the infant Plato with honey (Cic.Div.1.78). Even the father of the gods was believed to have been nurtured with honey and thus, he was often addressed as Melisseus. For the association of Aristaeus with Zeus, see below. With regards to the Pontian honey note that in Verg.Ec.8.95-99 Alphesiboeus is casting a spell on Daphnis with Pontian herbs to which he attributes amazing abilities, even of charming sown corn away to other fields; cf. ch2p.194f.

[87] J. Ott 1998: 260-6; according to tradition the Delphic oracle was revealed by a swarm of bees, and the Pythia or divinatory priestesses in Delphi's temple of Apollo were affectionately called 'Delphic Bees,' while virgin priestesses of Greek Goddesses like Rhea and Demeter were called *melissai*, 'bees;' the hierophants *essenes*, 'king bees.' Great musicians and poets like Pindar were inspired by the Muses, who bestowed the sacred enthusiasm of the logos, sending bees to anoint the poets' lips with honey (H.M. Ransome 1937). Some hold the vatic revelations of the Pythia were stimulated by inhaling visionary vapours of henbane, Hycscyamus niger L., issuing from a "fumarole" over which the Delphic Bees were suspended, and into which the plant had been cast.

[88] However, there are several links between a Cretan cult at Mallia associated with bee keeping and the worship of the goddess Artemis at Ephesus (R. Barnett 1948: 21). Gold ornaments in the form of bees were found in the foundation deposit of Artemision and bees are represented on the city's coins as its emblem. It is less well known that bee keeping was an inheritance from the Hittites by whom it was certainly practised since a passage in their code of laws prescribes penalties for stealing a man's hives. Certain Hittite mythological texts make clear the religious ideas underlying this Ephesian symbolism. Barnett ibid.: 131-3 employed the habits of the bees as explanation for the practice of eunuchdom of the goddess' priests; cf. ch1n172.

[89] See N. Robertson 2003: 220f.; R.F. Willetts 1986; cf. Hes.Th.453ff. In addition, it has been assumed that the Curetes, who also posed as Zeus' guardians, represented ancient beekeepers that attracted the bees into their hives when they swarmed by their rude music of drums and clashing shields and spears. The interpretation could easily apply to the Corybantes as variants of the Curetes or when Cybele is substituted for Rhea. The story that Zeus was fed by bees or honey can be correlated with the variation that Nymphs, retaining the title of Bees, *Mellisai*, performed the same office. It has been assumed that the dance of the Curetes was part of

Melissa had been the title of the priestesses of various goddesses, and particularly Demeter.[90] The festivals in her honour often venerated the institution of marriage[91] and required sexual abstinence.[92] Vergil associated the motif of the bees and the New Golden Age with the birth of a child solemnly celebrated in the Eleusinian mysteries which Augustus held in special reverence, as his own initiation indicates.[93] It might be argued that Vergil

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an initiation ceremony into a bee-cult associated with the ancient art of bee keeping and with Cretan Zeus. The bees' dances were known in antiquity; see Arist.HA9.624b and H.A. Haldane 1955-6: 75-6.

[90] Pind.Pyth.4.104 referred to the priestess of Demeter as *Melissa*, while Aesch.fr.87 (Nauck and Radt) attributed the title to the priestess of Artemis (Ephesian Artemis whose cult had Asiatic roots had a bee as a regular symbol). Rhea, as well, a major representation of the eastern Mother Goddess, was also associated with bees according to Didymus. In mythology, Melissa was the sister of Amalthea, both daughters of Melisseus, king of Crete. Melisseus was reputably the first to sacrifice to the gods.

[91] Sacred laws from Peloponnesian cults of Demeter Thesmophoros or similar goddesses ban purple or embroidered robes, make-up, and gold ornament. See Sokolowski, LSCG 68, 65.16-23. Such garb denoted the prostitute: Phylarchus, FGrH81F45; Diod.Sic.12.21.1, Clem.Al.Paed.2.10; schol.Soph.Oed.Col.680; Ar.Thesm.fr.320-1. The celebrants of the Thesmophoria were termed 'bees,' the pure of ideal womanhood; Apollodorus in FGrH244F89; L. Bodson 1978: 25ff. for bees and Demeter; H.F. North 1977: 35-48. Cf. the oath of marital fidelity LSCG 65.8. However, such ideas are not confined to Demeter cult (PMG901). Everything marks the period of abstinence as abnormal and so celebrates fertility. Virgins who are permanently pure have no part in the rites.

[92] R. Parker 1983: 87- 88; Eleusis was the only cult for which restrictions of this kind were mentioned in the sources and, though the view that the hierophant was bound to permanent chastity from the moment of taking up office cannot be refuted, it is more plausible to suppose, since he could retain his wife while in office that he was simply required to remain chaste for a period before the mysteries. Arrian Diss.Epict.3.21.16, Paus.2.14.1 (a hierophant might take a wife). IGII2 3512: A hierophant has a wife while in office. Also see Dem.22.78 for the use of "ἀγνεύω" as referring to a temporary abstinence.

[93] The Minoan origin of the Eleusinian mysteries is strongly supported by our evidence both literary and archaeological. See Diod.Sic.5.77; cf. Hom.Od.19.172-8: "Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἔστι, μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ, /καλὴ καὶ πίειρα, περίρρυτος· ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι /πολλοί, ἀπειρέσιοι, καὶ ἐννήκοντα πόληες. /ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί, /ἐν δ' Ἐτεόκρητες

borrowed from the same tradition the association of the fertility goddesses with a snake, an association that he could have recovered from Hesiod, who had related Demeter herself to the snake of Cychreus.[94] Although this tale does not explain the involvement of Orpheus and Aristaeus with each other, it suggests a good example of the kind of source that Vergil upon which may have drawn.[95] It would not be unlikely for Vergil to employ an

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μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ *Κύδωνες*, /*Δωριέες* τε *τριχάϊκες* δῖοί τε *Πελασγοί*. /*τῇσι δ'* ἐνὶ Κνωσός, μεγάλη πόλις, ἔνθα τε Μίνως /*ἐννέωρος βασίλευε* Διὸς μεγάλου *ὀαριστής*." In addition, a beautifully carved ivory of two women kneeling with a child on their laps was found in Mycenae and dates from the 15th century BC (S. Marinatos 1960: pl.219). This is the characteristic pose of Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth, and they could very easily represent Demeter, Persephone, and the birth of the divine child in the mysteries. The figure of the snake is pre-eminent in the Cretan cult. In 1955 Professor Doro Levi found at Phaistos a cup dating from the 19th or 20th century BC with two women dancing around a Snake Goddess; see C. Kerenyi 1967: 19-20; cf. N. Robertson 2003: 221. Also, in Ec.8.71 Vergil mentions that harmful snakes are put to sleep with *songs* which most probably could be understood as magical incantations since immediately after Alphesiboeus casts his erotic spell for Daphnis (cf. n86).

[94] Hes.Eoiae77 mentioned that the snake was brought up by Cychreus and was driven out by Eurylochus because it was defiling the island. However, Demeter received it into Eleusis and made it her attendant; cf. M.P. Nilsson 21950: 332 and 340 also quoted by B.C. Dietrich 1974: 118n295 (cf. ch4n63). In addition, Dietrich (p.189) refers to the appearance of Zeus Meilichius in the form of a snake, which is quite interesting in the sense that Aristaeus represents the New Order of Zeus in the framework of which he must deal with death. Mystery religions including that of Demeter, offered promise of immortality and were often linked with Christianity in the first centuries of the modern era: M.P.O. Morford [6]1999: 281 (cf. Ec.4). Note that serpents are particularly associated with rebirth and the fertility goddess in the mythology of the Near East: for example, Gilgamesh lost the plant of everlasting life to a snake (n27 above); for the Sumerian Inanna and the snake, see ch4n12.

[95] Snakes were venerated in Crete, perhaps as a symbol of immortality and life after death. Snakes lived in their homes as they made special dishes to feed them. Some of the most striking figurines known are the Minoan Snake Goddesses. They are narrow-waisted and beautifully dressed, leaving the breasts exposed; they either hold snakes in their hands or have them wrapped around them. Their phallic quality merges the underworld and fertility into one living symbol. Initiation was a central part of Cretan life as every individual at the age of puberty died to his

initiation motif and apply it to the whole of humanity.[96]

Orpheus' association with honey has already been covered;[97] however, it seems that Vergil was mostly preoccupied with the mysteries that he had reputedly established and the *modus vivendi* that the Orphic writings suggested.[98] Orpheus was often viewed as a part of the Golden Age, and of course, as reminiscence of its tragic end.[99] It was not accidental, perhaps, that the expiation of

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parents, leaving them to be re-born a member of the tribe with the knowledge and responsibility that this entailed (B.C. Dietrich 1974: 187). R.F. Willetts 1986: 149 found a memorial from Cydonia in western Crete mourning the abduction of the fair Mattia by Hades, stating: 'I die at twelve years of age, unmarried ... I have left the light and lie in the depths in Persephone's murky chamber.' This chamber (*thalamos*) implies a storeroom where seed-corn was often put in underground pits so that it might be fertilised by contact with the dead. Being a goddess of the Underworld has certain darker functions in association with the Erinyes, or Furies, who guard the tombs of the dead. These subterranean deities, according to Willetts, were associated with Demeter and Persephone, indicating their Cretan origin (ibid.: 197-198).

[96] In Ec.3.92-3 Damoetas sang: "Qui legitis flores et humi nascentia fraga, /frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba." The warning brings to mind the tale of Persephone who was abducted while picking flowers in a Sicilian meadow.

[97] Orpheus' association with honey was based on his 'honeyed voice' and his ability to compose music; however, it is hardly surprising that in antiquity music was also a lawful means of purification (R. Parker 1983: 297-8). Aristotle believed that music could make a great contribution to health and he made serious use of this form of 'purification' (his word for musical medicine); see Iambl.VP110, 68; cf. Aristoxen.fr.26 (Wehrli). Porphyry (VP.30, 32-3) speaks of musical therapy but without the term *katharsis*. It is believed that Pythagoras might have used the mystical power of harmony to cure both body and mind. Pythagoras was also associated with magic (M.W. Dickie 2001: 169-73, 202-205, and 208-212).

[98] R. Parker 1983: 233 observed that there were many every day life regulations, which had close parallels in the abstentions (*hagneiai*) required of participants in particular cults. The best representation of them comes from Hesiod and Pythagoras' *symbola* but they certainly derive from popular belief.

[99] Orphic poetry perhaps made vegetarianism the distinctive mark of the mythical Golden Age (Pl.Leg.364e). Dichaearchus and Theophrastus also told of a vegetarian Golden Age. Plato uses the concept of *Katharsis* widely in a context that is reminiscent for reeks of southern Italy (Soph.226b-231e; cf. Cretes of Euripides). The tradition of vegetarianism

guilt was an Orphic preoccupation.[100] The mysteries of Orpheus like those of Demeter, and likewise the Bacchic mysteries, promised purification from all sins and the opportunity for a better life.[101] Parker compared the three main categories of mysteries in antiquity and concluded:

> *Eleusinian purification was simply preparation for a solemn rite, Dionysian a liberation from mental strain or disturbance, Pythagorean part of a more general concern for harmony, the purifications of Empedocles and Orpheus had a specific eschatological meaning because they released the soul from a burden of personal or inherited guilt.*[102]

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is associated with the Cretan Couretes also in Porph.Abst.2.21. If authentic, it relates them to their role as gods of initiation, since alimentary rules concerning initiation are commonplace.

[100] E.R. Dodds 1951: 169n81; M.L. West 1971: 233-5; fr.30 West ap.D.L.1.120; R. Parker 1983: 291-2; S. Cole 2003: 193ff. and N. Robertson 2003: 218ff. Pythagoras' restrictions for life had their parallel in Hes.Op.724-59. Pythagoreanism became later a mere way of securing a better lot after death much like initiation in the mysteries and from this point of view it resembled Hesiod's 'godlike man' (Op.731; also see Introduction of West op.cit.). Hesiod implied that the ordinary individual could approach the condition of the godlike man by obedience to the rules. There is no hint that such a man would enjoy advantages in the next life. Parker compared these rules with the *Laws of Manu* (see M.L. West ibid.: 727-32, 757) but admitted that it is difficult to find evidence from the classical period; cf. the fragment of Aristophon in D.L.8.38 (= 58 Diels /Kranz E3). For the association of the Orphic /Bacchic beliefs with those of Pythagoras, see P. Bonnechere 2003: 170-185.

[101] Demosthenes wrote about Aeschines and his mother (Dem.18.259-60; cf. 19.199, 249, 281.): "…ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τἆλλα συνεσκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις, καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον, ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικοῦτ' ὀλολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύζειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν 'εὐοῖ σαβοῖ,' καὶ ἐπορχούμενος 'ὑῆς ἄττης ἄττης ὑῆς,' ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγεμὼν καὶ κιττοφόρος καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσαγορευόμενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἔνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὑτοῦ τύχην;" For a commentary of Demosthenes, see H. Wankel 1976: 2.1132. In addition, Iambl.Myst.3.10 located Sabazius' efficacy in Bacchic dances, spiritual purifications, and release from ancient guilt.

[102] R. Parker 1983: 300; for crime and expiation in Orphism cf.

In Orphic preaching sexuality had been put forward as the most powerful cosmic energy and as the tragic end of Orpheus suggests, it was a compelling and inescapable universal principle.[103] In addition, Orphism, like the Hesiodic doctrines, was preoccupied with the idea of Justice, although the Hesiodic divine man followed rules of purity without reference to any future life.[104] Overall, it might be argued that, based on their relation with bees or honey, Aristaeus and Orpheus seem to follow parallel paths, which lead to a more philosophical and religious discussion of the forces that rule human life.

Eurydice, whose presence in the epyllion functioned as the dramatic link between the two heroes, was also included in the network of cultural ideas represented by the bee. Some scholars like Detienne tried to rationalise this rare version of the myth: he wondered why Aristaeus chose to pursue Eurydice instead of any other Nymph, and asked why his offence specifically affected his bees, which previously had no connection with Eurydice herself.[105]

Pl.Cra.400c and Resp.364b-e; Arist.fr.60; Orph.h.37.7-8 (Kern); also, see Eur.fr.912; Pindar (fr.133) said that Persephone accepted compensation from mortals for her ancient grief; cf. S. Cole 2003: 193.

[103] R. Parker 1983: 301-2 believed Orpheus' particular hostility to sexuality was implied but it was probably moderation that was preached. Hippolytus referred to self-control, "ἐγκράτεια." For Orpheus as the initiator of a strictly male warrior society, see below (p.389 and n153, cf. ch3n212). Ecstatic Dionysian initiation -that included more sexual undertones- was adopted by the Orphics and given an eschatological meaning that was originally alien to it. See Hdt.2.81, Eur.Hipp.953f. and the Olbia tablets; also W. Burkert 1975: 87. Pythagoras was believed to have established the theory of the *symbola* or *acousmata* which are silent as far as sexuality is concerned (R. Parker ibid.: 296). However, Burkert ibid.: 178n94 (cf. D.L.8.21) asserted that there was a strong tradition crediting Pythagoras with insisting, amid the loose-living Greeks of Italy, on the value of reciprocal marital fidelity. For the comparison of cosmos with a 'mystic recess,' a metaphor taken from mystery cults, see Dio Chrys.Or.12.33 and K. Clinton 2003: 63f.

[104] Marinus' life of Proclus 18, p.160.33 Boisson, (OF T.239): "νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀποτροπαῖς καὶ περιρραντηρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καθαρμοῖς χρώμενος, ὁτὲ μὲν Ὀρφικοῖς, ὁτὲ δὲ Χαλδαϊκοῖς."

[105] M. Detienne 1981: 95-109; also see C. Perkell 1978: 214-22, important parallels between Aristaeus and Orpheus. C. Segal 1966: 319 noted that 'neither Aristaeus nor Orpheus is a faultless model for the right relation to nature's demands.' E. Stehle 1974: 368-9 offered a

It is apparent that the answers we lack imply a gap in our knowledge of ancient traditions which, even if we cannot fully mend, we could certainly outline. According to some traditions, Eurydice was included among the Nymphs to whom the invention of honey was ascribed. In addition, there were two myths that associated the followers of Demeter with the Nymphs and the bees. According to the first of these stories, it was a Nymph called Melissa who discovered the first honeycombs in the forest; she ate some honey, then mixed it with water and drank it before teaching her companions to make the drink and eat the food. This was part of the Nymphs' achievement of bringing men out of their wild state.[106] The inventions of the Nymphs offer many similarities with the inventions attributed to Prometheus, Arcas, Orpheus, Zeus, and of course, Aristaeus.[107] Therefore, the starting point for the

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psychological analysis of the reactions of Aristaeus and Orpheus. C. Segal ibid.: 320 gave a very sensitive comparison of Aristaeus and Orpheus, balancing their faults and virtues equally (see n213 for the quotation). B. Otis 1972: 55-9 came to feel that the whole episode has a dark cast to it. Human possibilities are 'tragically limited resurrection and resolation are possible, but they are always threatened.' Aristaeus on the other hand, does not feel the threat because he has to learn patience and sympathy. Note that in Ov.Met.10.1-10, Eurydice is specifically presented in the company of the Naiads.

[106] According to M. Detienne 1981: 99-103, under the guidance of Melissa the Nymphs not only turned man away from eating each other to eating only this product of the forest trees, but also introduced into the world of men the feeling of modesty ("αἰδὼς"). This they established by means of another invention, the discovery of woven garments, which intended to reinforce modesty. Since then no marriage would take place without the first honours being reserved for the Nymphs, the companions of Demeter; cf. M. Detienne and J.P. Vernant 1979: 211-2.

[107] For Zeus as the bringer of civilisation who brought the cannibalistic age of Cronus to its end, see Euhemer.FGrH63F22; for Melissai, see Mnaseas Patrens.FGrH3F5. In addition, the discussion regarding the origin of civilisation was mainly held during antiquity by four movements, namely Pythagoreanism, Orphism, the Dionysian sects, and the Cynics. The similarities between the mysteries these movements suggested might be explained by the fact that they focused on the same issues and there were possible interpolations (see below for Orpheus and Pythagoras; also see n97). The answer of the Cynics to the problem of lust, discussed above, was submission without emotional commitment, non-resistance (K.J. Dover 1978: 208, 212f.). These movements reflected

understanding of the myth should be the possible reason for which Vergil devoted the whole last book of his *Georgics* to the regeneration of the bees and what clues each of the mythological characters contributed to this achievement.[108] The second story explained the association with Demeter and with the honey-Nymphs. Not surprisingly, the myth referred to the time when after the kidnapping of Persephone Demeter was devastated by sorrow for the loss of her daughter. According to the myth, Demeter entrusted to the Nymphs the basket where Persephone kept her weaving and went to Paros where she was welcomed by Melisseus, king of the bees. As a reward for the hospitality she had received, the goddess gifted to the king's sixty daughters the cloth Persephone had prepared for her wedding. Demeter also revealed herself to them and initiated them into secret ceremonies. Hence, it seems that Eurydice was related to Demeter as a Nymph, but also as a young bride who tragically died soon after her wedding like the goddess' daughter who was wedded to Hades (a wedding denoted by her absence from the face of earth, literally her death). Eurydice has already been compared to Persephone in the context of the well established notion that getting married means that a girl has to 'die' in relation to her paternal household (as a maiden) and be reborn into her husband's kinship (as a lawful wife).[109] The

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the politico-religious system of the Greeks in which cannibalism was given a particular stress, either positive or negative. Politics and religion in ancient Greece was based on a ritual of sacrifice which codified Greek rules about eating. In Greece, the consumption of meat was ultimately related to the sacrifice of a domesticated animal as implied above (M. Detienne 1981: 215-228); cf. Hes.Op.276-9, Pl.Plt.271d, Prt.321a. Also, see J.P. Vernant 1991: 290-302.

[108] E. Stehle 1974: 368 thought that the point of Aristaeus' regeneration of the bees needs still to be explored. It is not compensation for the death of Eurydice, a resurrection to balance a failure. On the contrary, the *Bugonia* becomes a symbol for what man can accomplish. The bees are part of the natural world, but of that part of the world that is most resistant to decline. To regenerate the bees is to recall nature back from to destruction to creativity; cf. C. Perkell 1989: 82-5, who comments on the hopeless mourning of Orpheus.

[109] In Euripides' *Andromache*, the latter advises Hermione that a good wife should be completely loyal to her husband and leave her father's household behind. To that household she had 'died' (Eur.Andr. 98, 140, 110, 221, 229-31, 235, 213, 222-27, 373-4, 456-67, 409-10; cf. Eur.Tr.648-

association of marriage with the idea of civilisation has been established, and since furthermore the notion of marriage revolved around *Eros* as one of the aspects of this major cosmic power, it would not be unreasonable to assume that Vergil drew on such associations.

Actually Vergil referred to the story of Proserpina in G.1.39, where he remarked that the young goddess had refused to return to her mother when she was summoned: "nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem."[110] Ancient commentators such as Probus recognised that her refusal to return was *contra historiam*, while Servius indicated that this was an invention of Vergil.[111] In the fourth book of the *Georgics* Eurydice was thrice described as "rapta," an appellation often reserved for Proserpina. In addition, Eurydice like the young goddess failed to return. In Vergil Proserpina's failure to return advanced the life of mortals, who nonetheless learned a method for regularly regenerating a new crop of grain. It has been suggested that similarly, although Eurydice was not

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56, 669-70). In Euripides and in Plato Alcestis is presented as a model of woman who has defined herself in terms of her social and cultural role as wife and has therefore won her husband's devotion, heroic honour and glory and a triumph over death itself (Eur.Alc.473-6 and 1008ff.; Pl.Symp.179c). The conflation of marriage with death in ancient rites and the tale of Persephone, see ch1p.64f.

[110] P.A. Johnston 1977: 161. The goddess appeared again at the end of the *Georgics* where she imposed upon Orpheus the stricture not to look back on his wife's face until they have reached the surface. This stricture, apparently, was not imposed in the earlier versions of the tale. Persephone also appears at the beginning and the end of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, a structure that plausibly Vergil had in mind.

[111] Prob.ad G.1.39; the anonymous *Brevis Expositio*: 213, Thilo ll.3 (quoted by Johnston 1977n2) added that Ceres made a vain assault upon the Underworld in the attempt to retrieve her daughter, who refused to return "pro loci amore." Cf. Servius ad 1.39 who supported that Vergil invented the story and Plut.Thes.31.4-5: 35.1. Ovid (Met.10.27-30) has Orpheus to evoke the deathly couple of Persephone and Hades to restore his wife to him on the basis that they had also fallen in love and could sympathise with his suffering. G. Zuntz 1971: 400-402 also explores Vergil's account of Persephone's refusal to return "pro loci amore." Zuntz remarked that, although Vergil may have been aware of the Orphic tradition (Orph.h.41.5), it was obviously not his source because, according to the Orphics, Persephone did return.

recovered from the Underworld, Aristaeus presented in her place the discovery of the *Bugonia*.[112] Proserpina was linked with the seed of grain, and equally Eurydice was linked with honeybees. The characterisation also implied that Eurydice was ravished, a notion which seems to reinforce Vergil's description of the lustful urge that subdued Aristaeus. As for Persephone, she was traditionally described as being abducted and raped by Pluto.[113] However, in more recent years the actual truth of the rape of Persephone has been seriously disputed and the possibility that the myth was a reflection of pre-marital rites or customs cannot be disregarded. Proserpina was regarded as protector of unmarried girls and brides to be.[114] Perhaps, then, the 'rape' of Eurydice was not as

[112] P.A. Johnston 1977: 161-72 (esp.162-3); Demeter instructed the art of agriculture to some of her worshippers who proved to be extremely hospitable and pious. In Vergil's passage, there are many reminiscences of the Mysteries. What is initially described as a mere list of weapons for the farmer subtly develops into a procession of initiates. The poem follows a chiastic structure, which begins with decline –a reminder of the end of the Golden Age- and it finishes with decline. Johnston argued that equally Orpheus' failure is chiastic but with Eurydice going to the world of the Dead because sudden "dementia" made him forget the condition Proserpina had imposed on him.

[113] H. Foley 1993 argued that the *Hymn to Demeter* emphasised the creative potential of female wrath. In her anger over the rape of Persephone with Zeus's connivance, Demeter challenged patriarchal authority. Her partial success brought about an adjustment in cosmic order [since, as Rudhardt (in Foley 1993) showed, Persephone's marriage to Hades links the Underworld with Earth and Olympus]. However, it might be argued that Demeter functioned just like Prometheus, forcing Zeus to impose justice in his conduct with the other gods as well as humans; cf. P.A. Vander Waerdt 1981: 27-8; cf. B. Lincoln 1979: 223-235.

[114] C. Sourvinou-Inwood 1978: 101-121; on page 103 the author referred to the *pinakes*, our main source of information for the cults at Locri. They are 'a series of clay relief plaques with religious scenes from the first half of the fifth century.' Persephone in whose sanctuary the *pinakes* were found was the main deity involved in the cult and myth reflected in the representations. Aphrodite also had a place in the cult and some of the *pinakes* belong to her. We are dealing with a cultic nexus in which the two goddesses are closely associated. The Locrian Persephone was a protectress of marriage and weddings, a role other cities often attributed to Hera. Sourvinou-Inwood proves that Persephone's wedding was celebrated not only at Locri but also in other places. Hence,

straightforward as it seems at first.

Up to this point it has been established that Vergil may have interrelated the legendary couple Orpheus and Eurydice with the tradition of Aristaeus and the discovery of the *Bugonia* based on the similarity with which these figures had faced the eternal questions about human nature, life and death, sex and cosmic order.[115] It is to be expected that after surviving a horrific civil war people including Vergil would turn precisely to these questions and seek new convincing answers that would enable them to live again as a community.[116] The rebirth of the bees takes place out of violence,

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Persephone appears as protectress of marriage (after all, according to myth, Persephone had adopted Adonis). At Locri, Persephone and Hades stood as a bridal pair and married couple, presided over its institutionalised forms operating within the *polis* and harnessed to the needs of society. Aphrodite and her lover Hermes stood for love and sex as a cosmic principle, which also includes its illicit and aberrant forms. These forms of love are unconfined by institutions and do not serve society. For the relation of Persephone to Hades as a *hieros gamos*, see A. Suter 2002: 77-118; cf. N. Robertson 2003: 221.

[115] G. Luck 1973: 148 argued that in the *Aeneid* (book 6), Vergil, although influenced by Homer's *Nekyia*, gave a less gloomy view of the Underworld possibly thanks to the influence of the Platonism and the Mystery religions. The ancient authors were quite vague in their description of the mysteries, but they all point to 'a message of hope beyond extinction and a promise of everlasting love.' It seems that the mysteries had replaced Homer's Hades by the Augustan era. See Pind.fr.137Snell; Soph.fr.719 (Dindorf = 837 Pearson); Isoc.Paneg.28. Although the cult of Hades was not very popular, we have enough evidence that it took place (see Strab.8.13.14 and 14.1.44; Paus.1.28.6, 2.18.3, 2.31.2, 5.14.8, 3.19.3-5 and 6.25.2).

[116] P.A. Vander Waerdt 1981: 26 commented on the fact that Zeus was described as a cruel and unjust ruler who suppressed the mortal race, a description which not far from Vergil's conception of the hardy human conditions under the Zeus' reign. (However, Vergil credits Zeus with instigating people to drop their natural slothfulness). Vander Waerdt discussed Aesch.Eum.918 and the integration of the Erinyes into the political order at Athens. The Erinyes safeguarded the polis against civil war and they outwarded directly the *eros* of the citizens who should love the common interest and hate with a single mind: Athena in ll.861-6 urges that there should be no foreign war in which the *eros* for glory would be terrible. The externalisation of strife thus transforms the principle of *drasanti pathein*: 'doing and suffering become coordinate with the good (*eu*

putrefaction, and death. Yet this was precisely the situation men had to come to terms with when Zeus took over the leadership of the world,[117] an experience that Vergil can reconstruct from his own traumatic memory of the Roman civil wars. In the following pages, a comparison of Aristaeus and Orpheus in almost every aspect of their tradition will seek to confirm this conclusion, and I shall investigate the nature of the mysteries to which Vergil may have alluded.[118] Indications of Vergil's familiarity with the traditions he employs from all of his works will be also put forward.

ARISTAEUS-AENEAS-ORPHEUS

Although the previous discussion has led to the possibility that Orpheus and Aristaeus have many similarities at least with regard to the doctrines associated with their independent tradition, most scholarly discussions emphasise their differences. This interpretational focus on the differences between Orpheus and Aristaeus was underlined by the latter's typical comparison to Aeneas, a hero famous for his piety.[119] The tragic fate of Aeneas'

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drosen, eu paschousan ll.868).'

[117] P.A. Vander Waerdt 1981: 27 wrote: 'Man's imperfection is there sanctioned in the Areopagus as a consequence of his mortality and the Erinyes, installed to ensure that civic awe, the pre-requisite for justice, will guard the *polis* against self-destruction (Aesch.Eum.690-704). Persuasion holds a sacred place within the *polis* (ll.885), but is backed by the threat of force (ll.827-8). The key to this harsh grace, the grace *biaios* (Ag.182) which characterises the dispensation of the Olympian gods, is, we claim, to be found in Zeus' attempt to establish order throughout the *Kosmos* in accordance with the dispensation of Moira.' Moreover, on page 30 we read: 'The *Prometheia* seems to move towards the union of *bia* and *nomos* in *kratos* and this forms the core of the reconciliation of between Zeus and Prometheus. Zeus tames by using *kratos* and *bia*; there is some evidence that they are replaced by *kratos* and *dike*.'

[118] See D.E. Wormell 1971: 429-35 also cited by J.S. Campbell 1982: 114n3: the bees 'bridge a gap between the agricultural tragedy of book 3 and the human tragedy of book 4' based on 'a complex of age-old and interlocking beliefs' about bees, immortality and human souls. For the Near Eastern parallels that the symbolism of the bees seems to have had, see n94 above.

[119] J. Wills 1996: 124-9 in his discussion of repetition in Latin poetry remarked that Vergil might have used it as a technique of alluding to his own works; in Ecl.5.55-6 ("Nymphae, /Dictaeae Nymphae"), G.4.321 ("mater,

affair with Dido, a fate dictated by the hero's responsibility to fulfil the oracles of the gods and not by his own will, was regarded as a main indication of his dutiful attitude.[120] However, the accuracy of such a comparison, particularly with reference to Aristaeus, could be debated. Although Aristaeus did not appear often in mythology, he definitely received a special kind of reverence in the *Georgics*, a fact which could already distinguish him from the heroic emphasis of Aeneas. In addition, the fourth book of the *Georgics* focused on his cultural contribution towards humanity and not on his wisdom as a leader like Aeneas.[121] The latter was renowned for his piety, but

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Cyrene mater") and Aen.8.71 ("Nymphae, Laurentes Nymphae"). Wills suggested that the *Aeneid* alluded to both the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, because it created a connection between Aeneas when he found where to build his city and Aristaeus when he lost his bees (the bee-hives of Aristaeus represented a city of some kind; in addition, for the Trojans as bees, see Aen.7.64-7).

[120] Aristaeus had already been likened to two other epic heroes, namely Achilles and Menelaus (L. Morgan 1999). It was suspected that Vergil had been influenced in G.4.499 by Homer's Il.23.100 where Patroclus' funeral is recounted. There, Achilles was totally grief stricken, as indeed was Aristaeus at the loss of his bees (cf. App.Ip.445f.). However, such an attitude would be more consistent with the sentimental character of Orpheus rather than that of Aristaeus. See R. Coleman 1962: 65-66.

[121] F.A. Sullivan 1961: 162 discussed the idea that 'by suffering, man can learn wisdom.' Sullivan suggested that especially Aeschylus attempted through the sufferings of his heroes 'to trace man's spiritual history, his search for the will of Zeus,' a god ever covered in mystery. The author then discussed the origins of Aeneas' suffering and compared Aeneas with Heracles (p.169): 'Aeneas, like Heracles, is engaged in a great civilising mission and, like him, is made to suffer by Juno. Thus Vergil, like Euripides, takes over an old story and infuses into it a new, symbolic meaning: Aeneas, like Heracles, wins his way through suffering to a new courage and a new nobility of character.' Although, Vergil was probably influenced by Euripides' *Heracles*, it might be argued that this comparison missed a more essential parallelism between Aeneas and Prometheus, the first literary model of a suffering hero. P.A. Vander Waerdt 1981: 29 argued that 'Prometheus learned through *pathei mathos* his place within the order of Zeus.' Vergil in the *Georgics* particularly focused on the New Order imposed by Zeus and since both Aristaeus and Prometheus were especially related to Zeus, perhaps a comparison between the two would be appropriate. Also, see C. Segal 1978: 114: 'As an Apollonian figure, Orpheus appears as a culture hero, a benefactor of mankind, inventor of

above all, he was endowed with the morals and the appeal of the epic heroes.[122] Of course, this argument does not aim at refusing altogether the parallels between Aristaeus and Aeneas which have been pointed out by a number of scholars and are not disputable; however, it might be worth putting forward another tradition to which both Aeneas and Aristaeus were understood to belong.

Throughout the *Georgics* Vergil acceded to the idea that wisdom was to be gained through suffering, an idea repeated on a greater scale in the *Aeneid*.[123] However, suffering was normally associated with a benefactor of humanity, a representative in whose name all mortals were introduced to some aspect of civilisation.[124]

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poetry, theology, agriculture, letters, a religious teacher, and educator of heroes like Heracles.' For the eastern origins of the concept of a culture hero, which the Greeks acknowledged, see Pl.Phdr.274c cited below.

[122] In the *Aeneid* Vergil models a more sober and perhaps more Roman type of a leader by mingling the cunning of Odysseus or the wisdom of Nestor with the warlike determination of Achilles. However, Aristaeus seems to move away from these Homeric figures in a remote, almost Palaeolithic world which, timewise, precedes the events of the Trojan War. His relations with the gods concern the whole of humanity and not only the historic past or the future of a specific people.

[123] Cf. G.1.121ff.: "pater ipse colendi /haud facilem esse viam voluit;" cf. Aen.1.8-11; the poem famously begins with the Muse wondering: "Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso /quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus /insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores /impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?" F.A. Sullivan 1961: 161 argued that Vergil seems to have followed Homer in his attitude towards suffering. [cf.Od.18.130ff and F. Solmsen 1949: 27ff.] Sullivan also quoted Hom.Il.24.527ff. where Achilles 'now chastened by his sufferings,' explained to Priam the Justice of Zeus which changes the fortune of people: 'on the floor of the house of Zeus there are two jars, full of the gifts he gives; the one jar is full of bad gifts, the other one of blessings….' Sullivan argued that Achilles concluded his speech with a message to endure, to bear up, which sounds similar to Vergil's approach. He also said that in the Homeric epics the action takes place in two levels: an event was seen as the issue of divine action, then as the result of human effort. Vergil seems to agree with this view and it might be argued that he borrowed some of the ways of Greek tragedy in order to make his point crystal clear. Greek drama was mainly preoccupied with the problem of reconciling human and divine justice, normally presented in all its stark realism. The Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh* offers another striking example of the human struggle to accept mortality.

[124] J.P. Vernant 1981: 54 argued that 'at the level of social institutions, sacrificial practices, the use of fire, marriage-rites and agricultural

Vergil cast Zeus in the role of the benefactor of humanity, since he had cared for freeing people from a 'dull-witted, torpid existence.' However, Hesiod and Aeschylus had reserved this role not for Zeus but for Prometheus.[125] In addition, as far as suffering would be concerned Orpheus appears to have suffered equally if not more in comparison with Aristaeus and Aeneas, and his cultural advances were also highly respected.[126] Hence, he should have every right to claim wisdom, which he does not seem to claim by suffering such an unhappy death.[127] Furthermore, although the message of

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institutions are all multifariously linked.'

[125] See P.A. Johnston 1980: 70-1. Hence, it might be argued that in *Georgics* 4 Vergil replaced Prometheus with Aristaeus whose association with Zeus will be further investigated below. Also, see P.A. Vander Waerdt 1981: 226-54: 'as soon as he usurped the throne of his father, Zeus apportioned power among the new gods, with Prometheus' help (PV439-40); but when he desired to blot mortals out and replace them with a new race, Prometheus saved them from going to Hades, utterly destroyed: he removed their constant expectation of death by blinding them with hope, and he gave them fire and the arts. However, from this point of view Prometheus resembled Orpheus who descended to the Underworld to recover his wife.'

[126] Characteristically both Aeneas and Orpheus suffered the loss of a wife, Eurydice and Creusa respectively. In Aen.2.736-751ff. Creusa is described as following her husband in their flight from Troy when under obscure circumstances she is left behind never to be seen again. Only her apparition appears to Aeneas (ll.776-795). In ll.738 Creusa is characterised as "erepta" (snatched) which sounds very close to Eurydice's typical address as "rapta." The phantom of Creusa is a reminiscent of the phantom of Eurydice, especially when the Queen tells Aeneas (ll.788): "sed me magna deum genetrix his detinet oris." In his frenzied sadness Aeneas can be paralleled with Orpheus especially as the ablaze city during the night acquires a infernal colouring and Aeneas is described as running around the city and crying out his wife's name (ll.768-770): "ausus quin etiam voces iactare per urbam /implevi clamores vias, maestusque Creusam /nequiquam ingeminans iterumque iterumque vocavi." Finally, note that Aeneas' company was heading to an (ll.742) "tumulum antiquae Cereris sedemque sacratam" at the end of the city. For the comparison of this scene with an initiation rite, see my post-doctoral work: *'Persephone and Cybele: a reflection in the mirror,'* presented in the *Centenary Classical Association Conference* (Warwick, 2003). For Orpheus' cultural inventions, see below. For the positive associations of perseverance in Roman ideology, see M. Gale 2000: 144-5.

[127] P.A. Vander Waerdt 1981: 226-54 argued that Zeus lacked art as his ignorance regarding the secret of Themis could prove and therefore,

endurance in unfavourable circumstances runs through all of Vergil's works, it seems that in the *Aeneid* the idea that prevailed was that of heroic sacrifice. The Sibyl advised Aeneas:[128]

> "tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,
> quam tua te Fortuna sinet."

Aeneas is advised not to give way to misfortune but to go and meet it more boldly than his luck would allow. The excess implied by this urge would not suit orderly Aristaeus, while in the case of Orpheus it only had ephemeral results.[129] It might be argued that

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he needed the prophetic abilities of Prometheus. As a compensation for securing Zeus' power, Prometheus asked the establishment of Themis in people's conduct with the divine (cf. n139). Note that Orpheus's head also acquired prophetic abilities after his death, perhaps as a compensation or recognition of his suffering. See I.M. Linforth 1973: 133-4; cf. G.4.523; Ov.Met.9.50; Lucian Ind.109-111. Compare the fame of Gilgamesh after he returned from his much-toiling search for the plant of everlasting life: 'This too was the work of Gilgamesh, the king, who knew the countries of the world. He was wise, he saw mysteries and knew secret things, he brought us a tale of the days before the flood. He went a long journey, was weary, worn out with labour, and returning engraved on a stone the whole story' (N.K. Sandars 1960: 114-5 = A.R. George 2003: 539-41).

[128] Aen.6.95-126. It is notable that Aeneas is not surprised to hear the predictions of the Sibyl which he already suspected (ll.102-3: "…non ulla laborum, /o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit"). However, he asked the Sibyl to 'teach' (ll.109: "doceas") him the way to the Underworld, as if she were a hierophant of the calibre of Orpheus. Prometheus and Orpheus were also endowed with prophetic abilities (see below pp.387f.) and in fact, Aeneas refers to Orpheus' descent in his address to the Sibyl (Aen.6.119-20; see n131). Furthermore, in antiquity a person with prophetic abilities had a particular claim in wisdom; in the 7th and 6th century BC ecstatic seers were called "σοφοὶ:" See Plut.Sol.12 quoted by I.M. Linforth 1973: 73: "σοφὸς περὶ τὰ θεῖα τὴν ἐνθουσιαστικὴν σοφίαν."

[129] According to tradition, Orpheus gave way to his urging passion and neglected Proserpina's rule by looking on the face of his wife. However, C. Segal 1966: 307-325 is right to observe that Orpheus cannot be seen as inactive in comparison with the activist Aristaeus. Orpheus is also restless in some particulars such as his quest for Eurydice, and this causes him the deepest unhappiness. In a version as old as the 5th century BC Orpheus was regarded as successful; see O. Lee 1965, C.M. Bowra 1952: 113-25; P. Dronke 1962: 198-215. The first allusion to an unsuccessful ending was in Pl.Symp.179DE; Phaedrus argued that the gods deceived Orpheus when he went to the Underworld looking for Eurydice. They only showed him

Aeneas embodied the piety of a Homeric warrior, not of a hero devoted to human prosperity.[130] As such he was described as descending to the Underworld in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* which corresponds to Homer's *Nekyia*.[131] Once more Aeneas' adventure is comparable with that of Orpheus rather than Aristaeus.[132] Aeneas' possible comparison with Orpheus, which is implied in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, as well as the universal appeal of Aristaeus' invention in contrast with the 'ethnic' vision of Aeneas, seems to shake the restricting comparison of Aristaeus

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an apparition, a *phasma* of her as a punishment for his cowardice. Had he not been a coward, he would have died to follow her, like Alcestis. The evidence before Plato's time is less clear; see I.M. Linforth 1973: 119 (for Alcestis) and 139 (for Busiris of Isocrates). Ambiguity surrounds two Hellenistic sources as well. Hermesian.fr.7 (Powell) concluded his account like this: 'thus, singing he persuaded the great lord that Agriope might take the spirit of fragile life.' Finally, Moschus wished to be able to go to the realm of Hades like Orpheus, Odysseus and Heracles and sing before Kore for the life of Bion (ll.121-3; cf. Aen.6.119-123).

[130] In the time-scale towards a new Golden Age, which Vergil draws in *Eclogue* 4, Aeneas should be counted among the bloodthirsty heroes of the preparing stages. Although Aeneas prepared the ground for the glorification of the Roman nation, it is my belief that Vergil wishes to allude to a more general heroic archetype that applies to the whole of humanity.

[131] From this point of view, it seems that Aeneas could in fact share more with Orpheus than Aristaeus. R. Terpening 1985: 'Servius said on the sixth book of the *Aeneid* that its greater part came from Homer; some of it is simple narrative, much turns on history, much implies deep knowledge of philosophers, theologians and Egyptians, to so great an extent that many have written complete treaties on points of detail in this book.' P.A. Johnston 1980: 116 focused on Orpheus' nomadic life. As mentioned, Aeneas referred to Orpheus specifically as one of the heroes of divine lineage that had previously descended to the Underworld (Aen.6.119-123): "si potuit Manis accersere coniugis Orpheus /Theicia fretus cithara fidibusuqe canoris…-et mi genus ab Iove summo;" (also see n128 above). Orpheus also appeared in Elysium (Aen.6.649), in the company of great warriors of the past.

[132] Aeneas' likening to Orpheus is yet another clue that Vergil did not consider the latter as less of a heroic figure because of his occupation with poetry. However, see schol.Ap.Rhod.1.23 (Wendel): "…ζητεῖται δέ, διὰ τὶ Ὀρφεὺς ἀσθενὴς ὢν συνέπλει τοῖς ἥρωσιν."

with Aeneas.[133] In addition, although wisdom was discussed as a major feature of Aeneas and Aristaeus, it seems that it cannot form an exclusive link between the two heroes.[134] With regards to wisdom Aristaeus rather gives the impression of aspiring to Prometheus, the prototype of an ancestral culture hero. His introduction to the discussion is very important because Prometheus suffered in the name of humanity against the order of Zeus, an order which Vergil discusses throughout the *Georgics* and which Aristaeus represents. After establishing the links between the traditions of Aristaeus, Prometheus, and Orpheus I will try to show that Vergil was aware of the common tradition to which the three heroes belonged (and to which Aeneas also was probably attached).

ARISTAEUS-PROMETHEUS-ORPHEUS

The first attestation of the benefaction of Prometheus as a cultural leader was found in Hesiod, the author who first described the primal Golden Age.[135] Prometheus tried to trick Zeus regarding the

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[133] The answer to those who argued that Orpheus was not a heroic example might be hidden in the similarities that he shares with Achilles, the utmost heroic exemplum. In Il.9.336-43 Achilles was inconsolable for the loss of Briseis; K.C. King 1987: 226 discussed Cicero's philosophical attack on the passion of Achilles. Vergil influenced by both Plato and Cicero presented Achilles as the enemy of the Roman State. Yet Achilles had a reputation as healer (K.C. King ibid.: 7-10; 70; 141; 220). He was like Aristaeus, but he was also acquainted with song like Orpheus (K.C. King: 10-11; 132-3; 181). Furthermore, Achilles was the only hero who mourned his death in terms of the effect it would have on others. He was the 'explicit and conscious carrier of the sorrow that pervades his environment' (K.C. King: 6); cf. Il.9.412-6 where Achilles' mother reveals to him his twofold fate.

[134] In *Timaeus* (Pl.Ti.90b-c), Socrates declares that the man who indulges in his lustful desires has made himself mortal. On the contrary, he, who concerns himself with the love of learning and true thinking, and exercises these qualities above all, must by necessity focus his thoughts on things immortal and godlike. This need springs from the fact that, if he ever seizes on truth (as much as human nature can participate in immortality) he must have a share in this. Also, cf. Democr.frr.40, 189; Xen.Mem.1.6.10, 4.5.6, 10; Arist.Pol.1260a, 1254b.

[135] See ch3p.245, cf. ch3p.261f. and n218. Prometheus' sin sealed the primal Golden Age, while Aristaeus' fault inaugurated the possibility of the new Golden Age. See Stobaeus Ecl.1.8.38 = fr.6 Snell = OF292K

sacrifices humans should offer to the gods with the intention of securing food for the people.[136] When the almighty god realised his trick, the whole of humanity was punished by the creation of Pandora.[137] His theft of fire also brought Prometheus his famous

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where the initial condition of humans is described. According to Moschion [my paraphrasis] once there was a time when men lived like beasts, dwelling in mountain caves and sunless ravines. At that time roofed houses or fortified cities had not been found yet. Agriculture was also not invented and the Bacchic vines were not cultivated. Men fed on each other's flesh. Order and law were subjected to the brute force with which Zeus was ruling. A change to human life came either thanks to Prometheus' prudence or through necessecity or by nature itself which taught humans through long practice the cultivation of fruits and the nourishment of Demeter and Bacchus. And then the plough was invented and roofed houses and cities with high walls. Then people exchanged their savage life with a softer one. And by law the dead received tombs and no-one was allowed to remain unburied.

[136] Hes.Th.535ff. and 562ff. Hesiod argued that the deceit regarding the sacrifices was the reason for Prometheus' punishment, while Aeschylus (PV7ff.) posed the theft of the fire as such. Although in Hesiod Prometheus' character was entirely non-moral, Aeschylus gave him high moral dignity, and he even presented him as the friend of man against the tyranny of Zeus. See J.P. Vernant 1980: 168-85 and 1981: 43-56. The authorship of the *Prometheian* trilogy has been long doubted and scholars tend to believe that it was not written by Aeschylus, but his son Euphorion; See M. Griffith 1977: 135-162; M.L. West 1979: 147.

[137] C. Faraone 1999: 98-100. It seems that once more human sexual relations were associated directly with the sacrificial code (cf. n107 above). Hence, it could be granted that perhaps Vergil had this tradition in mind when he composed the tragic tale of Orpheus and Eurydice, the newly married couple, and their fatal interaction with Aristaeus. H. Marcuse 1955: 161-2 claimed that Prometheus symbolised 'productiveness, and unceasing effort to master life; but, in his productivity, blessing and curse, progress and toil are inextricably intertwined. Prometheus is the archetype -hero of the performance principle. And in the world of Prometheus, Pandora, the female principle, sexuality and pleasure, appear as curse-disruptive, destructive.' Marcuse discussed the place of *Eros* in the tale of Prometheus and concluded that 'the beauty of the woman and the happiness she promises are fatal in the work world of civilization.' Furthermore, he presented Orpheus (along with Narcissus) at the antipode of Prometheus as the representative of the opposite reality principle. For the association of Prometheus with Achilles based on Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vinctus*, see R. Garner 1990: 75-89; as mentioned,

torture: he was bound on a rock and an eagle would daily eat his liver, which would grow back at night.[138] Nevertheless, the Titan has always been considered as a great benefactor of humanity which ever since his lapse became familiar with cooked food and civilisation. His complaints against the slothful nature of men confirmed his conscious efforts to civilise them:[139]

> "…τὰν βροτοῖς δὲ πήματα
> ἀκούσασθ',ὡς σφας νηπίους ὄντας τὸ πρὶν
> ἔννους ἔθηκα καὶ φρενῶν ἐπηβόλους."

The penalty that Aristaeus had to pay for his sin, the loss of his bees, also seems to have benefited the community, which was thus introduced to the art of the *Bugonia*.[140] Moreover, it should be underlined that the innovations of Prometheus as well as that of

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Aristaeus was also associated with Achilles (see nn3-4, 10, 120, 122, 124 above).

[138] Prometheus was a Titan and therefore, immortal; Heracles was said to have freed Prometheus from his torture; Soph.Trach.*passim*; also see C. Penglase 1994: 225 who compared Prometheus with the rebel god in the *Epic of Atrahasis*; cf. G.S. Kirk 1974: 260 also quoted by Penglase ibid.: 225n68. For the conception of punishment as reflected in Prometheus' penalty, see D.S. Allen 1999: 25-35. M.L. West 1997: 582-4 explained the motif of Prometheus' sentence to have his liver eaten by an eagle as an influence from Near Eastern apocalyptic prophecy. His argument was based on the similarities between PV1014-25 and Isa.24.18-22. According to tradition, Prometheus was bound on Mt Caucasus; see Cic.Pr.Sol.fr.193.28; Strab.183. However, J.D.P. Bolton 1962: 46 cited a hypothesis of *Prometheus Vinctus*, which argued that the author of the play did not mention Caucasus but the 'European margin of Ocean,' a clue inferred by the dialogue between Prometheus and Io (schol.PV1).

[139] PV442ff.; cf. ll.506: "πᾶσαι τέχναι βροτοῖσιν ἐκ Προμηθέως." Elsewhere Prometheus was presented as the creator of humankind (Apollod.Bibl.1.45); W. Burkert 1985: 171; P.A. Vander Waerdt 1981: 226ff. (cf. n127). In the *Theogony* Prometheus is the son of Iapetos and Clymene and therefore, it must be assumed that he belonged to the second generation of Titans.

[140] Prometheus' sliding was twofold because he tricked Zeus in the sharing of the sacrificial animal and he additionally, stole fire; see T. Gantz 1993: 154. Equally Aristaeus in Vergil not only tries to commit adultery but he also causes Eurydice's death (and consequently Orpheus' eternal grief). Hesiod narrated the myth of Prometheus in both the *Theogony* and the *Work and Days*, although the two versions are slightly inconsistent; see C. Penglase 1994: 200-4.

Aristaeus seem to rely on animals,[141] and more specifically on the domestication of animals.[142] By comparison, it should also be noticed that Orpheus was famous for taming wild animals with the power of his music.[143] The association of these heroes with cult also offers a strong link between them. The origins of their cults seem to have sprung from the same concern about the relation of humans with nature and more specifically with animals.[144] The

[141] Prometheus and Aristaeus performed a kind of sacrifice; since Prometheus was mentioned as the first man to have performed a sacrifice (Hes.Th.535-7; Op.42-50) he could be compared to Lycaon who was also discussed in relation with cultural innovations (rather through Arcas, his descendant). In addition, Lycaon was said to have shown impiety when visited by Zeus because he refused to recognise the god's sovereignty; Ovid set Lycaon's reign after Jupiter had hurled down the Giants (or Titans) who had tried to climb to Olympus (Met.1.318f.). Then the Earth drenched with their gore breathed new life into this, creating human beings. However, they were also cruel and contemptuous of the gods-especially impious was Lycaon, king of Arcadia. Therefore, Zeus decided to destroy them. Only Deucalion, son of Prometheus and his wife and cousin Pyrrha were spared.

[142] J.P. Vernant 1981: 57-79 (esp.79) wrote: 'The close of the Age of Gold means three things simultaneously: the necessity of sacrificial fire to cook meat, the necessity of agricultural labour to cook corn, the necessity of cooking-fire to render corn fit to eat…Prometheus' trickery did not simply establish, for all time, the rules for the division of the sacrificial victim. It brought in its train, no less inevitably, the constraint of labour, of *ponos*. Henceforth men, that they may eat as men eat, are doomed to the cultivation of corn as they are doomed to cook in the sacrifice.' Vergil in *Georgics* 4 describes the labour of Aristaeus. It may be argued that he wished to discuss the problem of loss (in both the cases of Aristaeus and Orpheus). Similarly, Prometheus' mission of recovering fire replaces its loss.

[143] For Orpheus' enchanting effect on nature, see I.M. Linforth 1973: 31-5; cf. Sim.fr.27 (Diehl); Aesch.Ag.1629ff.; Eur.Bacch.560ff.: IA121ff: Cycl.646ff.: Med.542ff.; Plat.Prt.315A. According to Paus.9.30.5, Orpheus was slain by the thunderbolt of Zeus which is parallel to the end of *Prometheus Vinctus* where Hermes warned Prometheus that if he did not repent, Zeus would strike with his thunderbolt the rock to which he was bound and he would imprison him inside the rock; see I.M. Linforth ibid.: 16; M.L. West 1997: 282-3.

[144] In Pl.Prt.320c-323a, Socrates tried to attribute to Prometheus even the art of politics. M. Detienne 1981: 217 maintained that there were four movements, which reflected the politico-religious system of the Greeks,

humanity and the tragedy of a benefactor as personified in Prometheus[145] reached its peak when the hero explained how he initiated mortals into the reverence of the gods, his fellow gods at whose hands he had suffered so much (PV493-8):

> "σπλάγχνων τε λειότητα, καὶ χροιὰν τίνα
> ἔχουσ' ἂν εἴη δαίμοσιν πρὸς ἡδονήν
> χολή, λοβοῦ τε ποικίλην εὐμορφίαν.
> κνίσηι τε κῶλα ξυγκαλυπτὰ καὶ μακρὰν
> ὀσφῦν πυρώσας δυστέκμαρτον εἰς τέχνην
> ὤδωσα θνητούς, καὶ φλογωπὰ σήματα
> ἐξωμμάτωσα πρόσθεν ὄντ' ἐπάργεμα."

Hence, Prometheus was associated with sacrificial practice, while Aristaeus' invention of the *Bugonia* also relied on a certain sacrificial procedure. Finally, Orpheus was mentioned as the initiator of many cults in which animal sacrifice was generally avoided.[146] Furthermore, Hesiod described Prometheus' foolhardiness as the main reason for the cessation of the Golden Age and the introduction of people not only to civilisation but also to poverty, illnesses, senility, and above all to death.[147] Vergil in the

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and in which cannibalism was given a particular stress, either positive or negative: Pythagoreanism, Orphism, the Dionysian sects and the Cynics. Politics and religion in ancient Greece were based on a ritual of sacrifice, which codified Greek rules about eating. In Greece the consumption of meat was ultimately related to the sacrifice of a domesticated animal; Pl.Plt.271d; Prt.321a. It is also agreed that animals existed for the benefit of man. See Porph.Abst.1.6; Arist.Pol.1.8.1256b7-26.

[145] That the educated Romans were familiar with the works of Aeschylus cannot be doubted; cf. Cicero's translation of *Prometheus Solutus* in Tusc.2.10.23-5. Regarding the invention of the arts by Prometheus see ch3n112 (Daphnis and Prometheus) and Ec.5.30-1. Also cf.Ecl.5.35: "tu decus omne tuis" with PV506 quoted above n139, where Prometheus claims the invention of all arts for himself. See W. Berg 1965: 17.

[146] I.M. Linforth 1973: 68: 'Orpheus, like Hesiod and Homer, has been of service to the world; and two benefactions are expressly mentioned: he has instituted "τελεταί," and he has taught men to abstain from bloodshed.' Linforth also remarked that 'the word "τελεταί," though it may be used of any kind of religious ceremony, is applied mostly to rites in which the prime purpose is not to worship the gods, but to produce peace for the soul of the participant.' Prometheus was often regarded as a symbol of the binding of the human soul to a body; cf. Pl.Leg.6.782.

[147] J.P. Vernant 1981: 56: 'man is mortal like the beasts…as it is, he is aware that he must die, but knows neither its time nor its manner. So

fourth book of the *Georgics* described the different reactions of Orpheus and Aristaeus towards loss, and ultimately towards death.[148] Orpheus has often been accused of not being able to overcome his grief for the loss of Eurydice.[149] However, even

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Hope, which is foresight but blind (Aesch.PV250; Pl.Grg.523d-e), a saving illusion, both good and bad, hope is the one thing that allows men to endure this ambiguous, divided existence, the consequence of Prometheus' deceit in the institution of the first sacrificial meal. Ever since, everything has had its dark face: no communication with the gods which is not also, in sacrifice, the acknowledgement that between mortals and immortals there lies an impassable barrier; no fortune without misfortune; no birth without death; no plenty without toil; no Prometheus without Epimetheus. And no man without Pandora;' also, see S. Bernadete 1964: 126-39. For the blame of the necessity of death on women, see App.IIp.465f.

[148] However, see C. Segal 1978: 106-14; on the one hand, Orpheus embodies the ability to triumph over death by his art -music, poetry, and language. The creative power of art allies itself with the power of love. On the other hand, the myth symbolises the failure of art in front of death. Antipater of Sidon (see ch4n94 for the Greek quotation) writes in his epigram (120 BC) that no longer Orpheus will lead the oak trees under his spell nor the rocks nor the herds of beasts that will from now on obey their own laws. No longer will he put to sleep the roar of the winds nor the hail nor the swirl of snowflakes nor the crashing sea. Antipater realises that Orpheus is already dead and the Muses, daughters of Mnemosyne (memory), have wept over him. Most of all, he was lamented by his mother Calliope. The poet finishes his epigram with a sad remark that not even the gods have the power to save their children from Hades. See ch4n94; cf. Gilgamesh's inconsolable grief for the death of Enkidu in ch2n170.

[149] M. Detienne 1981: 95ff. interpreted *Georgics* 4 as an allegory for Thesmophoria in contrast with Adonia. However, in my view, he missed the point by restricting the subject to conjugal chastity. Vergil was rather interested in the experience of loss and death: 'Crowned with aphrodisiac plants such as myrtle and mint and gorging themselves with cakes spiced with sesame seeds and poppy seeds, the bridal pair need think of nothing else but leading a life of pleasure and hedonism, a life of *hedupatheia*. This is a way of life symbolised by honey, for the Greek proverbial tradition makes an equation between the expressions 'to sprinkle oneself with honey' and *hedupatheia*, which is the search of excessive pleasure and satisfaction. At this time, the 'honeymoon,' the bride runs the risk of becoming a hornet –*kephen*- turning into the reverse of a bee, a carnivorous bee. Plato describes as 'hornet honey' all the pleasures of the

Aristaeus felt the loss of his bees with an intensity that blindly blotted out the rest of life:[150]

> "quin age et ipsa manu felicis erue silvas,
> fer stabulis inimicum ignem atque interfice messis,
> ure sata et validam in vitis molire bipennem,
> tanta meae si te ceperunt taedia laudis."

Therefore, their reaction to death could be seen as another major link between Aristaeus, Orpheus, and Prometheus. Their substance as culture heroes seems to have focused on their reaction towards the necessity of death, and it could vary from recklessness towards the gods as posed by Prometheus to the inconsolable mourning of Orpheus.[151] Since Vergil in his *Georgics* keeps posing

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belly and the flesh. To see that Eurydice was particularly fitted for the part of the young bride in the honeymoon, we need only remember that the mythical figure of Eurydice is entirely swallowed up in her love for Orpheus, the Thracian enchanter.'

[150] G.4.329-32. Also, C. Segal 1966: 307ff. wrote: 'The tragedy of Orpheus in the second part of the book is the tragedy of man and the tragedy of civilisation. Unlike the bees, man cannot reconcile himself to the conditions of life and nature, does not accept the fundamental facts of existence, challenges death itself and then even looses the fruits of victory because of "dementia" and "furor" (G.4.488, 495)… Orpheus is deeply human; he loves, suffers, and dies. What survives him is precisely that which arises out of his suffering and love, the echoing cry for lost wife. The natural world, which outlasts human grief, is full of Eurydice's name and remembrance (4.523-7).'

[151] C. Penglase 1994: 204-216 (esp.205-7) commented on the birth of Pandora as captured on a volute crater dated about 440 BC. It seems that Pandora had 'an agricultural creation or birth from within the earth.' The scene was repeated on a red-figured amphora of the beginnings of the 5th century BC that is kept in London and on a black-figured vase. According to Penglase, it seems that the idea behind the depiction is the rise from the underworld, which is consistent with Pind.Nem.6.1ff. where he referred to the common origin of men and gods from the Mother Earth. In these scenes, Pandora rises from the earth like Gaia, Persephone, and Aphrodite. An Apulian crater of the second half of the 4th century BC depicted Pandora as emerging from the earth holding a torch (LIMC; cf. Ar.Pax289-360); cf. P.A. Marquardt 1982: 285-291 also quoted by Penglase (207n23). A parallelism between Pandora and Persephone is confirmed by the fact that Hermes, the *psychopompos* was depicted as escorting both goddesses (Op.83-5 and Hom.h.Dem.335ff.). The comparison could stress the relation of the myth of Prometheus with the

various models of civilisation and organised life such as the Norici (G.3.474f.), the Libyans (G.3.249, 339), the Scythians (G.3.197, 349), and the bee-society (G.4.201f.), it seems possible that he would also introduce in his work different culture heroes to represent those modes of life.

The role of Aristaeus as a culture hero is supported by the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius.[152] In the following description, Aristaeus shares with Prometheus the same care for man and his suffering in the natural world:

> "τοῦ γὰρ κατηστερισμένου κυνὸς[153] φλέγοντος τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους καὶ πολὺν χρόνον αὐχμοῦ τε καὶ ἀφορίας οὔσης, οἱ τὴν Κέω κατοικοῦντες ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο Ἀριστα῀ον τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κυρήνης ἐκ Φθίας, ὁ δὲ παραλαβών τινας ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Κέω καὶ *Διὸς ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο* Ἰκμαίου ἕνεκα τοῦ τοὺς ὄμβρους γίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸν κύνα *ἐξιλάσατο,* καὶ *ἐνομοθέτησε* κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοῖς Κείοις μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπιτηρεῖν τὴν ἐπιτολὴν τοῦ Κυνὸς καὶ *θύειν αὐτῷ*. ὅθεν οἱ ἐτησίαι πνέουσι καταψύχοντες τῷ θέρει τὴν γῆν, καὶ αὐχμοῦ ἀπηλλάγησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες."[154] (my emphasis)

Eleusinian mysteries. Demeter and Prometheus were given similar civilising roles and their correspondence is implied in Paus.9.25.5-6 where he said that Demeter made the acquaintance of Prometheus, who in this version was one of the Cabiri, and of his son Aetnaeus, and entrusted something to their care.

[152] Scholiast on Ap.Rhod.2.498 (Wendel 527a). Apollonius had also presented Orpheus as a poetic scientist who could interpret the natural laws (cf. Ap.Rhod.1.496-51). For Prometheus as a natural deity, see ch3p.232f. and W. Berg 1965: 18-20. Berg argued that Vergil was significantly influenced by Aeschylus and was convinced that he had particularly in mind the satyr-play *Pyrkaeus*.

[153] Prometheus was also associated with astronomy (PV457ff.); cf. Ec.5.56-68 where Menalcas announced the *catasterismos* of Daphnis. In addition, tradition reported that the lyre (and the head) of Orpheus was placed among the stars (see Hyg.Astr.2.7). Furthermore, Aristaeus instructed the inhabitants of Ceos to venerate Zeus in armour while Orpheus was accused as the founder of a strictly male community of militaristic character.

[154] See Callim.Aet.fr.75.32-7; cf. Cic.Div.1.130; Heraclid.Pont.Resp.9.2. Zeus was the major weather god of the Greeks and, from this point of

Aristaeus was described as instructing men how to venerate the gods in the way Prometheus taught them to please the divine with sacrificial offerings. In the *Georgics* Zeus opted that men should work hard in order to achieve progress and eventually happiness. The Golden Age needed to come to an end, and the earth would refuse men its fruits, so that they would be obliged to fight their sloth. However, besides his civilising action-plan for the moulding of human nature, the Father of the Gods evidently wished to claim divine worship for himself as well as for the other gods.[155] It is plausible that Vergil would have accepted such a function of the divine providence because in the first proem of the *Georgics* Liber, Ceres, Neptune, Minerva and Triptolemus were all mentioned as originators.[156] In the new theodicy, Jupiter himself caused the wine running in rivers to dry up, so that for winemaking

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view, Aristaeus can be paralleled with Prometheus who specifically was opposed to Zeus out of love for Man. For Zeus as a weather-god, see A.B. Cook 1965: 1-11; for the significance of the cult during the Hellenistic years especially in Thessaly and Macedonia, see P. Chrysostomou 1989: 21-72.

[155] E.M. Stehle 1974: 347-369. Pseudo-Aeschylus was particularly engaged with the problem of Justice in the world of Zeus. In *Prometheus Vinctus* (ll.12-16) the god was presented as totally lawless and violent: '*Nomos* was humble and *Bia* was enthroned beside Zeus.' However, it seems that by the end of the play Zeus has agreed with Prometheus to offer humans *dike*. Dike is often used of the laws that govern the natural order. H.J. Lloyd-Jones ²1983: 161 wrote: '*Dike* means basically the order of the universe, and in this religion the gods maintain a cosmic order.' This is very clear in Heraclitus fr.52 in which the Erinyes police the laws of nature in the service of Dike (also implied in Anaximander 12B1VS). The alterations of fortune that characterise human life seem to be a reflection of Dike (also see n261).

[156] The role of the bringer of Justice was given to Orpheus according to the author of Dem.25.11 = fr.23 which was often regarded as an interpolation. In the lines cited below, Orpheus is cast in the role of Prometheus who forced Zeus to accept the leading role of Justice among people: "…καὶ τὴν ἀπαραίτητον καὶ σεμνὴν Δίκην, ἣν ὁ τὰς ἁγιωτάτας ἡμῖν τελετὰς καταδείξας Ὀρφεὺς παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς θρόνον φησὶ καθημένην πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐφορᾶν." R.D. Brown 1987: 196, 203; see the BT-scholia ad loc: "ἐπίσκοποι γάρ εἰσι τῶν παρὰ φύσιν." Also E.R. Dodds 1951: 7-8; H.J. Lloyd-Jones ²1983: 75 (esp.n119 citing Heracl.fr.94: "Ἥλιος γὰρ ὑπερβήσεται μέτρα· εἰ δὲ μή, Ἐρινύες μιν Δίκης ἐπίκουροι ἐξευρήσουσιν."

in future Bacchus should be invoked.[157] Ceres came to men's aid at the end of the Golden Age and taught them cultivation of crops. It appears that the relation between men and the gods had been established exactly when the Golden Age finished.[158] It is not accidental that Pausanias (8.4.1) presented Aristaeus and Triptolemus(!) as the two instructors of Arcas in Arcadia:

> "Μετὰ δὲ Νύκτιμον ἀποθανόντα Ἄρκας ἐξεδέξατο ὁ Καλλιστοῦς τὴν ἀρχήν· καὶ τόν τε ἥμερον καρπὸν ἐσηγάγετο οὗτος παρὰ Τριπτολέμου καὶ τὴν ποίησιν ἐξεδίδαξε τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ἐσθῆτα ὑφαίνεσθαι καὶ ἄλλα τὰ ἐς τὴν ταλασίαν μαθὼν παρ' Ἀρισταίου."

The above description brings Aristaeus in the context of the Eleusinian mysteries where Orpheus held from an early date an indisputable role (see ch3p.271f.). Surprisingly Pausanias refers to Aristaeus' skill in poetry, a tradition totally undocumented otherwise and almost exclusively associated with Orpheus. Perhaps then, Vergil's effort to introduce Orpheus in Arcadia at the end of the *Eclogues* makes more sense since Orpheus and Aristaeus seem to have shared several of their domains of influence, according to some traditions at least (cf. ch4p.285f.). Pausanias' description

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[157] It seems that in later years Zeus acquired a definitely more positive character. See P.A. Johnston 1980: 66, esp.n10; according to Euhemerus, Jupiter was preoccupied with improving the life of mortals. He 'encourages new discoveries, suppresses barbaric practices such as cannibalism (in which Saturnus habitually engaged) and establishes law and customs.' The relevant texts have survived; ap.Lact.1.2.32; 1.13.2 and 1.11.44 respectively. Johnston compared Zeus' benefaction with the initiative of the Egyptian Osiris who was credited with the discovery of the vine and with teaching agriculture to humankind; see Tib.1.7.29-32; Diod.Sic.1.11-17 and Plut.DeIs.etOs.12-20. The historian Diodorus Siculus (ap. Eus.Pr.Ev.2.2.59b-61a) argued that the gods gave humankind several inventions. It is very interesting to observe that Plato in Phdr.274c analytically referred to the Egyptian god "Θεύθ," who introduced all arts, numbers and letters to the Egyptians when Thamou (= Tammuz!) was the king of Egypt. Plato locates the story to Naucratis in Egypt, a city with major Greek past.

[158] However, according to Diod.Sic.5.66.4 and 5.70, Cronus was one of the Titans and Zeus did not rebelled against him, but just succeeded him to the throne after his death. In his account Cronus (almost like Demeter) travelled over the world and taught people Justice and "τὴν ἁπλότητα τῆς ψυχῆς."

seems to maintain the view that civilisation started when men first experienced hardship; and so did religion.[159] Consequently, it should not be surprising that all great culture heroes were also regarded as cult initiators of some sort.[160]

The cultural contribution of Prometheus and Aristaeus has already been discussed. Orpheus commonly posed as the religious leader of a number of cults,[161] but it seems that his benefaction as a culture leader had not been overlooked. In a text of unfortunately uncertain date, which has often been attributed to Alcidamas,[162] the

[159] J.P. Vernant 1981: 71: 'Again just like the sacrificial victim, cereals are eaten at the end of a negotiation conducted with the gods. The eating of corn establishes between men and gods a form of ritual communication while, in its very essence, it underscores the separation, the distance, the disparity between their statuses.' Also M. Detienne 1963: 34-51.

[160] E.B. Tyler argued that in an attempt to invent science primitive man accidentally invented religion. Humanity has spent the rest of evolutionary time trying to correct this error (G.S. Kirk 1971). Note that in Arcadia Prometheus was specifically known as the recipient of the mysteries in honour of the Kabiroi and the 'Mother;' see A. Schachter 2003: 135.

[161] M. Grant 1962: 312-3; the name of Orpheus has been attached to a collection of religious movements or tendencies, which reached their climax in the 6th century BC. He was held to have been a human prophet and teacher and a religious founder. His rites were linked or identified with those of the Thracian god Dionysus-Bacchus (although later the adherents of the two were at variance). For alongside the tearing of Orpheus himself (the subject of Aeschylus' *Bassarae*), the Orphics adopted the myth of the child Dionysus that was dismembered by the Titans. Orpheus was also united, especially at Delphi, with Apollo, of whom he may originally have been a satellite; although they came to be contrasted, both put emphasis on purification and righteousness. Therefore, Orpheus combined both the Apolline and Dionysian tendencies in Greek religion. The Orphics taught that there are judgements and rewards after death. In addition, that a man's soul was a fallen demon or god impatient of its imprisonment in an alien body and due for a cycle of perpetual re-embodiment on earth. This sorrowful wheel could be escaped by initiation and by righteousness. Six centuries later in the *Aeneid*, Vergil amalgamates such doctrines with the Stoic idea (already expressed in G.4.221 of a universal spirit from which all animate creatures possess a spark).

[162] Alcidamas, c. 4th century BC was a rhetorician and sophist, who

author pointed out the inventions for which Orpheus was renowned:

"γράμματα μὲν δὴ πρῶτος Ὀρφεὺς ἐξήνεγκε,
παρὰ Μουσῶν μαθών, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι
αὐτοῦ δηλοῖ τὰ ἐπιγράμματα·"

Alcidamas continued his argument by citing the memorial epigram in honour of Orpheus. Although the date of the epigram has been frequently disputed,[163] its importance is nonetheless undoubted:[164]

"Μουσάων πρόπολον τῇδ' Ὀρφέα Θρῇκες ἔθηκαν,
ὃν κτάνεν ὑψιμέδων Ζεὺς ψολοέντι βέλει,
Οἰάγρου φίλον υἱόν, ὃς Ἡρακλῆ ἐξεδίδαξεν[165],
εὑρὼν ἀνθρώποις γράμματα καὶ σοφίην."

The next evidence regarding the image of Orpheus as a culture hero comes from Plato, who in his Critias included Orpheus among the main "εὑρεταί" of civilisation (1.28B) (cf. n157):

"τοῦτο ὅτι μὲν μυριάκις μύρια ἔτη διελάνθανεν

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had studied under Gorgias. He was a rival of Isocrates (Ps-Alcidamas, Ulixes 24 (Blass), Antiphon = Test 123 quoted by I.M. Linforth 1973: 15). Note that the invention of the letters was normally attributed to Palamedes (as well as Cadmus); see Hyg.Fab.277.

163 I.M. Linforth 1973: 15. It has been suggested that the epigram is the result of Athenian propaganda to gratify the Thracians c. 431 BC. However, even if there are elements of truth in this claim, the epigram reflects widely spread beliefs about Orpheus at that time.

164 Only two other authors throughout antiquity seem to have been aware of the quoted epigram; Diogenes Laertius, who borrowed its second line in one of his *Proems* and Pausanias, who repeated the idea that Orpheus was slain by the thunderbolt of Zeus; see Diog.Laert.Pr.5 and Paus.9.30.5; also, see I.M. Linforth 1931: 5-11.

165 Prometheus also had a special relation to Heracles who was often presented as acquiring information from the Titan regarding his adventure in the Gardens of the Hesperides or as his liberator. Hesiod in Th.525 recorded that Heracles freed Prometheus, while in Aeschylus, Zeus allowed Prometheus to be freed and Heracles just shot the eagle that ate his liver every day, Pherec.3F17 [cf. Pherec.ap.schol.Ap.Rhod.4.1396]. Zeus allowed Heracles to free Prometheus because he wished his son to acquire the greatest possible glory; see T. Gantz 1993: 160-2. Dio Chrysostom (4.25) also attributed to Antisthenes a text where Prometheus appears as the teacher of Heracles. On the civilising effort of Heracles, see F.A. Sullivan 1961: 169 quoted above.

ἄρα τοὺς τότε, χίλια δὲ ἀφ' οὗ γέγονεν, ἢ δὶς τοσαῦτα ἔτη, τὰ μὲν Δαιδάλῳ καταφανῆ γέγονεν, τὰ δὲ Ὀρφεῖ, τὰ δὲ Παλαμήδει, τὰ δὲ περὶ μουσικὴν Μαρσύα καὶ Ὀλύμπῳ, περὶ λύραν δὲ Ἀμφίονι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἄλλοις πάμπολλα, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν χθὲς καὶ πρῴην γεγονότα."

The fact that the Roman poets had inherited these positive views about Orpheus' cultural contribution was testified by Horace who wrote:[166]

"silvestris homines sacer interpresque deorum
caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus,
dictus ob hoc lenire tigris rapidosque leones."

In addition, in the *Eclogues* (5.29-31) Daphnis was presented in the footsteps of Orpheus as

"…et Armenias curru subiungere tigris
instituit, Daphnis thiasos inducere Bacchi
et foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas."

Hence, Orpheus was obviously thought to have exercised cultural influence on humankind,[167] in the way Aristaeus was worshipped about inventing the *Bugonia* and in the way Prometheus used to receive reverence as a craftsman, especially in the area of Attica.[168] In fact, the Titan was regarded as the father of all major

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[166] The line "caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus" (Ec.5.30) brings to mind the phrase "φόνων ἀπέχεσθαι," according to which, it was Prometheus' cultural inventions rather than those of Orpheus that deterred humans from committing murders. See Hor.Ar.Poet.391ff.; Hor.Carm.3.3.13-5; Prop.1.9.19 and Verg.Aen.6.804-5. As mentioned, Orpheus had constituted certain types of sacrifice based on bloodless offerings (Leg.6.782C). For vegetarianism and the Orphic way of living, see I.M. Linforth 1973: 97-8.

[167] For Daphnis as modelled on Orpheus' figure in the *Eclogues*, see ch2n62. Although the discovery of Orpheus is not clarified, music and the art of the lyre are clearly attributed to other heroes. For Orpheus as a lyre-player, see Pl.Ion 533B-C and Leg.8.829D-E. It has been suggested that Orpheus is included in this list as the initiator of mysteries. For Orpheus as a singer in the Underworld, see Paus.10.28. Also cf. Mall.Theodor.De metr.4.1 who attributed to Orpheus the invention of the dactylic hexameter (I.M. Linforth 1973: 35-6).

[168] Paus.10.4.4; Hor.Carm.1.16.13ff. Prometheus also had a special relation with Hephaestus whose art was necessary for the creation of humankind. According to a legend, Prometheus shared with Athena the creation of humans. On a sarcophagus dated c. 270 AD (held at the

arts, some of which he enumerated in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vinctus*. In addition, in the above texts Orpheus was presented specifically as inventor, the title attributed to Aristaeus for the discovery of the art of the *Bugonia*.[169] Hence, it seems that a comparison between these multifarious personalities can be sustained at least regarding the cultural aspect of their character. A further investigation of their traits as deities and as religious leaders could reveal more about the contrast (or the similarity) of Aristaeus with Orpheus, as well as about Vergil's intention of including this bipolar relation in his work. Of course, in the fourth book of the *Georgics* Vergil does not present his audience with an analysis like the one attempted here; and he remains equally reserved about the long traditions associated with both Orpheus and Aristaeus, probably an indication of his familiarity with the material for which we need to be briefed.

THE THREE HEROES AS DEITIES

The margins between a culture hero and a deity were indeed very vague in antiquity, and hence, they often overlapped. Prometheus was admittedly a god, and, to his bitter cries that Zeus did not respect his divine nature by punishing him so harshly, Hephaestus remarked sharply (PV29-30):

Capitolian Museum) the creation of the world was engraved. Prometheus is seen holding a man whom he created; Athena breathes soul into him in the form of a butterfly. On a small pedestal in front of Athena, a man stands looking rather sad, while behind Athena stands Soul looking also sad. To the right, the man is lying dead. A small cupid laments as the soul is leaving his body in the form of a butterfly. Hermes leads the winged soul back to heaven. To the left, Earth is represented holding the cornucopia, surrounded by souls and cupids. To the left again, Oceanus holds a rudder, and the sun is in his chariot. To the far right, Night is rising; behind Prometheus, there is Clotho, drawing the man's thread, and Lachesis, setting his horoscope on the sphere. Atropos stands next to the dead man holding his written destiny (for a photo of the sarcophagus, see http://bama.ua.edu/~ksummers/cl222/LECT2/sld002.htm).

[169] Furthermore, it seems that Orpheus was especially engaged with the problem of Dike in the world like Prometheus was. Dem.25.2 argued that it was Orpheus who conceived the image of Dike sitting next to Zeus. I.M. Linforth 1973: 144-5 commented on Hesiod's similar preoccupation (Op.256ff.) with Justice and suggested reasons for Demosthenes' choice to refer to Orpheus and not Hesiod.

"θεὸς θεῶν γὰρ οὐχ ὑποπτήσων χόλον
βροτοῖσι τιμὰς ὤπασας πέρα δίκης."[170]

Prometheus himself said in the same drama (PV91-2; 119-23):

"καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ
ἰδέσθε μ' οἷα πρὸς θεῶν πάσχω θεός.
ὁρᾶτε δεσμώτην με δύσποτμον θεόν,
τὸν Διὸς ἐχθρόν, τὸν πᾶσι θεοῖς
δι' ἀπεχθείας ἐλθόνθ' ὁπόσοι
τὴν Διὸς αὐλὴν εἰσοιχνεῦσιν,
διὰ τὴν λίαν φιλότητα βροτῶν."[171]

Despite the fact that the divine nature of Prometheus seems to have been widely recognised, the evidence of a cult in his honour during antiquity was rather scarce. It has even been doubted that he was worshipped at all by the Greeks.[172] Nevertheless, the scholiast both to Sophocles[173] and Pausanias confirmed that Prometheus shared an altar with Hephaestus in the Academia at Athens.[174] Prometheus' reconciliation with Hephaestus and possibly a reference to the specific altar were likely to have been included in either the Lyomenos or the Pyrphoros.[175]

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[170] Cf. n222 below on Orpheus' death due to the anger of the gods because he revealed to humans their mysteries or because he told offensive stories about them. Also, see W. Berg 1965.

[171] From this point of view, Prometheus' excessive love for humans resembles Orpheus, who was often accused of being excessively in love with his young wife (cf. ch3n114).

[172] R.L. Farnell 1909: 5.381; Also M.P. Nilsson ²1955: 1.751n7.

[173] Oed.Col.56; Paus.1.30.2. It appears that this altar had been the starting point for torch-races in antiquity.

[174] In PV20, Hephaestus tells Prometheus that he must follow the orders of Zeus and rivet him with brazen bonds on a craggy rock against his own will; such would the prize of Prometheus be for his championship of man. See the comments of Griffith ⁵2000: 86ff. Hephaestus was definitely reluctant to obey Zeus' orders who is here described as establishing a new tyranny over the gods having overthrown Cronus. Hephaestus was regarded as the protector of blacksmiths and in Homer, he was the owner of fire (Il.9.468), therefore he should be expected to have a special relationship with Prometheus. Note that Hephaestus also had an active role in the creation of Pandora. For the erotic motif of chaining a lover, see ch1p.94.

[175] See W. Berg 1965: 11-23 discussed above for the influence of the satyr-drama on Vergil. Also, see T. Gantz 1993: 157 who seems to accept the possibility.

Aristaeus' cult has been confirmed by various sources in antiquity.[176] Diodorus Siculus offered an interesting testimony according to which Aristaeus visited Thrace and was initiated to the mysteries of Dionysus, a god closely associated with Orpheus.[177] Moreover, Diodorus remarked that his worship was practised by both Greeks and barbarians.

> "μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλας τε νῆσους ἐπελθεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν διατρῖψαί τινα χρόνον, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καρπῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ βοσκομένων κτηνῶν φιλοτιμηθῆναι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἐνδείξασθαι τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας. διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκοῦσι διαφερόντως φασὶ τιμηθῆναι τὸν Ἀρισταῖον ὡς θεόν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὸ τῶν συγκομιζόντων τὸν τῆς ἐλαίας καρπόν. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον μυθολογοῦσιν αὐτὸν εἰς Θρᾴκην παραλαβόντα πρὸς Διόνυσον μετασχεῖν τῶν ὀργίων, καὶ συνδιατρίψεντα τῷ θεῷ πολλὰ μαθεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν χρησίμων· περὶ δὲ τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Αἷμον οἰκήσαντά τινα χρόνον ἄφαντον γενέσθαι, καὶ τυχεῖν ἀθανάτων τιμῶν οὐ μόνον ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι."[178]

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[176] E.M. Stehle 1974: 363 suggested that Aristaeus' connection with the Jovian world and its theodicy is made explicit through the echoes in language. The narrative is introduced in lines reminiscent of the theodicy (4.315 "quis deus?"). The phrase "extudit artem" is taken up again a few lines later by Aristaeus himself (4.326-8). Aristaeus is invoked in the proem to book 1 as an agricultural god (1.14-5) and he is closely connected in mythology with Zeus. Orpheus on the other hand, lives a Golden Age kind of life. Also, see E. Norden 1966: 488-96, esp.494 where "usus" and "experiential" are identified. Norden on pages 492-3n47 claimed that Aristaeus' tradition had taken on some elements from the Democritean Culture theory. He thought that Diodorus (4.81.2-3) inserted elements of the theory in his mythological account of Aristaeus.

[177] Diod.Sic.4.82; also, Heraclid.Pont.Eus.fr.46 (Wehrli); Cic.Div.1.30 (= fr.141 Wehrli). Cicero says that Aristaeus was taught bee keeping by the Brisae, a name connected with Dionysus Brisaeus (cf. Macrob.Sat.1.18.9). Also, see D. Detschew 1957: 89f. It seems that already Aristaeus was linked with the traditional sphere of Orpheus' activities.

[178] See Sall.schol.Serv.G.1.14; Nigid.Fig.schol.Germ.Arat.287 and Paus.10.17.3f.

The cult of Aristaeus[179] son of Apollo and Cyrene,[180] as protector of cattle and fruit-trees, originated in Thessaly, but was also found in Cyrene, Ceos, Boeotia and elsewhere. Pindar offered one of the first accounts where Apollo was described as falling in love with Cyrene and carrying her off to Libya[181] where she gave birth to Aristaeus.[182] However, it could be argued that Aristaeus'

[179] Servius' *scholia* on 1.14; also see Apollod.Bibl.1.7.6: 1.3.4: 3.10.3: 3.1.2; Paus.10.17.3. Aristaeus claims both a heroic and a divine status like most culture heroes. For Apollo's sanctuaries on Mt Lycaeus where Aristaeus is asked to propitiate the gods, see Paus.8.38 and M. Jost 1985: 183f.

[180] Cyrene used to hunt wild animals on Mt Pelion. Apollo saw her once fighting with a powerful lion; C. Calame 2003: 69-70; cf. Pind.Pyth.9.5.ff.; Ap.Rhod.2.500ff.; Callim.h.Dian.206 and h.Apoll.92; Apollod.Bibl.1.9.13: 2.5.8; Diod.Sic.4.81.1-2; Hyg.Fab.14; Nonn.29.185; Paus.1.43.5. Aphrodite greeted the couple's union at Libya. She bedded them immediately in Libya's golden chamber. Aristaeus had the names of immortal Zeus, Pure Apollo, and Guardian of the flocks (Pindar). It was also said that while Cyrene was in Libya in the care of the Myrtle Nymphs Apollo visited her again and this time she bore Idmon the seer. Aristaeus was also called Agreus and Nomius. For Cyrene as one of the maidens who would roam the mountains with Artemis like Atalanta, see ch1nn21 and 25, p.14. Since Aristaeus poses as the Arcadian master of civilisation who in Pausanias (cited above) taught Arcas the arts of civilisation, Cyrene and Aristaeus could be the Vergilian response to Callisto and Arcas (cf. C. Calame ibid.: 70-74).

[181] See Pind.Pyth.9; historically Cyrene was founded by Thera in 630 BC under the leadership of Battus. Maybe the myth of the love of Apollo with Cyrene and her carrying off to Libya is contemporary and tries to explain the colonisation (Justin 13.7). See C. Calame 2003: 35-113 for the various levels of interpretation that can be applied to the narrations regarding the foundation of Cyrene. Geographically Libya is isolated from the other civilised regions of Africa; thus, it shares a lot with Arcadia. In 570 BC the colony was attacked by the Egyptians and it later (525 BC) formed part of the Persian Empire of Darius. After the death of Alexander the Great, it was often part of the province of Egypt. C. Calame ibid: 64 maintains that 'the association of Libya with Zeus is not evident solely in the cult of Ammon,' but also in the ancestry of Libya that goes back to the Danaans and the climate of Cyrene that is often fertilised by accumulated black clouds. It seems that in Cyrene's tale the presence of Zeus is as strong as that of Apollo, a remark that also applies to *Georgics* 4.

[182] R. Coleman 1962: 66 argued that there is no hint in earlier literature

Libyan birth decreased the distance between his legendary discovery and the practice of the *Bugonia* as described by Vergil in the land of Egypt.[183] Hence, there is no real contradiction in Vergil's employment of the two practices, both the Egyptian and the Thessalian, since at least in mythology the two places were associated. Vergil cited the Egyptian custom right after stating that it was the shepherd Aristaeus who discovered this technique. Nevertheless, after citing the ritual of the *Bugonia* as performed in Egypt Vergil asked:[184]

"quis deus hanc, Musae, quis nobis extudit artem?
Unde nova ingressus hominum experientia cepit?"

The lines cited above are a direct answer to Lucretius' deification of the philosopher Epicurus in *De Rerum Natura* 5.8-12:

"nam si, ut ipsa petit maiestas cognita rerum,

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that Cyrene was a sea-Nymph. In Pindar (Pyth.9.7) she is "πολυκαρπότατος δέσποινα χθονός," and in Apollonius Rhodius (2.509) she is described as "νύμφην…μακραίωνα καὶ ἀγρότιν." Vergil depicted her as a water Nymph in order to induce a parallel with Achilles and Thetis.

[183] Libya was famous for its flocks and fertile plains from an early period (Od.4.85; Hdt.4.189; Verg.G.3.339). Hyginus in Poet.astr.2.3 wrote that Heracles had made a spring gush up in Libya on his way back from the Garden of the Hesperides. Ap.Rhod.4.1228-1460 testified that the same spring was supposed to have kept alive the Argonauts when shipwrecked on the shores of Libya. There Jason had a dream in which the Triple-goddess Libya clad in goatskin advised him to carry Argo to the banks of the lake Tritonis, a venture that lasted twelve days. Hecate was triple and Theocritus was definitely aware of her triple dimension (Id.2.10-6 and 43-6). Hence, it appears that the triple Libya as described in Apollonius and the triple Hecate as found in Theocritus (Id.2) share certain traits, and their common tradition was apparently known to the Hellenistic poets.

[184] G.4.315-6. Moreover, J. Griffin 1979: 61-80 and others believe that the question about the identity of the god who forged to humans the device of the *Bugonia* is a sign of the hasty re-composition of *Georgics* 4 after the exclusion of the "laudes Galli;" see R. Coleman 1962: 69. With the opportunity of this supposed inconsistency it has also been argued that in the *Georgics* Vergil was still evolving poetically, although he obviously had still to cover a long distance until the advanced level of the *Aeneid*. However, this view is rather an oversimplification of Vergil's work; of course, the poet would develop poetically in the way a litterateur is expected to evolve, but there is no reason why he would be hasty or careless in the reformation of his poem.

dicendum est, deus ille fuit, deus, inclyte Memni,
qui princeps vitae rationem invenit eam quae
nuc appellatur sapientia, quique per artem
fluctibus e tantis vitam tantisque tenebris
in tam tranquillo et tam clara luce locavit."

The reference to these lines offered Vergil the opportunity to return to the ever-important theme of wisdom in order to pose his own answer to the rejection of religion that Lucretius had suggested. Although the *Georgics* depict the miserable lives of simple farmers who seek in the darkness the right ways of propitiating the gods, it is obvious that Vergil finds in their traditions and their piety the response he is looking for. Arcadian Aristaeus holds the key to divine providence and is willing to share it with his fellow farmers. Although his worshippers are of humble stock, Aristaeus is an all-powerful god who has attained the secrets of pastoral /Arcadian wisdom.[185]

It is clear that, although Vergil admitted the practice of the *Bugonia* in Egypt, he regarded Arcadian Aristaeus as the master who taught this miraculous art to humans. However, Aristaeus' Egyptian associations are not to be taken lightly; since Vergil acknowledged the skill of the Egyptians in this art, they must have been among the first people who were introduced to the *Bugonia*. Plato in his Phaedrus (see n158 above) mentioned the Egyptians as the "σοφωτέρους" and "μνημονικωτέρους" among all other peoples, the ones that were bestowed by the god the remedy of memory and of wisdom. Indeed Vergil seems to suggest that the remedy for the present ill condition of the Roman State is not to be found in the Lucretian rejection of tradition but it has precisely to be restored from within it, like the bees of Aristaeus.[186] In addition,

[185] See Verg.G.4.539; cf. 4.283, also see Hiller v. Gaertingen, Aristaeos (1) RE, II, 1 (1885) 853. H. Fraenkel 1975: 239 talks about wisdom in Greek writings of the early 6th century BC: 'Certainly when Pindar in the fifth century speaks of *σοφοί,* he usually means poets, and still later the word was used of philosophers; but the image had not always been such. In earlier times the word referred to a practical mastery of a given subject: thus it was not the thinker who was styled *σοφός*, but (for example) the carpenter whose knowledge, experience and skill enabled him to build a roof that would not be destroyed by storms.' This archaic definition of wisdom seems to be what Vergil aspires to by describing the achievement of farmer Aristaeus.

[186] Plato's text is very characteristic for the possible interpretation of

Vergil, by citing the *Bugonia* as practised in Egypt, he exhibits knowledge of the customs of the East and therefore he invites open-mindness about the range of his sources and the scope of his allusions.[187] Attention should be drawn to the difference of status attributed to Aristaeus in the two definitions of his invention, with which the poet chose to signify the beginning and the end of the Egyptian custom of the *Bugonia*.[188] There is evidence about the worship of Zeus Aristaeus on the island of Ceos.[189] According to Servius and Sallust, Aristaeus visited the island of Ceos after the death of his son Actaeon, a theme very popular in art (and reminiscent of Orpheus' death), but then he crossed with Daedalus to Sardinia. However, Servius Auctus has preserved Pindar's version, according to which, Aristaeus migrated to Arcadia where

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the tradition Vergil seems to follows: Thamou (Tammuz) reminds the god of all arts (who introduced the arts to the Egyptians without necessarily being Egyptian himself) that providing the arts is quite different to judging their good or bad application. He argues that writing is not actually the remedy of memory but a booster of memory for those who wish to use it properly. Others will rely totally on scripts and they will stop studying altogether: "σοφίας δὲ τοῖς μαθηταῖς δόξαν, οὐκ ἀλήθειαν πορίζεις…δοξόσοφοι γεγονότες ἀντὶ σοφῶν."

[187] All Egyptians were firm believers of the *Bugonia*: "omnis in hac certam regio iacit arte salutem." The ox born bee is also mentioned in Varro, in Columella -who regards it with caution-, in Pliny the Elder, in Ovid and in the *Geoponica* of Florentinus. Antigonus of Carystus (3rd century BC) says: 'In Egypt if you bury the ox in certain places…they say that bees fly out, for the ox putrefies and is resolved into bees.' The idea was quite common in the east (cf. the story of Samson and the putrefied lion in Judg.14.12-5). Also, see P. Bonnechere 2003: 185n38 for sources attesting Egypt as the place where from the Greek Mysteries (particularly those of Eleusis) originated. This tradition goes back to the time of Hecataeus.

[188] It seems that in the first instance Vergil introduced Aristaeus as a culture hero, while after the description of the marvellous results of his invention as practised in Egypt, Aristaeus was due to rise to his deification. The question that the poet addressed to the Muses was rather rhetorical and as mentioned, repetition was a typical characteristic of Vergil's poetry.

[189] See F. Klinger 1963: 197-8; cf. Ap.Rhod.2.500ff.; Diod.Sic.4.82; Hyg.Poet.astr.2.4; Serv.G.1.14. The ancient authors argued about Aristaeus' role in the propitiating of a plague that had cost many lives during the Dog Star days, while Servius insisted that the island was inhabited when Aristaeus visited it.

he was also worshipped as Zeus Aristaeus:[190]

"tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magistri /pandere"

Hence, Aristaeus, who in Hesiod was called the son of Apollo Pastoralis, had indeed a twofold identity as a hero and as a manifestation of Zeus (or Apollo).[191] Apparently, Vergil wished to acknowledge as many traditions of Aristaeus as possible because then his key role in the regeneration of the primal Golden Age would be accounted for more amply. As analysed in the previous chapter, the ancestors of the Arcadians had experienced the primal Golden Age and Arcadia would naturally be the ideal place for its revival. Vergil based his new Golden Age on agriculture and on the art of the *Bugonia*, which posed as the most essential step towards the realisation of the new era. From this point of view, Aristaeus would be the ideal figure to introduce the new Golden Age, especially as his tradition combined the carefree Arcadia of the days of Prometheus with the heavy toil of a farmer in the years of Aristaeus.

Aristaeus' patronage of rustic pursuits is referred to as early as Pindar,[192] while his claims as the inventor of the *Bugonia* had probably been argued as early as Euhemerus, who ascribed the origin of the process of the *Bugonia* to Ceos. His reason for doing so could very well have been a part of the mythical account of the worship of Zeus Aristaeus in the island. Columella wrote: "utrum in Thessalia sub Aristaeo an in insula Cea, ut scribit Euhemerus, an Erechthei temporibus in monte Hymetto, ut Euphronius, an Cretae

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[190] L. Morgan 1999: 90 identified Aristaeus with Zeus as the active demiurgic principle of creation. On the contrary, the verbal similarities between the question about who invented the method of the *Bugonia* (G.4.315, cited above) and the description of why Jupiter put an end to the easy life of the Golden Age (G.1.333: "ut varias usus meditando extunderet artis") show that Aristaeus is a human being forced to progress by the difficulties which the gods put in his path. See R. Kramer 1998: 244-6. Also, P. Murgatroyd 1997: 186.

[191] Aristaeus was also worshipped as Apollo Agreus and Apollo Nomius because of his divine origin (see n180 above); cf. Pind.Pyth.9.5-70. Also, T. Gantz 1993: 93 recorded that Apollo's mating with Cyrene was first found in Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* (fr.215). L. Morgan 1999: 90 identified Zeus with Aristaeus (and Augustus) in an effort to suggest that they represent the winning party; however, it might be argued that their identification was based on cultic rather than political ground.

[192] Pind.Pyth.9.111f.

Saturni temporibus, ut Nicander."[193] In addition, Pindar, as well as other authors,[194] confirms that Aristaeus sailed from Libya to Boeotia and that soon after his father put him under the instruction of the Centaur Cheiron by whom he was initiated in certain mysteries. Cheiron's cult was especially popular in Thessaly and although apiculture was not named specifically,[195] Aristaeus was taught the art of healing and prophecy as well as the art of hunting and shepherding.[196] Hence, although the practice of the *Bugonia* in

[193] If he meant that Euhemerus included both versions of the myth in his work, then he must clearly have been the source for the attribution of the *Bugonia* to Aristaeus and Thessaly. However, if Columela means that Euhemerus argued only for the Cean origin, then we are left without a Greek authority, which associates Aristaeus and Thessaly as the inventor and the place of the *Bugonia*. It could be argued that the structure followed by Columela in his text encourages the acceptance of Euhemerus as a surviving source where Aristaeus is described as practising the *Bugonia* in the region of Thessaly. Even if the author was not able to provide a name for the version associating Aristaeus with Thessaly, he whould have mentioned it, since he is so accurate in the rest of his narration regarding the origin of each version.

[194] Such as Diod.Sic.4.81; Ap.Rhod.4.1131, 2.500ff.; Apollod.Bibl3.4.4.

[195] Note that Cheiron had a special relationship with Prometheus as well; in PV1026-30 Hermes told Prometheus: "τοιοῦδε μόχθου τέρμα μή τι προσδόκα /πρὶν ἂν θεῶν τις διάδοχος τῶν σῶν πόνων /φανῇ. θελήσηι τ' εἰς ἀναύγητον μολεῖν /Ἅιδην κνεφαῖά τ' ἀμφὶ Ταρτάρου βάθη." T. Gantz 1993: 163 and ch3 *passim* suggested that perhaps Hermes used a form of speech to denote that it would be impossible for Prometheus to obtain his freedom. The fact that Cheiron was addressed as the 'the most just of all Centaurs' (Hom.Il.11.832) indicates that Aristaeus was engaged with the problem of Justice in the world as much as Prometheus and Orpheus. Of course, Aristaeus represented the New Order of things as dictated by Zeus. For Cheiron, Heracles, and Aristaeus as mediators of civilisation, see C. Calame 2003: 78-9.

[196] Cheiron was also recorded to have advised Jason to take Orpheus among the crew (Ap.Rhod.1.23-32; Diod.Sic.4.40-56 based on Dion.Scytobrach.144-68), while earlier sources confirm that Cheiron himself sent Orpheus because of the Sirens: "…ὅτι μάντις ὁ Χείρων ἔχρησε δύνασθαι καὶ τὰς Σειρῆνας παρελθεῖν αὐτοὺς Ὀρφέως συμπλέοντος." (cf. Hdt.FGrH31F43a). Moreover, Orpheus' sailing with the Argonauts, most of who claim divine origin, renders to the weak inventor of music a heroic glimpse (cf. Pl.Symp.179D). For a clue that, although Zeus did not possess the power of divination, he could deceive his enemies through the art of persuasion, see Aesch.PV172-77 (M. Griffith): "…καί μ' οὔτι

Thessaly is still doubtful, Aristaeus' association with the place was well established, since several authors attested that he spent most of his childhood there.

It might be argued that this part of Aristaeus' myth could offer a link with the story of Orpheus, who was also known to be a son of Apollo and to have inherited his prophetic abilities. Moreover, Orpheus had paid a visit to Egypt, after which he joined the Argonauts and sailed with them to Colchis.[197] On his return he married Eurydice and settled among the savage Cicones of Thrace.[198] It seems that, although Orpheus was traditionally mentioned as a Thracian, his tomb was shown in antiquity in Dium and Leibethra, two cities, which in historical times belonged to the geographical region of Macedonia, but were very close to

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μελιγλώσσοις πειθοῦς /ἐπαοιδαῖσιν θέλξει, στερεάς τ' /οὔποτ' ἀπειλὰς πτήξας τόδ' ἐγὼ /καταμηνύσω πρὶν ἂν ἐξ ἀγρίων δεσμῶν χαλάσηι ποινάς τε τίνειν /τῆσδ' αἰκείας ἐθελήσηι" (my emphasis). For Thessaly's prevalence in magic, see ch1n265.

[197] Orpheus' role in the Argonautic expedition was evidenced as early as the middle of the 6th century BC; see M.P. Nilsson 1935: 186 for a sculptured *metope* showing Orpheus among the Argonauts which was found at the foundations of the treasury of the Sicyonians [cf. O. Kern 1922 (OF)]. A hundred years later Micythus of Rhegium dedicated a large number of statues of Orpheus both at Olympia and at Delphi as a thank offering for the recovering of his son from a dangerous illness. The tyrant was said to have changed his residence from Rhegium to Tegea in Arcadia some time after the death of Anaxilas (Hdt.8.170; Diod.Sic.11.48.2; 66.3; Paus.5.26). Hence, Orpheus or his music was believed to have had healing qualities (cf. Pind.Pyth.4.176). Pindar claimed that Orpheus was the son of Oeagrus (not of Apollo); however, I.M. Linforth 1973: 133-4 observed that most of the crew of the Argo were supposed to be the heroic sons of various gods. In the schol.Ap.Rhod.1.23 it is suggested that there were two heroes with the name Orpheus. Pherecydes stated that Orpheus did not sail with the Argonauts at all.

[198] Diod.Sic.4.25; Hyg.Fab.164; Ath.Deipn.13.7. It has been suggested that Orpheus was a Greek missionary among the wild Thracians (W.K.C. Guthrie ²1952: 45). He was a Bronze Age Thracian known in Greece before the Archaic Age while Seneca described the hero on his first descent as drawing Charon's boat to him "nullo remigio" by the power of his song (M. Durante 1971: 1.157-9. Also see Sen.Her.Oet.1061-7, 1072-4 cited below: "Quin per Taenarias fores /Manes cum tacitos adit /Maerentem feriens chelyn, /Cantu Tartara flebili /Et tristes Erebi deos /Vicit nec timuit Stygis /Iuratos superis lacus…./Audis tu quoque, navita; /Inferni ratis aequoris /Nullo remigio venit)."

Thessaly.[199] As mentioned, the Pierian traditions as recorded by Conon promote the image of Orpheus as the leader of a male society of warriors who caused the rage of the excluded women.[200] Although Vergil did not refer to any warlike society, but to the eternal weeping of Orpheus for the loss of his wife, the poet's death was still attributed to female rage.[201]

According to the evidence cited above, it seems that Orpheus was subjected to a dual tradition, which presented him as the archetypal poet, or as spiritual leader of some sort. However, the two traditions need not oppose each other. As noted, ancient culture heroes had multifarious personalities.[202] In addition, Orpheus' character both as a hero (who overcame danger thanks to

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[199] In Pausanias' time, the monument in Leibethra did not exist anymore, but a monument near Dium was still visible. Pausanias called the witness of a friend in Larissa in order to explain the destruction of the Leibethran monument. Hence, the cult of Orpheus in Thessaly was well established and apparently, both Aristaeus and Orpheus had a certain association with the region. The modern village of Dium, built on the ruins of the ancient settlements, is an hour's distance by car from Larissa, the capital of Thessaly.

[200] Conon in FGrH26F1.45 (cf. n14 and ch3n212); in one of the paintings in which Thracian women are rushing to attack Orpheus while he is playing music and singing, Thracian warriors also appear to be enraptured by his music. In one of these, there is also a Silenus, standing behind Orpheus and the music seems to have the same effect upon him that it has upon the Thracian who is standing in front of him; cf. P. Bonnechere 2003: 184n27 for the Pythagoras' initiation at L(e)ibethra.

[201] However, Orpheus' role as an Argonaut was rather haunted by his fame as a singer. Orpheus' recruitment as a *keleustes* and mainly as a singer on the Argo seems to have been at variance with those who argued that Orpheus was the leader in a shaman's journey of the Argo to the Beyond. Orpheus was reported as a divinity in the Underworld (M. Guarducci 1974: 29). He was a Frazerian priest-king (L.R. Farnell 1909: 105f.). He was an old 'jahresgott' whose song symbolises the joys of summer (a very Nordic feeling) and his death the winter [C. Robert 1920: 2.400 (ed. L. Preller)]. He was a shaman who had lived in the Mycenaean Boeotia (R. Böhme 1970: 192-254. Also, see E.R. Dodds 1951: 147. Dodds thinks that Orpheus was an archetypal, or mythical, shaman).

[202] The young noblemen of Greece who participated in the famous journey of the Argo, like Heracles and Hylas, shared this duality because although they were mentioned as heroes, their cult as deities was also well known.

his sweet voice), and as a deified spiritual leader (whose head had prophetic powers) corresponded to the duality of Aristaeus' figure who was both known as the inventor of the *Bugonia* and Zeus Aristaeus.

As a member of the Argonautic expedition, Orpheus turned out to be irreplaceable, and his music was praised as a powerful weapon.[203] The confirmation of Orpheus' heroic aptitude came from a passage in Euripides' Hypsipyle where Orpheus was depicted as having adopted the heroine's two sons. When years later the boys were reunited with their mother, Euneus referred to Orpheus' educational effort for them:

"μοῦσάν με κιθάρας᾽ Ασιάδος διδάσκεται,
τοῦτ[ο]ν δ᾽ ἐς Ἄρεως ὅπλ᾽ ἐκόσμησεν μάχης."

In the above text, the art of war was appreciated equally with the art of music. Moreover, if Orpheus, as is apparently implied, was a keen soldier as well as an inspired musician, the legendary version that presented him as the leader of a male warlike society could be better understood.[204] Although the martial spirit of Orpheus has not been often underlined in literature, Euripides seems to have acknowledged his mastery in war as much as his excellence in music. It should be also noted that Orpheus, despite his final failure to resurrect Eurydice, belonged to a group of heroes, much praised for their courage, who visited the Underworld while still alive.[205] Heracles, Theseus, and Aeneas were

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[203] With Orpheus' help, the Argonauts managed to beat the Sirens (Ap.Rhod.4.891-919); cf. nn195 and 196 above. For the magical effect of music, see ch4n76 (also cf. ch4n35).

[204] Eur.Hipp.286-7 (Diggle); the evidence seems to suggest that the view of Orpheus as a soft and pathetic musician should be regarded as a late development, which by the Hellenistic years claimed Orpheus to be the initiator of homosexuality in Greece (Phanocles ap.Stob.4.20.47).

[205] Many think that in a version as old as the 5th century BC Eurydice did return (see n129 above). The tale of Orpheus' descent and successful ascent repeated an ancient pattern of fertility myths, the rescue of the Maiden or Kore from the dark realm of death, which would restore nature to life after a period of barrenness. Ancient authors were quick to note the similarity between Orpheus' descent and that of Dionysus who wanted to raise his mother Semele (probably originally a goddess of the earth and its crops) (see I.M. Linforth 1973: 189-7). Pausanias quoted two stories which relate Demeter and Persephone with Oprheus; in 3.13.2 of his *Periegesis* he described a temple of Kore Soteira in Sparta, built either by

numbered among them, and their bravery as well as their military skill cannot be doubted.[206]

'AT ONCE HIEROPHANT AND POET'[207]

The meaning and the role of "vates" in Vergil's poetry have already been discussed, and as mentioned above, both Orpheus and Aristaeus had been initiated in the art of divination. The probability that poetry was regarded as a major aspect of spirituality and of the knowledge of the life beyond is confirmed by the evidence, which attributed to Prometheus the ability to predict the future. In tragedy *Prometheus Vinctus* mourned for his love towards man (101-113):[208]

"καίτοι τί φημι; *πάντα προυξεπίσταμαι*

Oprheus or by Abaris (see nn240, 242, 274 and 287 below). In 3.14.5 Pausanias expressed his doubts regarding the origin of the cult of Demeter Chthonia which the locals claimed to have received from Orpheus.

[206] Furthermore, the appreciation which the ancient world nourished for the men who could use the spear with the same skill as their pen dates as far back as Archilochus 1 (Campbell). Note that the journey of Aristaeus to the watery realm of his mother was often interpreted as a descent to the Underworld parallel to that of Orpheus; B. Otis 1964: 192: 'there can be no doubt that Vergil creates his magical watery world is a deliberate contrast to earthly reality. We go to it as Aristaeus goes to it, to find the secret that cannot be found on earth itself. Thus he must descend into the very depths of the waters, anoint himself with the unearthly ambrosia and master the daemon of metamorphoses before he can receive the password, the necessary explanation;' for Gilgamesh's journey to the Underworld, see ch2n279.

[207] Clem.Al.Protr.2.25.1: "ὁ δὲ Θρᾴκιος ἱεροφάντης καὶ ποιητὴς ἅμα, ὁ τοῦ Οἰάγρου Ὀρφεύς, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ὀργίων ἱεροφαντίαν καὶ τῶν εἰδώλων τὴν θεολογίαν, παλινῳδίαν ἀληθείας εἰσάγει;" cf. Clem.Al.Protr.2.21 where Orpheus was called a *mystagogus*.

[208] At the same time, this clue should be regarded as evidence for Prometheus' kinship with poets. See Aesch.PV113ff. The Muses taught Aristaeus the art of prophecy and healing and they set him as a shepherd of their sheep which grazed across the Athamantian Plain of Phthia and about Mt Orthrys and in the valley of the river Apidanus. There, Aristaeus perfected the art of healing which his mother had taught him; Diod.Sic.4.81; Apollod.Bibl.3.4.4; Ap.Rhod.4.1131 and 2.500; cf. Prop.4.4.51 where the poet wishes his Muse were familiar with magical incantations.

σκεθρωῶς τὰ μέλλοντ', οὐδέ μοι ποταίνιον
πῆμ' οὐδὲν ἥξει. τὴν πεπρωμένην δὲ χρὴ
αἶσαν φέρειν ὡς ῥᾷστα, γιγνώσκονθ' ὅτι
τὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἔστ' ἀδήριτον σθένος.
ἀλλ' οὔτε σιγᾶν οὔτε μὴ σιγᾶν τύχας
οἷόν τέ μοι τάσδ' ἐστί. θνητοῖς γὰρ γέρα
πορὼν ἀνάγκαις ταῖσδ' ἐνέζευγμαι τάλας·
ναρθηκοπλήρωτον δὲ θηρῶμαι πυρὸς
πηγὴν κλοπαίαν, ἣ διδάσκαλος τέχνης
πάσης βροτοῖς πέφηνε καὶ μέγας πόρος.
τοιῶνδε ποινὰς ἀμπλακημάτων τίνω
ὑπαιθρίοις δεσμοῖς πεπασσαλευμένος."

It might be argued that it was customary for all great culture heroes to have an association with poetry or letters in general, as indeed attested above for Prometheus and Orpheus at least.[209] Furthermore, each real poet should be blessed with the gift of predicting the future as an aspect of the cultural dimension attributed to poets since the early days of poetry.[210] In the *Ranae* of

[209] Philochor.ap.Clem.Al.Strom.1.21.134.4 (FGrHfr.190) wrote: "ἤδη δὲ καὶ Ὀρφέα Φιλόχορος μάντιν ἱστορεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ μαντικῆς." Also cf. Pl.Prt.316D where he named Homer, Hesiod, Mousaeus and Orpheus as 'sophists;' I.M. Linforth 1973: 72 offered an explanation for the meaning of the word in Plato: 'That Homer, Hesiod, Musaeus and Orpheus were great teachers as well as great poets was recognised also by Aristophanes, as we have seen. But whereas Aristophanes represents them as teachers of particular subjects, Protagoras holds that they were educators in the wider sense like him, using their special arts to conceal their ulterior purposes. In Aristophanes, they are referred to as poets; Protagoras names Homer and Hesiod as typical of the art of poetry, but Orpheus and Musaeus are typical of the art, which is occupied with *teletae* and *chresmodiae*. This does not mean that they were not also poets.'

[210] In antiquity, poets were believed to receive their inspiration by the Muses (or the Nymphs) themselves; therefore, they were regarded as the most suitable agents to reveal the will of the gods. The role of poets as theologians and law-givers sprung from this same notion [see Solon fr.2 (Diehl); Parmenid.fr.8.52 (Diels-Kranz); Pind.Ol.9.13f.; Phil.of Cos fr.10 (Powell)]; as discussed, both Prometheus and Orpheus were theologians and they offered a cosmogony as well as a theogony; Prometheus actively participated in the establishment of the power of Zeus while, according to the Orphics, man was created from the ashes of the Titans. Aristaeus seems to represent the Jovian order after the end of the Golden Age. See Plut.Sol.12 quoted in n128.

Aristophanes, Aeschylus fashioned a defence of his work by pointing out the public benefaction of the poets ever since the old days (ll.1030-6):[211]

> "…σκέψαι γὰρ ἄπ' ἀρχῆς /ὡς ὠφέλιμοι τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ γενναίοι γεγένηνται. /Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς θ'ὑμῖν κατέδειξε φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι, /Μουσαῖος δ' ἐξακέσεις τε νοσῶν καὶ χρησμούς,Ἡσίοδος δὲ /γῆς ἐργασίας, καρπῶν ὥρας, ἀρότους· ὁ δὲ θεῖος Ὅμηρος /ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμὴν καὶ κλέος ἔσχεν πλὴν τοῦδ' ὅτι χρήστ' ἐδίδαξεν, /τάξεις ἀρετὰς ὁπλίσεις ἀνδρῶν;"

Aeschylus testified that Orpheus had initiated mortals into the practice of mysteries as well as that he had introduced abstinence from murder among them. In addition, his argument noted the offering of poets since the days of Homer and their major contribution to the progress of civilisation.[212] Indeed regardless of the outcome of their efforts each of the three heroes discussed above had preached about the gods and had to suggest a theology of his own.[213] It is plausible that Vergil turned to the most popular

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[211] However, see Pl.Leg.2.669D: "ποιηταὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπινοι σφόδρα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμπλέκοντες καὶ συγκυκῶντες ἀλόγως, γέλωτ' ἂν παρασκευάζοιεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσους φησὶν Ὀρφεὺς λαχεῖν ὥραν τῆς τέρψιος." See I.M. Linforth 1973: 150-1 who argued that the archaic form of "τέρψιος" indicated that Plato actually used an Orphic poem.

[212] Poets pose as religious and social formative factors, the most important ones actually for the first centuries of man's development as a "ζῶον πολιτικόν." (Cf. n209 concerning the attribution of the art of politics to Orpheus in Pl.Prt.). In the description of Aeschylus, whose influence on Vergil is undoubted, Hesiod is presented as teaching his fellow citizens the art of agriculture and the natural laws that condition the life of the farmers. However, it seems that Aeschylus' words cast new light into the possible nature of Vergil's vision. It could be argued that through his *Georgics* Vergil does not wish simply to compete with Hesiod in poetical terms, but he also wishes to achieve the latter's cultural influence. Vergil foresees with the power that poets only are endowed the rising of a new era which, as human history has taught him, will rely on the man's relationship with the earth and its creatures. His attempt to reach Hesiod's contribution to civilisation should be regarded as the main clue to the appreciation that Vergil had towards poets and indeed Orpheus. The *Georgics* do not condemn poets to the sphere of dull occupation, but on the contrary, they elevate them in a major force towards progress.

[213] C. Segal 1966: 320 argued that in *Georgics* 4 Orpheus and Aristaeus

religious currents of his time for the answer to the moral questions that individuals faced after the end of the civil strife.[214]

As mentioned, Orpheus was renowned for the introduction of *teletai* into the Hellenic world far more than Aristaeus and Prometheus.[215] There is one text, which made Orpheus contemporary with the Idaean Dactyls and their pupil. This was a quotation from Ephorus in Diodorus (4.64.4):[216]

> "ἔνιοι δ' ἱστοροῦσιν, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Ἔφορος, τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους γενέσθαι μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἴδην ἐν Φρυγίᾳ, διαβῆναι δὲ μετὰ Μυγδόνος εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην· ὑπάρξαντας δὲ γόητας ἐπιτηδεῦσαι τάς τε ἐπῳδὰς καὶ τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια, καὶ περὶ Σαμοθρᾴκην διατρίψαντας οὐ μετρίως ἐν

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represented 'a sense of the complexity of man between the two extremes of Aristaeus and Orpheus, external effectiveness in the realm of nature and devotion to man's peculiar inward capacities: emotion, art, love' (see n105). However, B. Otis 1964: 211 felt that the story of Aristaeus did not balance the dramatic effect of the tragic story of Orpheus. For the theogony attributed to Orpheus, see Pl.Crat.402B.

[214] C. Perkell 1989: 3 is led by her account of Vergil's life and times, to state that 'one might well suppose that experience of such unstable times and bloody events would result in a deeply pessimistic vision, in fear of loss, and in anxiety for the future.' Also, according to I.M. Linforth 1973: 75-82, the *teletai* attributed to Orpheus and Musaeus were 'performed by the living to insure their own happiness after death.'

[215] I.M. Linforth 1973: 166: 'So Orpheus was not only a singer and a harpist, but also a poet and a prophet. But his poems, too, were thought to possess a magical power like that which he exercised with his own voice.' Further on Linforth commented on Oprheus' invention of *teletai* and concluded: 'The formulation of such rites was the work of a poet and a prophet,' two qualities which at least in the case of Orpheus seem to coincide.

[216] F. Demetrio 1968: 87 quoted by J.S. Campbell 1982: 106: 'There are symbols in the Aristaeus story which, elsewhere in the ancient world and even now among peoples still living in the archaic stage, have been structured into the scenarion of traditional initiation rites, with their two distinctive notes of death and resurrection.' P. Scazzoso 1956: 26 also quoted by J.S. Campbell ibid.: 107 'infers from the epyllion the principle movements of an initiation scenario:' 'the three elements that emerge more clearly in the verses of Vergil are as follows: ritual, myth, salvation which reflect the three fundamental elements of the mysteries: *legomena, dromena, soteria*' [my translation]. Hence, it seems that Aristaeus was also affiliated with the structure of the Mysteries.

> τούτοις ἐκπλήττειν τοὺς ἐγχωρίους· καθ ὃν δὴ χρόνον καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα, φύσει διαφόρῳ κεχορηγημένον πρὸς ποίησιν και μελῳδίαν, μαθητὴν γενέσθαι τούτων, καὶ πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξενεγκεῖν τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια."

It is worth noting that the Idaean Dactyls, whose nature was shadowy already in antiquity, were admired as the inventors of smith craft, an area also contested by Prometheus.[217] The scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius[218] mentioned that they were big and powerful, sorcerers and servants of Adrasteia of the mountains. The latter was presumably a goddess similar to the Phrygian Cybele or Rhea.[219] The magical character of these mysteries as implied by the words "γόητας" and "ἐπῳδὰς" as well as their possible connection with the 'magical' power of music over men will be further discussed. Damagetus wrote in praise of Orpheus the following verses (Anth.Pal.7.9.6-7):[220]

> "ὅ ποτε καὶ τελετὰς μυστηρίδας εὕρετο Βάκχου
> καὶ στίχον ἡρῴῳ ζευκτὸν ἔτευξε ποδί."

And pseudo-Euripides wrote in *Rhesus*[221] (ll.943):

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[217] Cf. the reconciliation of Prometheus with Hephaestus mentioned in n174 above. For Idaean Dactyls and their cults, see P. Bonnechere 2003: 171. For Heracles Dactylos and the cult in Arcadia, see M. Jost 2003: 152 (cf. ch3n89).

[218] Phoronis ap.schol.Ap.Rhod.1.1129.

[219] Cf. F. Graf 2003b: 246-9; Dionysus was driven mad by Hera. He wandered the world in his state of delirium, to Egypt, Syria, Phrygia, and even India. He met the Phrygian goddess Cybele who cured him of his madness by initiating him into her orgiastic rites (see ch1n100 and 286, also Introduction p.xv, ch1p.26ff.). Once cured, Dionysus himself gathered bands of ecstatic worshippers, and went roaming the earth once more, this time in order to assert his divinity and to establish his own rites. For references, see B. Powell ²1998: 248-282; for Adrasteia, see Verg.Cir.239 where she appears as the daughter of Necessity, a goddess that punishes hubris: even if we accept that Ciris was written in fact by Gallus (J.W. Mackail 1911) or a contemporary of Vergil, it is obvious that the goddess had found her way to Latin poetry.

[220] Apollonius of Tyana Ep.16 (C.L. Kayser) wrote: "*μάγους* οἴει δεῖ ὀνομάζειν τοὺς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου φιλοσόφους, ὧδε δέ που καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Ὀρφέως" (my emphasis). For the indebtedness of the Pythagoreans to the Orphic tradition, see Iambl.VP28.145-47 (Deubner); cf. ch2n92 and p.352f. above.

[221] Rhesus would have lived long if he had not disobeyed his parents

"μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φανὰς
ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεύς."

Hence, in tragedy Orpheus was charged with the accusation of revealing to humans the secrets of the gods.[222] This indication should give more substance to the myth according to which the hero angered the gods who were offended by the stories Orpheus would disclose to mortals about them[223]. Prometheus also had suffered from the same accusation, that he had shown an excessive love towards man. However, while Prometheus agonised to make human life more bearable on earth, Orpheus' concern about men was evident in his conscious efforts to establish for them mysteries related to life after death.[224] In addition, the word *teletai* seems to

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and yielded to the appeal of the Trojan envoys who implored him to come to their assistance.

[222] J. Chomarat 1974: 185-207 applied in *Georgics* 4 Porphyry's allegorical explanation of the cave of the Nymphs in Od.13 as well as Apuleius' interpretation of book 6 of the *Aeneid* and suggested that behind the story of Orpheus and Aristaeus allusions were made to a ritual initiation into a mystery cult. See J.S. Campbell 1982: 107 who gave a literary review on Chomarat's view; he quoted Demetrio's objection (ibid.: 65) who remarked that the feeling of failure surrounding the appearance of Orpheus in Vergil could hardly allude to an initiation rite. E. Paratore 1961: 263 tried to solve the problem by suggesting that the initiation of Orpheus was meant to stand for the failure of the mysteries because Vergil was supposedly going through a period of conversion from Epicureanism to Orphic-Pythagorean religiosity. However, one would imagine that, if this were the case, Vergil would follow the opposite direction). It might be argued that the theories cited above, do not explain why one of the initiates (Aristaeus) is successful and another (Orpheus) fails. In addition, in most initiation rites (cf. Apul.Met.11.13) the hero would abandon his old self during the initiation and would be transformed by the end of the process to a new enlightened person. However, in Vergil Orpheus certainly failed to do that.

[223] Isocr.Bus.9.38-40; Isocrates criticised Polycrates for believing blasphemous stories about the gods and their offspring and he specifically referred to Orpheus: "Ὀρφεύς δ' ὁ μάλιστα τούτων τῶν λόγων ἁψάμενος, διασπασθεὶς τόν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν." According to Isocrates, the tragic story of Orpheus should set the example for other poets to be more godfearing.

[224] In the drama cited above (ll.962-73), Rhesus' mother announced her intention to prevail upon Persephone to release the soul of Rhesus so that he would not have to go to the lower world. Instead he would continue to exist in the upper world as an "ἀνθρωποδαίμων," lying hidden

have been mostly applied to rites whose prime purpose was to produce peace for the soul of the participant, in the case of Orpheus to conciliate men with the idea of death.[225] The role of Orpheus as a pacifier[226] was most explicitly celebrated in early Christian funerary art;[227] however, it has been suggested that the fourth book of the *Georgics* was the first text that attributed the creation of peace among animals to Orpheus.[228] Orpheus had introduced two kinds of *teletai*: the orgies of the people who would avoid woollen garments in burial, and the Athenian mysteries in

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in a cave in a land with veins of silver. The Muse was confident that Persephone would accede to her request because she was under some obligation to show honour to any friends of Orpheus, who, apparently, had ordained mysteries in honour of Persephone at Athens. Also, see Plut.Comp.Cim.et Lucull.521B for Plato's strong criticism of the Orphic idea that past sins could be cleansed through ritual procedures. See I.M. Linforth 1973: 81-95 for a detailed discussion on Plato's hostility towards all kinds of *teletai*.

[225] Pl.Phd.69b-c: "καὶ τούτου μὲν πάντα καὶ μετὰ τούτου ὠνούμενά τε καὶ πιπρασκόμενα τῷ ὄντι ᾖ καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ συλλήβδην ἀληθὴς ἀρετή, μετὰ φρονήσεως, καὶ προσγιγνομένων καὶ ἀπογιγνομένων καὶ ἡδονῶν καὶ φόβων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν τοιούτων· χωριζόμενα δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ ἀλλαττόμενα ἀντὶ ἀλλήλων μὴ σκιαγραφία τις ᾖ τοιαύτη ἀρετὴ καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀνδραποδώδης τε καὶ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς οὐδ' ἀληθὲς ἔχῃ, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τῷ ὄντι ᾖ κάθαρσίς τις τῶν τοιούτων πάντων καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀνδρεία, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ φρόνησις μὴ καθαρμός τις ᾖ. καὶ κινδυνεύουσι καὶ οἱ τὰς τελετὰς ἡμῖν οὗτοι καταστήσαντες οὐ φαῦλοί τινες εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι πάλαι αἰνίττεσθαι ὅτι ὃς ἂν ἀμύητος καὶ ἀτέλεστος εἰς Ἅιδου ἀφίκηται ἐν βορβόρῳ κείσεται, ὁ δὲ κεκαθαρμένος τε καὶ τετελεσμένος ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος μετὰ θεῶν οἰκήσει."

[226] Orpheus enchanting the beasts was a particularly popular subject in decorative arts across the later Roman world and it often appeared on the early Christian sarcophagi. Orpheus who has been cast in the role of the good shepherd posed mostly as the pacifier of nature and he symbolised the power over the natural world. Orpheus comes to represent the spiritual salvation of Christian man, which lies beyond a cultural or philosophical conversion. In these sarcophagi, Orpheus' iconography was often fused with that of Apollo (the Porto Torres sarcophagus has a griffin at Orpheus' side); see M.C. Murray 1977: 19- 36 (esp.35-6).

[227] See J. Huskinson 1974: 68ff., 87f.; J.B. Friedman 1970; A. Ovadiah and S. Mucznik 1980: 43ff.; F. Graf 1987b: 80ff.; for British mosaics depicting Orpheus, see E.W. Black 1986: 153ff.; and D. Watts l99l: 36, 207f. For a summary of the bibliography and a more detailed discussion on the symbolism of Orpheus in the proto-Christian art, see J. Huskinson 1996 (OU Conference web pages).

[228] See E.M. Stehle 1974: 363 commenting on G.4.507.

which Persephone was worshipped.[229]

Furthermore, Orpheus was mentioned not only as the initiator of mysteries into Greece, but also as the author (along with Musaeus) of certain religious books which describe *teletai* in relation to life after death. Apparently, those initiated in these *teletai* while still alive could hope for a better lot after death.[230] Plato regarded these *teletai* with much contempt because, according to his judgement, they made it seem easy to be unjust.[231] It seems that Plato, who was also critical of Homer and Hesiod in respect with their belief in forgiveness of sins, included Orpheus among these charlatans. The fear of death always made people superstitious and it was precisely these persons who appeared vulnerable to such doctrines. The *Superstitious Man* as sketched by Theophrastus in his characters was in desperate search for these sorts of *teletai* and he did not omit to ask for the help of the "Ὀρφεοτελεστάς:"[232]

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[229] The Orphic theology faced criticism from a very early period, and Orpheus posed as an extremely controversial personality. Plato was among his critics. In Pl.Resp.2.64e3-365a3 we read: "βίβλων δὲ ὅμαδον παρέχονται Μουσαίου καὶ Ὀρφέως, Σελήνης τε καὶ Μουσῶν /ἐγγόνων, ὥς φασι, καθ' ἃς θυηπολοῦσιν, πείθοντες οὐ μόνον ἰδιώτας ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις, /ὡς ἄρα λύσεις τε καὶ καθαρμοὶ ἀδικημάτων διὰ θυσιῶν καὶ παιδιᾶς ἡδονῶν εἰσὶ μὲν /ἔτι ζῶσιν, εισὶ δὲ καὶ τελευτήσασιν, ἃς δὴ τελετὰς καλοῦσιν, αἳ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν /ἀπολύουσιν ἡμᾶς, μὴ θύσαντας δὲ δεινὰ περιμένει." In Pl.Prot.316D Orpheus along with Hesiod and Homer were sophists. For the orgies that Orpheus had instituted, see I.M. Linforth 1973: 282 (mysteries concerning burial in wool) and 189-97 (mysteries of Persephone); see AppIVp.489f.

[230] The Orphics were responsible for the idea of men's punishment after death for the sins committed while still alive. Also, see I. M. Linforth 1973: 75-82.

[231] One needed only follow a series of playful ceremonies and all sins were wiped off. Plato had already expressed in another part of the *Republic* (Pl.Resp.363a-e) the idea that even the gods seemed to promote injustice. This is evident in the practices of the "ἀγύρται" and "μάντεις" who claim that they have the power to absolve people's sins by forcing the gods to do their will. See I.M. Linforth 1973: 90-1. For *metagyrtai* as the priests of Cybele who also knew how to practise magic, see ch1n91.

[232] Theophr.Char.8.2f.(Diels). About the coinage of the word "Ὀρφεοτελεστής," see I.M. Linforth 1973: 102-4 (esp.103): 'it is more likely that Theophrastus and Plato are referring to exactly the same thing, all unofficial *teletai* which rest on the authority of books, …whoever coined "Ὀρφεοτελεστὴς" must have chosen to think of Orpheus as the titular authority for *teletai*.' Also, see ch3n91 where Pausanias admits his

> "καὶ ὅταν ἐνύπνιον ἴδῃ, πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ὀνειροκρίτας, πρὸς τοὺς μάντεις, πρὸς τοὺς ὀρνιθοσκόπους, ἐρωτήσων τίνι θεῶν ἢ θεᾷ εὔχεσθαι δεῖ. Καὶ τελεσθησόμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρφεοτελεστὰς κατὰ μῆνα πορεύεσθαι…"

Moreover, that Orphic charms were well known in Athens and were applied on various occasions was shown by a passage in the *Cyclops* of Euripides where the chorus suggested a charm of Orpheus.[233] It seems that as Orpheus during his lifetime exercised magical powers by his song, so charms, which bore his name, had magical powers after his death.

Prometheus' theology as well as that of Orpheus was already discussed in detail during antiquity. Prometheus was often mentioned as the inventor of writing and Orpheus was specifically addressed as the author of religious books and charms. Tradition had it that they had introduced various cults into Greece and Aristaeus was also known for his religious pursuits.[234] Through

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admiration for Orpheus as the hero who combined excellence in music and instituted mystic rites for purifications, for diseases and for averting the wrath of the gods; cf. P. Bonnechere 2003: 170.

[233] Eur.Cycl.646-9: When Odysseus faced the difficulty of lifting the burning brand and thrusting it into the eye of the Cyclops, the leader of the chorus of satyrs recommended a charm of Orpheus. Orpheus whose music had such a magical effect on gods, people and animals would cause the brand to move by itself: "ἀλλ' οἶδ' ἐπῳδὴν Ὀρφέως ἀγαθὴν πάνυ, /ὥστ' αὐτόματον τὸν δαλὸν ἐς τὸ κρανίον /στείχονθ' ὑφάπτειν τὸν μονῶπα παῖδα γῆς." On Orpheus and pathetic fallacy, see Sim.fr.27 (Diehl); Aesch.Ag.1629ff.; Eur.Bacch.560ff.; IA1211ff.; Med.542ff.

[234] J.S. Campell 1982: 108 suggested that the epyllion of Aristaeus and Orpheus was based on the Egyptians mysteries which bear an allusion to the *Bugonia* typically exercised, according to Vergil, in Egypt. Campbell argued that Vergil gave some clues about the Egyptian mysteries in G.4.287-94 where he mentioned the word "salus." The similarities between the Orphic and the Egyptian mysteries enhance the possibility that Vergil associated Aristaeus and Orpheus based on the Egyptian mysteries. Campbell also argued that Vergil could not have possibly alluded to the Eleusinian mysteries because 'no drama, no dramatized *catabasis*' was taking place during the mysteries. He concluded (p.113): 'The myth of Orpheus is the climax of Aristaeus' initiation, his enlightment.' Yet, the author accepted the remarks of A.J. Boyle 1979: 68 that Orpheus failed to understand the power of poetry because of his sexual passion for Eurydice. For Orpheus training in Egypt, see ch4n39.

their comparison to Prometheus, a model of culture hero well and repeatedly established in literature, Aristaeus and Orpheus appear to share for the first time a close affinity. A man of letters of Vergil's calibre would be very familiar with these traditions that had found their way in the poetry of his contemporaries and were often treated by his literary models. He may have decided to focus on certain aspects of the ideologies associated with Orpheus and Aristaeus but he would not ignore the long tradition to which these figures belonged. It may be that the difference between the two heroes should be focused on their theology, since the character of Aristaeus as a theologian was not particularly evident neither in Vergil's work nor in any other source. However, there was one other theologian throughout antiquity who raised as much discussion about the truth of his legend as Orpheus: Aristeas of Proconnesus. His name obviously approximates to that of Aristaeus, but it has been normally assumed that they were different heroic figures.[235] Yet, it seems that Vergil was not unfamiliar with the tradition of Aristeas of Proconnesus.

ARISTEAS OF PROCONNESUS AND ARISTAEUS

Aristeas of Proconnesus was reputed to be a servant of Apollo with supernatural abilities. He had the power to separate his soul from his body, while his image could travel long distances within minutes. Hence, he miraculously disappeared from Cyzicus and reappeared at Metapontum in order to teach the Apolline religion.[236] He was even able to transform himself into a raven, with

[235] If Orpheus and Aristaeus were to have similar biographies, obviously the question of Orpheus' failure in contrast with the success of Aristaeus becomes more urgent. It might be argued that the suffering of Orpheus was the necessary presupposition for the wisdom that Aristaeus came to possess. The same parallelism is found in the case of Prometheus whose suffering initiated humans to new ways of coping with the practicalities of life. The death of Orpheus at the end of the Golden Age in which he lived (an end signified by the death of his wife) confirmed the passage into the Jovian era in which Aristaeus has to survive. The message of the *Bugonia*, the closest possible reproduction of the Golden Age conveyed an optimistic message without undermining the suffering of humans as expressed by Orpheus.

[236] Hdt.4.13. Aristeas of Proconnesus was often said to have had a special connection with the Hyperboreans, a people where the cult of

whose shape he would normally accompany Apollo. The weird circumstances of his disappearances allude to the testimony of Ephorus, who mentioned that Aristaeus did not die, but simply disappeared.[237]

Cicero confirmed that the Sicilians worshipped the Proconnesian Aristeas.[238] It has been argued that this did not happen because of a confusion of Aristaeus with Aristeas because the Sicilians seemed to acknowledge the different services of the two heroes:[239] hence, they honoured Aristaeus because he helped farmers and Aristeas because he taught Pythagoras about the divine nature of the soul.[240] Furthermore, it appears that Aristeas or his

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Apollo was widespread. He was also regarded to as the composer of an epic poem about the Arimaspeans, who lived between the Issedones and the Hyperboreans (cf. Hdt.3.116, 4.13 and 27). Also, see Aesch.PV803f. Aeschylus was suspected to have based the geography around the location of Prometheus' suffering to a treatise about the Hyperboreans written by Aristeas of Proconnesus. See J.D.P. Bolton 1962: 44-56. His remarks seem to agree with the similarities traced in the Vergilian corpus between Aristaeus and Prometheus.

[237] He spent some time in Mt Haemus and then he disappeared miraculously ("ἄφαντον γενέσθαι"). His worship was spread not only among the barbarians but also in Greece. Cf. Sall.ap.Serv.G.1.14; Paus.10.17.3f.; Nigid.Fig.schol.Germ.Arat.287.

[238] Verr.2.4.128. Also, see P. Bonnechere 2003: 169-70 where he argues that in the Hellenistic and Roman times Trophonius of Lebadea in Boiotia was compared 'to Amphilochus, Aristeas, Asclepius, Empedocles, Empedotimus, Heracles, the Dioscuri, the Magi and, very significantly, the Chaldeans; some of these share distinct affinities with the Orpheotelestai.'

[239] J.D.P. Bolton 1962: 169. However, Bolton is in favour of a contamination of two distinct traditions, which intentionally took place in Sicily as it served the common interest of the people, and he even supports that such a blending of the two personalities might explain the fact that later authorities sometimes call Aristeas, Aristaeus. Pausanias who actually used both forms is mentioned as a plausible example (Paus.4.6). However, Bolton did not consider the possibility that Pausanias and the Sicilians did in fact understand the double personality of Aristaeus who was both a cultural hero and a shaman in the way Orpheus is both a mythical singer and a religious leader. It also seems that both heroes were associated with the cult of Apollo.

[240] Although the presence of Pythagoras in Sicily is not evident, the scene of Pythagoras' discussion with Abaris, another servant of Apollo whose qualities are similar to those of Aristeas, is recorded in the *"περὶ*

cult could be compared with the myth of the Thracian Orpheus whose influence on Pythagoras has already been mentioned.[241] Aristeas of Proconnesus, in agreement with the tradition of Orpheus, was said to be an epic poet as well as the author of a prose *Theogony*.[242] His epic was entitled *Arimaspea* and treated the nature and culture of the Arimaspean people[243] who lived far in the north near the Issedones and the Hyperboreans (with whom the Arimaspeans are often confused).[244] Only two short fragments of

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δικαιοσύνης" of Heraclides at the court of Phalaris, tyrant of Acragas.

[241] Iamblichus (250-325 AD) quoted in *The Pythagorean Sourcebook*: 135-6 (VP28) reported that Pythagoras calmed rivers and seas so that his disciples might more easily pass over them. Porphyry (232-305 AD) also quoted in the Pyth.Sourcebook: 128-30 (Porph.29, 33) wrote that Pythagoras prepared songs for the diseases of the body, by the singing of which he cured the sick. In Porph.27, Pythagoras greeted the river Caucasus and it answered back (cf. n276 and App.IVn1). Also, see P. Bonnechere 2003: 170-9; M. Jost 2003: 154 on the influence of the Pythagoreans on the Eleusinian mysteries and N. Robertson 2003: 234n22 on the syncretism of Orphic and Pythagorean beliefs in the Hellenistic period.

[242] Suda s.v. 'Aristeas:' son of Democharis or Caystrobius, from Proconnesus, epic poet. Bolton based one of his major arguments about the distinct identity of Aristaeus and Aristeas on the fact that the second posed as the son of a mortal man and never of a god like Aristaeus. However, it must be remembered that Orpheus as well was, according to some traditions, the son of a Thracian king (Cf. Lucian vol.4, Loeb). J.D.P. Bolton 1962: 32 commenting on Eudocia's (*Violarium* 157) statement that Aristeas had composed the *Arimaspea Epic* as well as a *Theogony* wrote: 'if it did exist it was certainly not genuine, for such an ascription would only have been possible after Aristeas had acquired the reputation of a "θεολόγος," like Abaris, Epimenides and Pherecydes, to whom also Theogonies were ascribed.'

[243] Kl. Pauly 1979: 2.col.1274-1275. Often in poetry the Arimaspean were identified with the Hyperboreans or with one of their tribes. See Callim.Aet.fr.186.8: h.4.291 on the Arimaspi (= Hyperboreans, who were the first to bring corn offerings to Delos); but Steph.Byzantius attributes the identification to Antimachus; see J.D.P. Bolton 1962: 23-5.

[244] The usual view of the Hyperboreans' situation implies that felicity can be secured for mortals by good conduct, and this introduces an idea that is unusual in Pindar. Normally merit is secondary to divine dispensation, and in Pythian 10 the role of the gods both in the victory and in the myth is emphasised (cf. ll.10, "δαίμονος ὀρνύντος" and ll.48-50,

Aristeas' epic have come down to us, one preserved in Longinus, and one in the *Chiliades of Tzetzes*.[245] In Longinus' text Aristeas talks about a sea-faring people who apparently live on their ships and know nothing about life on the land:

> "θαῦμ' ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτο μέγα φρεσὶν ἡμετέρῃσιν. ἄνδρες ὕδωρ ναίουσιν ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι· δύστηνοί τινες εἰσιν, ἔχουσι γὰρ ἔργα πονηρά· ὄμματ' ἐν ἄστροισι, ψυχὴν δ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ ἔχουσιν. ἦ που πολλὰ θεοῖσι φίλας ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντες εὔχονται σπλάγχνοισι κακῶς ἀναβαλλομένοισι."

Despite the scarcity of Aristeas' existing verses, it could be argued that the passage cited above is reminiscent in tone of the many storms that devastate the Vergilian farmer in the *Georgics* and even Aeneas in his quest to Italy. In addition, Vergil was certainly familiar with the geography of northern areas because in his work (G.1.204-7) he emphasises the need for humans to counsel the stars like the sailors who tempt the areas of Pontus and of Abydus. In G.1.316-34, Vergil describes the first storm particularly in terms of a terrible downfall (ll.322-26):

> "saepe etiam immensum caelo venit agmen aquarum
> et foedam glomerant tempestatem imbribus atris
> collectae ex alto nubes; ruit arduus aether,
> et pluvia ingenti sata laeta boumque labores

"ἐμοὶ δὲ θαυμάσαι /θεῶν τελεσάντων οὐδέν ποτε φαίνεται /ἔμμεν ἄπιστον"). In this light, C.G. Brown 1992: 95ff. argues that "ὑπέρδικος Νέμεσις" is a way of referring to the dispensation that characterises the world of ordinary men. By virtue of their position at the end of the "θαυμαστὰ ὁδός," a place outside the realm of ordinary human possibility, the Hyperboreans are exempt from the vicissitudes that affect the lives of men who live under the rule of "ὑπέρδικος Νέμεσις." The Hyperboreans are thus situated firmly in the context of both the will and the actions of the gods. He suggests that their felicitous existence is part of the world-order over which the gods preside; cf. Apul.Met.11.24 and Paus.1.24.6 referring to Hyperborean griffins.

[245] See Longin.Subl.10.4 (=fr.1 Kinkel) and Tzetz.Chil.7.686f. Tzetzes has also preserved the story of Atalanta in Chil.12.937 (see Introduction n40) where, although he talks naively about two Atalantas, he manages to preserve the verses of Theocritus on Atalanta, as well as Musaeus' understanding of the heroine as expressed in his 5th century BC work *Hero and Leander* (cf. ch1n191 and ch4n65). Therefore, generally Tzetzes seems to be an accurate source, although he writes in the 12th century AD.

diluit; implentur fossae et cava flumina crescunt
cumsonitu fervetque fretis spirantibus aequor."[246]

Equally powerful is the storm described in ll.360-378 of the first book where Vergil presents a heifer as looking up to the sky in order to sense the imminent rainfall; and in the third book of the *Aeneid* the Trojans are tossed for three days in the sea without any hope of land surrounded only by the black sky and the swelling waves. In addition, as Aristeas' people seem to have no knowledge of agriculture, so Vergil prays in G.1.456-7:

"non illa quisquam me nocte per altum
ire neque ab terra moneat convellere funem."[247]

Vergil comes very close to the regions of Aristeas' travels in G.3.349ff. where he describes the race of the Scythians and their hardy lives. Snow covers everything and the animals are caught frozen in the snow. Every water source is absolutely turned to ice and the people, a "gens effrena," uncivilised savages, who brutally slaughter the animals, live in deep caves dressed in animal skins. In line 381-3 Vergil writes:

"talis *Hyperboreo* septem subiecta trioni
gens effrena virum Rhipaeo tunditur Euro

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[246] Also, cf. G.1.360-373; 2.303-11; Aen.3.192-209. It is notable that in the *Aeneid* (cf. Aen.3.212, 226, 249; 6.289) the hero comes across the terrible Harpies which in the cosmogony of Pherecydes (B5) appear as watchers of Tartarus along with the daughters of Boreas (the North wind), and Thyella (storm). See H. Fraenkel 1975: 244-45.

[247] Vergil's *Georgics* 1 offers another interesting clue for the poet's familiarity with the literature of Aristeas' time. In G.1.231-56 Vergil refers to the five terrestrial zones that form our universe, lines that are often taken as his response to Lucretius' verses 5.195-234 where he speaks about the theory of the atoms (M. Gale 2000: 116-7). However, Vergil's lines seem to allude closely to Pherecydes description of the universe which is, according to him, divided in five (or seven) inner regions ("μυχοὶ"); each of them has its gods. Pherecydes who seems to have had the same sources as Hesiod (Th.717-44), also refers to a war between the gods (B4); but in his version the leader of one army is Cronus (not Zeus) and of the other a certain Ophioneus (serpent-like); see H. Fraenkel 1975: 244. In his description, Vergil refers to two poles of the earth one located in Libya and one in Rhipaea mountains (ll.241-2): "Mundus ut ad Scythiam Riphaeasque arduus arces /Consurgit, premitur Libyae devexus in Austros." From this point of view, it seems that Vergil alludes to the traditions of Orpheus and of Aristaeus which associate each of them with the two poles of the universe.

et pecudum fulvis velatur corpora saetis."

So, Vergil seems to be aware of the reputation of the legendary Hyperboreans to whom he alludes in the third book of the *Georgics*, especially as he refers to the Rhipaean Mountains, an area associated with the mythic people as much as with the Scythian landscape which is repeatedly described as an inhospitable place at the ends of earth in *Prometheus Vinctus*.[248] It is worth noting that already since Homer the Scythians were believed to use their wagons as their portable houses while Herodotus placed them near the lake Maeotis which was believed to be as big as the Black Sea.[249] From this point of view Aristeas' unfortunate race and the Scythians in Vergil are not so different.[250]

Vergil refers to the areas of the Hyperboreans once more in the fourth book of the *Georgics* (ll.517-120) where he depicts Orpheus as lamenting for Eurydice (!):

"solus Hyperboreas glacies Tanaimque nivalem
arvaque Rhipaeis numquam viduata pruinis
lustrabat, raptam Eurydicen atque inrita Ditis
dona quaerens…."

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[248] Schol.Ap.Rhod.4.282 where it is attested that the Ister comes from the Hyperboreans and the Rhipaean Mountains and that in his version Apollonius has followed Aeschylus' *Prometheus Lyomenos*. See M. Griffith [5]2000: 297-9. Scythia was also presented as a remote and hostile place in Varro's *Prometheus Liber*. In fr.426 Varro wrote: "mortalis nemo exaudit, sed late incolens /Scytharum inhospitalis campis vastitas." Sometimes the Scythians are confused with the Hyperboreans, we were notorious for their piety, as Strabo's reference (7.3.7.) to the law-abiding Scythians affirms; obviously Vergil's view of the Scythians is very different.

[249] See Hom.Od.12.39; Hippoc.Aer.18 quoted by Griffith [5]2000: 215-216 along with Pind.fr.105b, Hdt.4.46 and 4.19. Also, see Griffith's p.81 (ll.2) for Scythia as the farthest place on earth.

[250] It is interesting to observe that although in later literature, cited in the following pages, the Hyperboreans seem to have been renowned for their piety and sense of justice, the second text of Aristeas preserved in Tzetzes which talks exactly about the Issedes and their northern neighbours, the Hyperboreans, offers a more harsh depiction of this people. According to Aristeas, they dwell far in the north, a numerous people, *hardy in warfare*, rich in horses, with thriving stock of sheep and cattle. Aristeas continues with physical details (i.e. their one eye), but to this point the pastoral interests of the Hyperboreans remind us more of the Vergilian Scythians while the reference to their martial skills is also closer to the hardy race of Vergil (Ec.4.8).

It seems that the extremes of the earth were locations particularly associated with cosmic order and justice, which Orpheus obviously refuses to accept (like Gallus in legendary Arcadia). It is not accidental that Prometheus' drama was traditionally placed in the region of Scythia and the north where the Hyperboreans live.

The testimony of Pherenicus about the nature of the Hyperboreans is cited below:[251]

> "ἀμφί θ' Ὑπερβορέων, οἵ τ' ἔσχατα ναιετάουσιν[252]
> νηῷ ὑπ' Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀπείρητοι πολέμοιο.[253]

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[251] Pherenicus' testimony appears in a scholiast of Pindar apud Ol.3.28. C.G. Brown 1992-3: 95 commented on the 10th Pythian of Pindar, where he referred to the Hyperboreans; Perseus overcame the limits of human condition and visited the land of the Hyperboreans with the help of a god (ll.27-45). According to Pindar's portrait, the Hyperboreans enjoy a special fertility in the presence of Apollo and the Muse. In this myth, Pindar seems to be picking up the theme of bliss announced with "μάκαιρα Θεσσαλία" (ll.2), and presenting it in the context of a mythic narrative (Perseus travels "ἐς ἀνδρῶν μακάρων ὅμιλον," ll.46). It is interesting to contrast the Pindaric account of the Hyperboreans with the description of Gabioi (called Abioi, "δικαιότατοι ἄνθρωποι," in Hom.Il.13.6) in the Aeschylean *Prom. Lyomenos* (fr.196 Radt), a passage in which their just nature is emphasised: "ἔπειτα δ' ἥξεις δῆμον ἐνδικώτατον /<> ἁπάντων καὶ φιλοξενώτατον, /Γαβίους, ἵν' οὔτ' ἄροτρον οὔτε γατόμος τέμνει δίκελλ' ἄρουραν, ἄλλ' αὐτόσποροι /γύαι φέρουσι βίοτον ἄφθονον βροτοῖς."

[252] Hellanic.fr.96: "Ἑλλάνικος ἐν ταῖς Ἱστορίαις ἔφη, τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους οἰκεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τὰ Ῥίπαια ὄρη, ἀσκεῖν δὲ δικαιοσύνην, μὴ κρεοφαγοῦντας, ἀλλ' ἀκροδρύοις χρωμένους." See FGrH1F58 (Müller). The Hyperboreans were usually located in the far north beyond the blasts of the North wind, as their name suggests, and close to the streams of the Ocean (Pind.Ol.3.31f.). The etymology of the word Hyperborean is also found in later authors: Hecat.FGrH264F7. Also, see W. Burkert 1972: 149n. 154; J. Room 1989: 97-113. For the location of the Hyperboreans in antiquity, see schol.Pind.Pyth.10.72b (= 2.248 Drachmann); Posidon.fr.270 (Kidd-Edelstein = 70 Theiler); Hecat.Abd.FGrH264F7. Also, see Jacoby FGrH3a (Komm.52-54). The starting point for discussion has been the previously mentioned epic, the *Arimaspea* by Aristeas, which may have influenced Pindar's treatment. See J.D.P. Bolton 1962: 70ff.

[253] The felicity enjoyed by the Hyperboreans is often identified with the avoidance of death. The Hyperboreans almost experience the felicity of the gods as depicted in fr.143: "κεῖνοι γάρ τ' ἄνοσοι καὶ ἀγήραοι /πόνων τ' ἄπειροι, βαρυβόαν /πορθμὸν πεφευγότες Ἀχέροντος." The Hyperboreans were

τοὺς μὲν ἄρα προτέρων ἐς αἵματος ὑμνείουσιν
Τιτήνων βλάστοντας ὑπέρ (Voss: ὑπὸ) δρόμον
αἰθρήεντα νάσσασθαι Βορέαο γύην Ἀρίμα–
σπον ἄνακτα."

The very nature of the Hyperboreans is interesting, because they appear to have descended from the Titans, an indication, which agrees with the Orphic teaching about the nature of man in general.[254] In addition, they are of they same stock as Prometheus, whom Cicero quoted as addressing the Titans as "Titanum suboles, socia nostri sanguinis, generata Caelo."[255] The Hypeboreans were also believed to have had a strong connection with the Thessalians,[256] a

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regarded as long-lived. An interesting account comes from Megasthenes (FGrH715F27b) as summarised by Strab.15.57: "περὶ τῶν χιλιετῶν Ὑπερβορέων τὰ αὐτὰ λέγει Σιμονίδῃ (PMG570) καὶ Πινδάρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις μυθολόγοις." According to Callim.h.Del.282, the Hyperboreans were a long-lived race ("πολυχρονιώτατον αἶμα"), but their other admirable features are omitted. More details are given by Pomponius Mela (1st century AD) in *Chorographia* 3.36-7, who not only re-emphasises their goodness but also adds their joyful suicide when they have lived long enough. Pliny HN4.89-91, 12.26 said that when they have lived a long enough life and their old age was weakened by high living, they often met death by leaping from a certain rock into the sea.

[254] See N. Robertson 2003: 218f. Note that Sophocles (fr.956 Radt) described a northward journey, which is believed to describe the land of the Hyperboreans: "ὑπέρ τε πόντον πάντ' ἐπ' ἐσχατα χθονὸς /νυκτός τε πηγὰς οὐρανοῦ τ' ἀναπτυχάς, /Φοίβου παλαιὸν κῆπον." For the happiness of the Hyperboreans as merely a literary figure, see Aesch.Cho.373.

[255] See Cic.Tusc.2.23-5 also quoted in M. Griffith [5]2000: 291 on whose evidence this analysis draws heavily. Griffith also discusses (p.288) a papyrus fragment of the Ploutoi of Cratinus in which a chorus of 'Wealth-gods (cf. Hes.Op.122-6), calling themselves Titans, hastening to celebrate a change of political climate by visiting a suffering brother addressing him -or someone- in anapaests, and even referring to 'theft,' 'bonds,' and 'tyranny,' shows distinct similarities to the opening scene of *Lyomenos*'. From this point of view, not only the relation of the Hyperboreans with Prometheus and the Titans is better understood, but Vergil's possible intention to allude to their race becomes more obvious.

[256] C. De Heer 1969: 28ff. argued that the Thessalians and the Hyperboreans, both northern peoples, were identified in antiquity. The Hyperboreans have strong connections with Apollo and so did Admetus, a Thessalian king (cf. schol.Pind.Ol.3.28a). On Apollo's links with the north, see F. Ahl 1982: 373-411. In Pyth.10.41-44, Pindar describes the

connection, which agrees with Vergil's effort to stress Aristaeus' links with the area.[257] The Hyperboreans, who enjoyed a special relationship with Apollo, were regarded as the earliest introducers of the Apolline religion in Delos,[258] the god's sacred island. Pindar,

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bliss of the Hyperboreans: "νόσοι δ' οὔτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον κέκραται /ἱερᾷ γενεᾷ· πόνων δὲ καὶ μαχᾶν ἄτερ /οἰκέοισι φυγόντες /ὑπέρδικον Νέμεσιν." According to schol.Pind.Pyth.10.65b, Pindar understood *Nemesis* as Justice, the basic principle that ruled among the Hyperboreans: "οὐ γὰρ ἀδικοῦσι ἀλλήλους /ἀλλὰ πεφεύγασι τὴν διὰ τὸ δίκαιόν τι πράσσειν νέμεσιν, τουτέστι μέμψιν." id. ad 68a: "ὑπερδικαιοῖ καὶ κολάζει τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἡ Νέμεσις." While the Hyperboreans are pious in their offerings to Apollo, the theme of justice is not much in evidence in either the myth or the rest of the poem (except in line 44). More significant is the emphasis on felicity. In view of the importance of Apollo in accounts of the Hyperboreans, it is interesting to note the connection between that god and Admetus, a Thessalian king.

[257] Pindar announces the theme of felicity in the opening lines of Pyth.10: "ὀλβία Λακεδαίμων," "μάκαιρα Θεσσαλία." He then breaks off with the rhetorical question in line 4, and addresses the specifics of the victory before him. He returns to the theme of felicity in lines 17-26. The terms in which the felicity of the Thessalians is set seems very interesting: at the beginning Pindar exaggerates by calling Thessaly "μάκαρ." Then it is only "εὐδαίμων." Their happiness is also defined in terms of geography (ll.19f.). With these words, the condition of the Thessalians is situated firmly in the known world, in the realm of human possibility (note that the winner was a Thessalian). They are subject to reversals from the gods and so an apotropaic prayer is necessary. Within these limits, they have reached the pinnacle of human possibility (ll.27-9). The blissful life of the Hyperboreans stands as a paradigm which the Thessalians approach because of Hippocleas' success in the Pythian Games. All that the poet can do is to pray that their present happiness will not be reversed by Nemesis.

[258] Hdt.4.32-36; Diod.Sic.2.47; Ael.HA11.1; Callim.h.4.280-99 told the story of the Hyperboreans sending gifts to Apollo in Delos wrapped in corn-stalks. His route-from the Hyperboreans to Dodona, Malis, Euboea, Delos- differs from that of Herodotus which is to Scythia, to the Adriatic to Donona, Malis, Carystus in Euboea, Andros, Tenos, Delos. This route in Paus.1.31.2 was Arimaspi, Issedones, Sinope through Greece to Prasiae (in Attica), to Delos by the Athenians. (For the questions of the diversities of route, see J. Frazer 1898: 2.405f. Pausanias (10.5.7-9) referred to the establishment of the Apolline divination by the Hyperboreans. He said that Olen, one of the Hyperboreans, was the first to give an oracle inspired by Apollo; he also referred to the most ancient temple of Apollo

who is familiar both with Aristaeus and the wondrous people of the Hyperboreans as they appear in Aristeas' epic, underlines in his account the relation of the Hyperboreans with Justice (Pyth.10.29-43):[259]

> "ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν <κεν> εὕροις
> ἐς Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδὸν.
> παρ' οἷς ποτε Περσεὺς ἐδαίσατο λαγέτας,
> δώματ' ἐσελθών,
> κλειτὰς ὄνων ἑκατόμβας ἐπιτόσσαις θεῷ
> ῥέζοντας· ὧν θαλίαις ἔμπεδον
> εὐφαμίαις τε μάλιστ' Ἀπόλλων
> χαίρει, γελᾷ θ' ὁρῶν ὕβριν ὀρθίαν κνωδάλων.
> Μοῖσα δ' οὐκ ἀποδαμεῖ
> τρόποις ἐπὶ σφετέροισι· παντᾷ δὲ χοροὶ παρθένων
> λυρᾶν τε βοαὶ καναχαί τ' αὐλῶν δονέονται·
> δάφνᾳ τε χρυσέᾳ κόμας ἀναδήσαντες εἰλαπινάζοισιν
> εὐφρόνως.
> νόσοι δ' οὔτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον κέκραται
> ἱερᾷ γενεᾷ· πόνων δὲ καὶ μαχᾶν ἄτερ
> οἰκέοισι φυγόντες
> ὑπέρδικον Νέμεσιν."

Pindar's account of the Hyperboreans alluded to the Golden Race, living under the rule of Cronus[260]. Nemesis, who was

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which was made of laurel brought from Tempe, where Cyrene had her palace. This temple must have had the form of a hut. The Delphians say that the second temple was made by bees from bees-wax and feathers, and that it was sent to the Hyperboreans by Apollo.

[259] The myth is mentioned in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (h.7.29) and it is reported by Herodotus (4.32) to have been dealt by Hesiod and the author of the *Epigonoi*. The earliest document comes from Pindar (Pyth.10), though we know from Himerius that Alcaeus (7th - 6th century BC) also mentioned it; see Bergk PLG3.147 (1914). It is worth observing that the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* does not mention the god's relations with the Hyperboreans, though a great part of it deals with his fondness for Delos. The land of the Hyperboreans is used by Bacchylides 3.58 (Jebb) as others use the Elysian Fields, as an earthly Paradise to which deserving mortals are translated. This is a unique instance according to Jebb.

[260] It was precisely this sort of felicity that was denied to men during Vergil's age. Human life was characterised by vicissitude and was subject to various "κακά." Moreover, it is noteworthy that the Golden Age was in effect relocated on the isles of the Blessed in the streams of the Ocean, where Cronus continued his rule and where the Hyperboreans dwelled.

believed to rule among the pious Hyperboreans, was described as "ὑπέρδικος," an adjective that suggested a close connection between Nemesis and Dike, which later authors expressed by making Nemesis the daughter of Dike.[261] There were many similarities in the cults of Nemesis, the Moirai, and the Erinyes.[262] It is notable that the Moirai and the Erinyes played a very important role in the works of Aeschylus, especially in the Prometheia where the tragedian examined the relation of Zeus with Moira.[263] Ammianus Marcellinus even identified Nemesis with Adrasteia, a goddess in close association with the Idaean Dactyls, as

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See Hes.Op.173a-e and Pind.Ol.2.76-7.

[261] Amm.Marc.14.11.25; Mesomed.3.2 (Heitsch); cf. Orph.h.61.3. For Dike as the cosmic force that secures the natural order of the universe, see H.J. Lloyd-Jones ²1983: 161 quoted in n155 above. The alterations of fortune that characterise human life seem to be a reflection of Dike. C.G. Brown 1992: 102 argued that Nemesis was probably a figure similar to the Moirai, one who apportions ("νέμω"), while at the same time, like the Erinyes, she enforced that dispensation through punishment ("νεμεσάω"). In the *Theogony* (211ff.) the Moirai and Nemesis are both children of Night along with Keres, who were closely identified with the Erinyes. See Hes.Th.217 (West 1966); Aesch.Ag.1535f. (Fraenkel); at Aesch.Eum.321 the Erinyes were the daughters of Night (according to Hes.Th.185 they were born from Gaia by the blood of Ouranos). For Nemesis and Erinyes cf. Aesch.fr.266.4 (Radt) and Soph.El.792.

[262] More striking is Heracl.fr.52 (Marcovich): "Ἥλιος οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται μέτρα· εἰ δὲ μή, Ἐρινύες μιν Δίκης ἐπίκουροι ἐξευρήσουσιν." Here the Erinyes protect the natural order. Also Her.Epist.9.3: "πολλαὶ Δίκης Ἐρινύες, ἁμαρτημάτων φύλακες." cf. Hes.Op.121ff. Nemesis was often defined by phrases such as "ἐκ θεοῦ" or "πρὸς θεῶν" regarding people who received it as a punishment for an offence. C.G. Brown 1992: 102-3 argued that Nemesis was regularly seen as the agent 'who not only enforces divine law, but maintains the alternations of fortune and circumstance that characterise the lives of men;' cf. Hdt.1.34.1; Pind.Ol.8 Nemesis symbolised a change from bad to good fortune one this time; similar in Charit.3.8.6 [cf. Orph.h.61 Quandt)].

[263] See P.A. Vander Waerdt 1981: 26-47 (esp.n45) where he argued that the Moira and the Erinyes personalise "ἀνάγκη." Aesch.PV1071-9 (D. Grene): "...μηδὲ πρὸς ἄτης θηραθεῖσαι /μέμψησθε τύχην, μηδέ ποτ' εἴπηθ' /ὡς Ζεὺς ὑμᾶς εἰς ἀπρόοπτον /πῆμ' εἰσέβαλεν, μὴ δῆτ', αὐταὶ δ' /ὑμᾶς αὐτάς· εἰδυῖαι γὰρ /κοὐκ ἐξαίφνης οὐδὲ λαθραίως /εἰς ἀπέραντον δίκτυον ἄτης /ἐμπλεχθήσεσθ' ὑπ' ἀνοίας." Also, see Aesch.Sept.70: Eum.417; in Arcadian cult Erinys was identified with Demeter (Paus.8.25, 42).

mentioned above (p.394).[264] Hence, it might be argued that the Hyperboreans were a reminiscence of the Age of Cronus, which the reign of Zeus brought to an end.[265] Furthermore, the details regarding the Hyperboreans that later authors allegedly elicited from the *Arimaspean Epic* of Aristeas of Proconnesus could emphasise his relationship with the Apolline doctrine.[266] On this basis, Aristeas of Proconnesus would probably present many similarities with the mythological and theological tradition that followed Aristeaus as well as Orpheus. Another two points are worth mentioning here: Vergil's implicit introduction of the Hyperboreans and their literary and cultural background in his work makes the comparison of Prometheus with Aristaeus more visible and fruitful. The end of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vinctus* (ll.1007-1093) is signified with a terrible storm sent by Zeus, a storm which is described as "χειμὼν" and "τρικυμία κακῶν" (ll.1015; cf.ll.746), similar to the storms that amid thunder and lightinings Zeus hurls upon the poor farmer who hastens to

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[264] Amm.Marc.14.11.25-6: "Adrastia…quam vocabulo duplici etiam Nemesim appellamus…substantialis tutela generali potentia partilibus praesidens fatis…hae ut regina causarum, et arbitra rerum ac discetatrix, urnam sortium temperat, accidentium vices alternans, voluntatumque nostrarum exorsa interdum alio quam quo contendebant exitu terminans, multiplices actus permutando convolvit. Eademque necessitatis insolubili retinaculo mortalitatis vinciens fastus, tumentes in cassum, et incrementorum detrimentorumque momenta versabilis librans (ut novit), nunc erectas eminentium cervices opprimit et enervat, nunc bonos ab imo suscitans ad bene vivendum extollit." See J. Matthews 1989.

[265] On the Land of the Hyperboreans as a multiform analogous to Elysium, the Islands of the Blessed, the White Island, and so forth, cf. Hes.F150.21 (Merkelbach-West): Ep.F3 (Kinkel), schol.Pind.Pyth.3.28. Also cf. Pind.Ol.2.61-72 for a paradise located elsewhere than the Underworld; Pindar named that place the tower of Cronus and it was supposedly located across the island of the Blessed. Yet, see Pind.fr.129 (Wade-Gery and Bowra); also see nn33 and 260 above.

[266] The double association of Aristaeus with Apollo and Zeus as aspects of both gods enforces the comparison between the adventures of Aristeas and Aristaeus [cf. C. Calame 2003: 63f. who refers to the triad of gods that played a role in the foundation of Cyrene (Apollo, Zeus, and Poseidon)]. In addition, the fact that Aristeas reportedly dealt in his writings with theological matters and mainly the position of Justice in the current cosmic order could attribute to him the same civilising urge that was discussed regarding Orpheus and Prometheus. Aristeas seems to refer to a hopeful memory of the Golden Age in which Aristeaus under the theodicy of Zeus managed to succeed.

interrupt his peaceful existence in the *Georgics* and reminiscent of the everlasting storm that Aristeas described in his epic.[267] This storm, Prometheus, the chained lover of humans, can only avoid if he accepts the rule of Zeus and reveals to the new master of the gods his secret. The description of the storm which according to Prometheus will shake the earth from its very roots and will mingle the sea waves with the stars of the sky sounds very much like a New Cosmogony, especially as Tartarus will also open to receive Prometheus' body still riveted to the rock (PV1043ff.).[268]

Also interesting for the literary and ideological connotations associated with Aristeas' (and possibly Vergil's) work is the context in which Longinus quoted the verses from the *Arimaspian epic* (see n267 below). Longinus discussed in his text literary works, which represented excessively passionate characters. His Aristeas' quote followed immediately after analysing in detail Sappho's famous experience of love like unto death in poem 31 (Campbell). Longinus wrote:

> "πάντα μὲν τοιαῦτα γίνεται περὶ τοὺς ἐρῶντας, ἡ λῆψις δ' ὡς ἔφην τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἡ εἰς ταὐτὸ συναίρεσις ἀπειργάσατο τὴν ἐξοχήν. ὅνπερ οἶμαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χειμώνων τρόπον ὁ ποιητὴς ἐκλαμβάνει τῶν παρακολουθούντων τὰ χαλεπώτατα. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὰ Ἀριμάσπια ποιήσας ἐκεῖνα οἴεται δεινά·"

Longinus clearly establishes a link between extraordinary

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[267] Note that Longinus (Subl.10.5-6), after citing the verses of Aristeas as an example of literature that represents passionate character in humans, goes on to discuss the terrible sea storms presented in Homer and Aratus as indicating the passion of nature in correspondence with the human passions. Longinus is clear in stating that examples of sea storms that involve such connotations can be explicitly found in Homer and Aratus, with whom Vergil was very familiar.

[268] As it was already pointed out (ch1p.77f. and ch2nn58 and 60), during his suffering Prometheus comes across Io, the frenzied maiden transformed to a cow because of the anger of Hera. Prometheus' uses his gift of prophecy to foretell to her that she will roam all earth before she will eventually find the healing of her troubles in the land of Egypt where Zeus will restore her form and will make her the generator of a famous colony. It is from her race that Heracles, Prometheus' liberator, will be born (PV700-740 and 786-818, 844-876). Io will encounter in her travelling many marvellous peoples including the Arimaspeans (PV805).

surroundings and extraordinary people. Therefore the frozen emptiness of the Scythian plain matches the character of the people that live in it and accordingly the Hyperboreans live in a snow-white and pure environment that corresponds to their perfect sense of justice. The perception of their environment as 'pure' or 'inhuman' could also explain the variance among ancient authors in their descriptions of the Hyperboreans (cf. n248). It is possible that Vergil was working on this kind of ideological background which could perfectly explain the nature and the role of the storms in his books, as well as the purpose of introducing a number of erotic motifs in the third book of the *Georgics* which culminated with the tragic story of *Hero and Leander*. In addition, if we accept that Vergil's references to the Hyperboreans and the harsh northern people is indicative of his familiarity with this notional stratum, the story of Orpheus and Aristaeus finally seems to make sense. Vergil did not adduce the association of the two heroes from his rich imagination or some obscure tradition, but from ideas well known and widespread in his time. These ideas he could communicate to his audience without much explanation in order to accommodate the Roman wars in a cosmic system that was about to finally experience a new turn for the better. Not only does his fourth *Eclogue* celebrate the imminent birth of the divine boy in Apolline terms that apply both to Aristeas and Orpheus but it also indicates that the poet understood the identification of Aristaeus and Aristeas, which he elaborates further. From this point of view, the famous "laudes Italiae"[269] in the second book (G.2.136-176) where the poet directly contrasts the *wonders* of the East (perhaps wonders like those that Aristeas would accomplish) with his native Italy, are better put into context, especially since Vergil specifically refers to the "εὐκρασία" of the Italian landscape. It has been argued, very accurately in my view, that the example of Aristaeus emphasises the profile of the farmer as a wonder-worker, a description, however, that is closer to the nature of Aristeas.[270]

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[269] See M. Gale 2000: 215-19 and 248-51. For her discussion of the farmer as wonder-worker, see pp.208-220. Also, see p.227-31 for the relation of *Georgics* 4 with the Lucretian theories expressed in the *De Rerum Natura*.

[270] See M.W. Dickie 2001: 237ff. (esp.n138) where he brings into dicussion Celsus' documentation (Orig.Cels.1.68) of itinerant magicins during the years of the Roman Empire, who would practise their skills in

It has been argued that the fourth book of the *Georgics* has the least Lucretian influence of all. However, Longinus, who was much closer to Vergil's understanding and appreciation of contemporary religious and philosophical ideas, offers a challenging explanation of the lofty and dramatic literary style in very Lucretian terms (10.2-3):

> "Φέρε νῦν, εἴ τι καὶ ἕτερον ἔχοιμεν ὑψηλοὺς ποιεῖν τοὺς λόγους δυνάμενον, ἐπισκεψώμεθα· οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ πᾶσι τοῖς πράγμασι φύσει συνεδρεύει τινὰ μόρια ταῖς ὕλαις συνυπάρχοντα, ἐς ἀνάγκης γένοιτ' ἂν ἡμῖν ὕψους αἴτιον τὸ τῶν ἐμφερομένων ἐκλέγειν ἀεὶ τὰ καιριώτατα καὶ ταῦτα τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐπισυνθέσει καθάπερ ἕν τι σῶμα ποιεῖν δύνασθαι· ὃ μὲν γὰρ τῇ ἐκλογῇ τὸν ἀκροατὴν τῶν λημμάτων, ὃ δε τῇ πυκνώσει τῶν ἐκλεγμένων προσάγεται."

If this way of thinking of literary style is applied to Vergil's *Georgics*, and his understanding of the "rerum natura," then his close following and refutation of Lucretian ideas becomes much more meaningful because his refutation is based precisely on a similar perception of the world as atomic combinations. On the antipode of Lucretius who suggested Epicurean /Stoic tranquillity at the realisation that we are accidental formations of atoms, Vergil might have understood the passion and misfortune of the human condition exactly as a consequence of our atomic nature. In addition, according to this reading of the *Georgics*, Vergil and his farmer in their reply to Lucretius appear to be more philosophical than ever.

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the *agora* a particularly recherché form of necromancy, that of calling up heroes from the dead. In particular Celsus referred to sorcerers and pupils of the Egyptians who would produce tables laden with expensive food and who were able of bringing back to life the dead. In addition, we know of priests as practising similar kinds of magic (see Dickie ibid.: 203-5, 212, 229-231) a large number of whom came from the Levant and the Near East. In Orig.Cels.7.9 Celsus specifically spoke about inspired prophets who were asked to release people from the works of magic, 'a phenomenon peculiar to Phoenicia and Palestine' (Dickie ibid.: 233). However, Apuleius (Met.2.28-30.9) refers to Zatchlas a prophet and a priest endowed with supernatural abilities ("sacerdos") and his view is sustained by Juv.Sat.6.544-5: "interpres legum Solymarium et magna *sacerdos*/ arboris ac summi fida internuntia caeli."

It is very doubtful to what extent the actual text of the Arismaspea had survived even in antiquity, although, its title, the name of the author and a rough summary of its context seem to have been well known among the various Greek and Latin sources.[271] Since none of the ancient authors admitted an immediate knowledge of the *Arimaspea* as written by the hand of Aristeas, it has been assumed that Aristeas might have been the victim of literary forgery during the fourth century BC[272] although at that time the phenomenon was not so widespread yet.[273] However, it is interesting to observe that the same had happened in the case of Orpheus at the end of the sixth and early fifth centuries, when Onomacritus and the early Pythagoreans were charged with having committed forgeries in the name of Orpheus and Musaeus. Pythagoras himself was charged with passing his compositions off as those of Orpheus.[274] Furthermore, Pythagoras was also associated with the establishment of Aristeas' cult in Sicily and with the Hyperboreans. The Hyperboreans, thanks to their close

[271] Bacchyl.3.58-61 describes the miraculous way in which Apollo transfers Croesus and his family to the land of the Hyperboreans. Maximus of Tyre (38.3c [p.439f. Hobein]) states that in the *Arimaspea* Aristeas made his journey in spirit form. See W. Burkert 1963: 235-40, (esp.237ff) criticised Bolton for retreating into rationalising in the face of the spiritual; W. Burkert 1972: 147-9.

[272] Heraclides Ponticus and Dionysius Metathemenus (or Spiranthus) wrote plays that were ascribed to Thespis and Sophocles respectively.

[273] Bolton argues that the high peak of literary forgery coincides with the zeal of the Hellenistic grammarians to enrich their libraries. However, I have the impression that he generalises and he did not take into account the new evidence according to which Philo of Byblos, for instance, is rather quite accurate than merely an author with rich imagination.

[274] Suda s.v. "Ὀρφεὺς Λειβήθρων;" Clem.Al.Strom.1.131; D.L.8.7-8. That these texts were passing as the compositions of Orpheus himself is confirmed by Eur.Hipp.953, Alc.966, IA796. L. Zhmud 1992: 167 attempted to sketch out what an average Orphic would be like through a comparison with the Pythagoreans. He concluded that in both cases although 'the school in general can be adequately described with a number of features, we cannot name any feature which was proper to every particular Pythagorean without any exception,' which is exactly the problem scholars faced with the definition of the Orphics. Of course, in the case of the religious ideas of the Orphics, they were based on a literature of theological and mythological contents from the very beginning.

association with Apollo and their exotic location, were often reported as being able to carry out amazing or magical deeds,[275] and so was Pythagoras.[276] These clues indicate that even if forgery is to be suspected the texts attributed to Aristeas, similarly to the texts composed under the name of Orpheus, belonged to the tradition of these mythical figures and were regarded as such. The most important issue should be related to the nature of Aristeas of Proconnesus whose similarities with Orpheus seem to increase.[277] Some noteworthy evidence comes from Athenaeus,[278] who narrated one of the miraculous manifestations of the god

[275] Iambl.VP28 quoted in the Pythagorean Sourcebook 1987: 91 confirmed that Empedocles of Agrigentum, Epimenides the Cretan and Abaris the Hyperborean had a dramatic effect on nature: Empedocles was known as the 'Wind-stiller,' Epimenides as an 'expiator' and Abaris as an 'air-walker.' Also, see Hdt.4.32, 36 for Abaris.

[276] See n241 for the powers that Pythagoras was believed to exercise over nature at least according to Iamblichus. Porphyry's testimony also supports the belief in Pythagoras' divinity during antiquity. For the association of Pythagoras with Aristeas in the ancient sources, see J.D.P. Bolton 1962: 142- 175 who concluded that the story of Aristeas was obviously conceived and preserved by the Pythagoreans; (so, the similarities in the traditions of Orpheus and Aristeas should be explained according to the degree of their similar interpolation by the Pythagoreans?).

[277] As argued, the so-called Orpheotelestai were regarded as able to purify souls or heal illnesses; L. Zhmud 1992: 161-2 discussed the *Orpheotelestai* of Theophrastus; I.M. Linforth showed in detail that early evidence associates Orpheus with Apollo- not Dionysus who appears to be hostile to Orpheus. On the basis of a careful analysis, Linforth has formulated his main conclusion: a unified Orphic religion never existed. The term has a far wider and a less precise significance than this. F. Graf 1974 proceeded from the assumption that there were no proper Orphic religious institutions, connected the poems under the name of Orpheus with Eleusinian mysteries, and considered this literature to be a kind of doctrinal appendix to those cult ceremonies performed in Eleusis. Also, see M.L. West 1982: 17-29 and 1983: 2-3. He argued that now it is almost impossible to deny the actual connection between Dionysian cult and Orphism: the name of Dionysus is repeated in all three Olbian grafitti. Certainly, their owners bore a direct relation to the Olbian cult of Dionysus, known from Herodotus (4.79).

[278] Ath.Deipn.13.605c-d.

Aristeas:[279]

> "Φαρσαλίᾳ τῇ Θεσσαλίδι ὀρχηστρίδι δάφνης στέφανον χρυσοῦν Φιλόμηλος ἔδωκε,[280] Λαμψακηνῶν ἀνάθημα. αὕτη ἡ Φαρσαλία ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ μαντέων, γενομένης φωνῆς ἐκ τῆς δάφνης τῆς χαλκῆς, ἣν ἔστησαν Μεταποντῖνοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστέα τοῦ Προκοννησίου ἐπιδημίαν, ὅτ' ἔφησεν ἐς Ὑπερβορέων παραγεγονέναι, ὡς τάχιστα ὤφθη εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰ ἐμβαλοῦσα, ἐμμανῶν γενομένων τῶν μαντέων διεσπάσθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν. καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὕστερον ἀναζητούντων τὴν αἰτίαν εὑρέθη διὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ στέφανον ἀνῃρημένη."

The death which the god Aristeas imposed on the Thessalian girl through the madness he sent to his seers was similar to the savage death suffered by those who had insulted Dionysus, such as Pentheus and according to some versions Orpheus himself.[281] In addition, this detail agrees with the tradition, which argues about the journey of Aristaeus to Thrace in order to be initiated to the

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[279] Plut.De Defect.Orac.415A; many perplexities are explained by doctrines which teach that a race of demigods exists between the Gods and Mortals. This doctrine might come from the wise men of the cult of Zoroaster, or it might be Thracian and recall Orpheus, or Egyptian or Phrygian. This may be inferred from observing that many elements connected with death and mourning in Egyptian and Phrygian rites are combined in the ceremonies so fervently celebrated there.

[280] Athenaeus employs a wreath of golden laurel identical to the wreaths the Hyperboreans used to wear in their heads in Pindar's version of this amazing people (Pyth.10.40 cited above).

[281] Madness and mutilation were typical punishments that the god Dionysus would impose on his enemies; see S. Cole 2003: 211 and N. Robertson 2003: 227-8. Dionysus was thought of as a latecomer to the Greek pantheon, due to the myths that presented him as coming from the east to conquer the Greek cities. However, it is now evidenced that the cult of Dionysus had spread in Greece at an early stage. Furthermore, there seems to a deeper meaning to the theme of the strange god who comes and conquers his foes. It might be argued that it is part of the very nature of Dionysus that he is a stranger, exotic and enigmatic. He stands in opposition to standard Greek heroic values, and the religious power he holds over his devotees stemmed in large part from the psychic shock experienced at encountering him. See A. Evans 1988: 41; W. Burkert 1993: 259.

mysteries of Dionysus.[282]

Another source which treated the tradition of Aristeas of Proconnesus in later years is Maximus Planudes, who composed an *Idyll* in the manner of Theocritus. Thamyras, a name known both to Vergil and Ovid,[283] accidentally encountered Cleodemus whom he had not seen since the festival of Demeter when they had met at the house of a mutual friend, Aristaeus.[284] Then Cleodemus

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[282] It might also be argued that the Thessalian origin of the girl was not accidental, but a reminiscence of Aristaeus' connection with Thessaly. In addition, the similarities in the traditions and the happiness that the Thessalians and the Hyperboreans enjoyed as well as the two places' special relation with Apollo could enhance the view that the tales of Aristaeus and Aristeas of Proconnesus were not simply parallel but they actually had the same source and referred to the various aspects of one culture hero.

[283] The name Thamyras appears in Ovid Am.3.7.62 where this Trojan minstrel is described in totally Orphic terms. In lines 56-62 the poet writes: "illa graves potuit quercus adamantaque durum /digna movere fuit certe vivosque virosque; /sed neque tum vixi nec vir, ut ante, fui. /quid iuvet, ad surdas si cantet Phemius aures? /quid miserum Thamyran picta tabella iuvat?" The same Homeric figure (here named Thamyrus) appears in Vergil's *Aeneid* (12.341), dying by the hand of Turnus in a scene clearly set against a Thracian and stormy background. In such a wintry atmosphere, Mars is preparing his frenzied steeds for war accompanied by Terror, Anger, and Ambush. Although Thamyras /Thamyrus is a Trojan, the proximity of his native land to the areas that Aristeas of Proconnesus described was highly disputed even in antiquity; see M. Griffith [5]2000: 214-232 (ad PV696-815). Most interestingly Thamyris is also a name often found in collections of *Paroemiae*; Zenobius (Centuria IV, 27 Leutsch and Schneidewin) wrote: "Θάμυρις μαίνεται: ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ σύνεσιν παράλογα δοκούντων πράττειν εἴρηται ἡ παροιμία." And he gave further explanation of the widespread phrase which makes Thamyris a good parallel for Orpheus (cf. n291): "Ὁ Θάμυρις πολλῶν ἐπὶ κάλλει διενεγκών, ἤρξατο πρῶτον ἐρᾶν ἀρρένων. Ἀσκήσας δὲ κιθαρῳδίαν, ταῖς Μούσαις ἤρισε, συνθέμενος πρότερον, εἰ μὲν κρείττων εὑρεθῇ, πλησιάσαι πάσαις· εἰ δ' ἡττηθῇ, στερηθήσεσθαι ὧν ἂν ἐκεῖναι θέλωσιν. Ὑπέρτεραι δὲ αἱ Μοῦσαι γενόμεναι, καὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς κιθαρῳδίας ἐστέρησαν."

[284] Although Planudes is much later (1260-1330 AD) his information seems to agree with traditions that have survived in ancient authors; hence, surprisingly enough the name of Cleodemus appears in Lucian, Philops.13-4 where Cleodemus claimed that he saw the Hyperborean flying or crossing the water: '…as for the trivial feats, what is the use of telling all that he performed, sending Cupids after people, bringing up supernatural beings, calling mouldy corpses to life, making Hecate herself

narrated to his companion his recent adventures; he lost an ox and so he went to Aethra,[285] the town of Zeus, to buy a replacement. The town was situated on the peak of Olympus and was almost veiled by the thick snowflakes of Boreas. At the festival of Zeus, which was taking place on that day, an Egyptian magician came;[286] he was dark, with a long beard, and his long hair was darker than the feathers of a raven. He professed to be able to guess what Zeus

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appear in plain sight, and pulling down the moon?' The tradition of Abaris is Pythagorean. Cleodemus describes the Hyperborean as a magician. He charges Glaucias a fee to be paid immediately. After that, he uses his powers so that Glaucias commits adultery with another man's wife. Apuleius (155 AD) says in his *Apologia* (78-80) that certain divine powers possessing a character between gods and men control the miracles of the magicians. Pliny the Elder NA28.4.19 asserted that in his time everybody was afraid of being spell bound by imprecations. Already Theocritus among the Greeks, Catullus and Vergil among the Romans had represented love charms in their poetry.

[285] Note that the city of Zeus is called Aethra which sounds very close to the "δρόμον αἰθρήεντα" of Pherenicus' account of the Hyperboreans; also see PV1088 and 1092 for references to *aether* which is violently migled with sea waves due to the Jovian storm that already starts.

[286] It should be remembered that Dionysus' relation with Egypt has been prominent; see OF35; Callim.fr.643 (Pfeiffer). Hence, it might be argued that Dionysus shared many similarities with the theologic motif that C. Penglase 1994: 76-125 applied to the various journeys of Apollo, which apparently aimed at the further glorification of the god. It seems that by making a journey or adopting the image of a stranger that comes to town (e.g. Thebai) Dionysus also sought more followers (cf. Penglase ibid.: 109, 153, 161, 173). These motifs which have their roots in the tales of the Near East include the god's descent to Hades, a journey that Dionysus also attempted. As mentioned great heroes like Heracles had also undertaken similar adventures that bear a resemblance to shamanic initiation. The hero makes a journey to a strange realm, often the Underworld or land of the dead, encounters various obstacles and challenges, acquires helping spirits and guides, and returns bearing the objects or information needed to accomplish his destined earthly task. For the shaman this may involve healing a person or a tribe; for the hero this often involves the establishment of order in a situation that has become chaotic. For the shamanistic aspects of Heracles' labours, see W. Burkert 1979: 209. Also, see M. Grant 1962: 312 who argued that the Siberian shaman wears a feather-coat identifying himself with the dead, who in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* have birds' feathers. Assyrian priests wear them too, and Vergil compared the ghosts to thronging birds.

was doing at that moment. He threw up into the sky two apples and the boy who escorted him. When he successfully guessed that the gods were celebrating the marriage of Ares and Aphrodite, the boy returned holding the two apples and a leg of chicken from the table of the gods. The narration goes on, but the clues presented up to this point were enough to convince Th. Nissen and others that the aforementioned Egyptian magician was none other than Aristeas of Proconnesus on whose myth Planudes based his narration.[287] Bolton argued that the Egyptian origin of Aristeas should be explained by the fact that Egypt was 'a conventional breeding ground of magicians.' However, it might be argued that if Planudes was allowed to give to Aristeas a darker skin just because Egypt was rumoured to be the native place of magic, he was equally justified to use the place as a reminiscence of Aristaeus' birthplace. This would explain more satisfyingly why the common friend of Cleodemus and Thamyras is called Aristaeus and not Aristeas.[288] Planudes obviously knew the tradition about Aristeas in detail because he made use of allusions to the Arimaspea Epic

[287] J.D.P. Bolton 1962: 35; Then, in 1936, Th. Nissen pointed out that the original of Planudes' magician appeared to be Aristeas, that 'trickster if ever there was one;' Strab.5.8.9. See Proclus in Pl.Resp.2.113 who described the death and miraculous recovery of men such as Aristeas of Proconnesus, Ermotimus from Clazomenai, and Epimenides the Cretan. In his aspect as a "γόης" Aristeas exhibited obvious Orphic characteristics.

[288] K. Meuli 1935: 121-76 argued that the Greeks came to know the shamanistic traditions through their contact with people of the North such as the Scythians and the Thracians (cf. the Scythians in G.3.349-383 and H. Shapiro 1983: 105-14). Also see E.R. Dodds 1951: 33-9 who discussed the similarities of Aristeas with Abaris, this northern servant of Apollo who came riding an arrow (as souls still do in Siberia). Abaris did not need any food and was able to banish pestilences, predict earthquakes, and compose religious poems. On page 141-2 Dodds wrote that it is doubtful whether Aristeas' journey was made in the flesh or in the spirit, yet 'as Alföldi has shown, his one-eyed Arimaspians and his treasure-guarding griffons are genuine creatures of Central Asiatic folklore.' Another Asiatic Greek, Hermotimus of Clazomenae, whose soul travelled far and wide, observing events in distant places, while his body lay inanimate at home, possessed the same gift. Such tales of disappearing and reappearing shamans were sufficiently familiar at Athens for Sophocles to refer to them in the Electra without any need to mention names.

when he described the snow-covered city of Zeus.[289] All of his evidence relied on specific parts of the legend of Aristeas of Proconnesus which had been plausibly identified with that of Aristaeus long before. Moreover, if the mention of the Egyptian magician in Planudes was regarded as a clue to the common origin of Aristaeus and Aristeas of Proconnesus, in employing this technique Planudes had at least one forerunner, namely Vergil himself. The reference of Vergil to the practice of the *Bugonia* in Egypt appears as a more organic part of the poem, which served the purpose of unifying the two traditions, and certainly seemed to stress the fact that Vergil was aware of both. In addition, Thamyras' trip to the city of Zeus takes place with the excuse that he lost an ox, which had a main role in the success of the *Bugonia*.[290] However, nothing is said about the regeneration of the bees. It has

[289] It might be argued that in the story discussed above there is no mention of Apollo or Dionysus or any of the Orphic gods normally associated with miracles and divination. However, see L. Zhmud 1992: 163 who argued that the Olbia tablets proved that Orpheus was closely connected with Apollo, although the most important cult divinity of Orphism was Dionysus (of course, this does not mean that every Dionysian cult was Orphic). The frequent mention of Orpheus together with Apollo tells us only that Orphics had no monopoly on this name. The Olbian grafitti gives little evidence about the Orphic cults. From the literary fragments displayed in O. Kern's collection, the central place is occupied by Zeus, mentioned more than 100 times, while Dionysus (together with the names of gods identified with him) almost half as often and Apollo – one eighth as often. However, it would be hasty to proclaim Zeus as the main Orphic divinity. Here the question is the Orphic mythology and cosmogony where Zeus played an important role (manifest especially in the Derveni papyrus) and not their cult practice. Both spheres were connected with each other, of course, but-as the evidence shows- not at all directly.

[290] The fact that in Planudes' tale Thamyras and Aristeas are mentioned together as well as the fact that Thamyras visits the northern city to replace an ox, make the tale reminiscent of the setting of *Georgics 4*. Taking into account the tradition of Thamyris as recorded by most ancient paroemiographers, as a promiscuous and arrogant musician (cf. n283) and his punishment, it could be argued that Planudes told a tale in which all the elements of the ancient initiation tradition have survived, obviously out of context by the 12th century AD. The blinding of Thamyris is also reminiscent of Daphnis' tradition whose Orphic elements were discussed previously (ch2p.219f.).

been argued that Vergil invented the connection between Aristaeus and Eurydice as a superficial excuse that facilitated the citation of the story of Orpheus.[291] Coleman argued that that since Aristaeus was said to pasture his sheep beside the river Apidanus, then it was easy for Vergil to make the association of apis-Apidanus. Vergil was seen to follow the same technique in the *Aeneid*.[292] In addition, in Propertius (1.3.5-6) the river Apidanus is presented as a suitable place for the rest of a 'Thracian bacchant:'[293]

"nec minus assiduis Edonis fessa choreis
Qualis in herboso concidit Apidano."

However, although traditionally Orpheus posed as the disciple of Egyptian wisdom, he has not been associated in any known source with the practice of the *Bugonia*. It should rather be assumed that Vergil relied for the citation of the myth on -now lost- sources of a mystic character in which the death of Eurydice formed a link between the tales of Aristaeus and Orpheus. The Egyptian connection, also reflected in the much later tale of Planudes, is to be suspected in the long tradition of mystery cults in Egypt, where even Pythagoras was said to have studied.

Hence, it appears that Orpheus and Aristaeus should be understood as similar in a plot that drew from various mystery cults

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[291] The most influential study has been that of C.M. Bowra 1952: 113-26. Also see E.R. Robbins 1982: 15f.

[292] W.F. Jackson Knight 1944: 197ff. Also see R.W. Cruttwell 1946: *passim*. Suet.Aug.2.93 refers to the piety of Augustus: "At contra non modo in peragranda Aegypto paulo deflectere ad visendum *Apin supersedit*…sed et Gaium nepotem, quod Iudaeam praeter vehens apud Hierosolyma non supplicasset, conlaudavit" (my emphasis).

[293] Furthermore, it might be suggested that Vergil created a word play between the word for bee, "apis" in Latin, and the name of the Egyptian deity Apis who stood for the sacred bull worshipped in Memphis. His cult attained official recognition under Ptolemaic and Roman authority. See P.M. Fraser 1960: 1ff. and W. Hornbostel 1973: 35-133. S.K. Heyob 1975: 3 (esp.n9 where she quotes E. Bevan 1927: 41-2), Plut.Dion20.359B and 29.362C explained Apis as the image of the soul of Osiris (Sarapis = Osarapis). His cult was very much associated with the cult of Sarapis, a god superior to fate, healer of the sick and worker of miracles. This suggestion seems to agree with Vergil's version, according to which the re-born bees came from the decayed body of oxen; in addition, the Egyptian origin of divination as well as that of the *Bugonia* would be underlined and even associated as the native products of the same land.

and initiation patterns, which by the time of Vergil had been syncretised. Most of these cults aimed at the preparation of the human soul for a happier existence in the next life. In this scenario, Aristaeus represented the new order of Zeus, a god with whom he had a certain affinity. Orpheus who represented a more Cronian existence, had to face the necessity of death, and it is not perhaps accidental that Aristaeus (Zeus) was reported to have caused Eurydice's death. Nevertheless, Vergil invoked an optimistic message through the art of the *Bugonia*, which in the difficult days of Aristaeus could still secure a glimpse of the Golden Age.

CONCLUSION

SYNOPSIS

This study has examined several myths chosen for their erotic content and their recurrent presence in ancient poetry, often in programmatic works. It has been argued that these myths reflect ancient rituals that were often derived from the cultures of the Near East.[1] The influence that these cultures exercised on Greek cult and mythology have been investigated both in terms of ritual practice and literary interaction (surely oral, but plausibly also written) between the East and the Greeks.[2] The majority of the

[1] The actual definition of myth was not a matter of concern in this study; however, one may quote the radical suggestion of M. Detienne 1981 [also cited by L. Edmunds 1990: 1(Intro)] who argued that myth should be seen as a 'intellectual or scholarly construct' that survived thanks to the aura of scandal that normally spiced it. In Edmunds' words 'myth was the Other of religion, reason, or civilisation;' cf. C. Calame 1974: 113-28. It might be argued that in the present thesis myth was consistently understood as a kind of metaphoric language which although it carried certain semiotics traced in its origins or its historic development, it remained essentially open to novel nuances. In several cases, poetry was held responsible for employing, revealing and expanding the semiotic of the myths treated in this work.

[2] The school of thought that associated myth with ritual is referred to as the Cambridge School; its scientific reputation was seriously damaged by accusations of throwing darts in the dark and of insisting on wishful scenarios about the origins of myths (e.g. J. Harrison 1912). Nevertheless, the contribution of this school to the interpretation of myths was invaluable. In later years, archaeology and a refreshing impression that Greeks did not invent civilisation but rather greatly adapted various external elements to their own, proved that scholars like W. Burkert and P. Vidal-Naquet who appreciated the Cambridge focus on sacrificial ritual were correct. In the myths examined in this book it was often argued that elements originating in sacrificial ritual were employed by poets metaphorically in order to denote strong emotions and transitions of state,

detailed discussions that articulated the arguments in each chapter have evolved around ritual patterns of an initiatory character and their literary manipulation.[3] The literary aim(s) of the poets discussed have been analysed in the light of understanding of these myths during antiquity, which generated their own illustration of ancient myths and older poetic forms. This approach could serve to expand our own perspective on ancient myths as well as our appreciation of ancient literary principles.[4]

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psychic as well as physical. For instance, the initial stages of a marriage were marked by the death of the bride who was identified with a sacrificial victim. In this way, the female transition from maidenhood to sexual maturity was expressed indirectly.

[3] G.S. Kirk 1971: 31 stated: 'Therefore it will be wise to reject from the outset the idea that myth and religion are twin aspects of the same subject, or parallel manifestations of the same psychic condition just as firmly as we rejected the idea that all myths are associated with rituals.' However, cf. W. Burkert 1979: 58: 'And it was in this way that that the complex of myth and ritual, though not indissoluble, became a major force in forming ancient cultures, and as it were, dug those deep vales of human tradition in which even today the streams of our experience will tend to flow.' G.S. Kirk and W. Burkert were cited in H.S. Versnel 1990: 27-8 who also discussed some of the main patterns associated with the theory of myth and ritual (esp.29-36 and 45-51 about initiation). The theories regarding the oriental origins of myths resulted from the school of ritual interpretation of myths (see H.S. Versnel ibid.: 38). It is obvious that this study relied on the association of myth and ritual *mainly* in the cases of the myths treated in the previous pages. It was argued that metaphors from ritual practice, often originated in the Near East, had entered everyday life as well as literature and were suitable for erotic poetry (Hesiod, Theocritus, Propertius) as much as for philosophical debates (Vergil). Also, see S.I. Johnston 2003: 155ff., B. Lincoln 2003: 241ff., and J.M. Redfield 2003: 255f.; for my reaction to their work, see Introduction nn8 and 11.

[4] It could be argued that the Orientalising theory by nature takes the ritual theory a step further into the historical aspect of myth, a stand that was also supported in this work especially in Chapter two were the *Song of Solomon* was proven older than the poetry of Theocritus, a clue that led to certain conclusions about the evolvement of the bucolic as well as about Theocritus' position in its formulation. See C. Brillante 1990: 106-111. Apart from significant historical events such as the contact of the Near East with the Greeks or the adoption of Adonis cult, the historical element of the myths treated in the book focused in the development of

Chapter One

The myth of Atalanta, a tale that was employed among other mythic narrations to express the neoteric aesthetic of the Alexandrians, dealt with a steadfast heroine who strongly opposed marriage. It has been argued that the erotic element of the myth, although expressed more vividly in the Hellenistic period, was an essential feature that even Hesiod seems to have recognised in his *Catalogue of Women*, composed in a rather rigid epic style. Ancient readers of Hesiod such as Theognis and Stesichorus enhanced through their works the conviction that Hesiod appreciated the erotic element of the myth that had obviously resulted in its incorporation among stories of legendary weddings (*EOIAI*).

The myth was probably a reflection of the cult of Artemis who presided in rites of passage from adolescence to sexual maturity, usually resulting in marriage. During these rites girls had to experience the 'wild side' of the protected, civic environment in which they had lived all their lives, and were, therefore, required to spend a certain period of time in the sanctuary of the goddess, normally located outside the borders of the city. The *parthenoi* would 'die' socially before being revived as prospective wives and mothers of respectable citizens; this period of 'death' was often conveyed in myth as madness which led the female to rage in the open wilderness in a way a sensible Greek girl never would (cf. The Proitids etc.).[5] Artemis was often related in myth to single heroines who would dedicate their youth to hunting wild animals and revering their virginity. Atalanta's temperament, particularly as recorded in the Arcadian tradition, seems to conform to Artemis' own lifestyle.

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poetic genres and the influences they exercised in later authors throughout antiquity. Arist.Poet.1451b6-12 argued that "φιλοσοφότερον καὶ σπουδαιότερον, ποίησις ἱστορίας ἐστίν·" Aristotle who defined the plot of tragedies as myth, talked of "traditional histories' which contain implausibilities but we cannot change them...' (C. Calame 2003: 13). Aristotle defended these narratives inasmuch as they served the laws and the interest of the community. Their mythic form is explained by the need to persuade the masses.

[5] The pattern was often expressed in literature and art as Maenadism. See J.N. Bremmer 1984: 267-86; also see R. Osborne 1997: 187-212; cf. the motif of running in the wild with the famous race that Atalanta announced for her hand.

Aspects of the character of Atalanta such as her cruelty towards her unsuccessful suitors or the cave in which she reputedly dwelled, as attested by pseudo-Apollodorus and Aelian during late antiquity, underline the heroine's association with the wild sphere of Artemis and associate the iconography of the goddess with eastern fertility deities such as Cybele, Inanna and Ishtar. Although Artemis was a strictly virginal deity, her 'kourotrophic' qualities do not rule out her comparison with the dangerous and sexually alluring eastern goddesses. In addition, it seems that the figure of the 'seductive female' as personified by Gorgo, Circe, and Medea in Greek cult and literature often attributed an initiatory role relating to males.[6] The fact that in antiquity Artemis had been closely associated with Gorgo, Medusa, and Hecate, goddesses whose eastern origins and characteristics have been long established, reinforces the link between Artemis and eastern sexual goddesses. Most mythic accounts referring to the favourite protégés of Artemis, such as Callisto, Comaitho or Cyrene, stressed that the goddess had included them in her company particularly for their loveliness and sexual appeal.[7] Festivals at Ephesus, where the cult of the goddess was prominent, and celebrations in honour of Artemis all over Greece (e.g. Patrai) highlighted the youth and beauty of the participants who unlike the goddess herself, were compelled by their mortality to complete the sexual transgression so much hated by Artemis. The anger of the goddess for the defiance of her will was reflected in the fortunes of the heroines who often strayed from Artemis' pure world deluded by lust, either their own or that of a god,[8] thus irretrievably offending their protectress. Atalanta, who was reported to have been transformed into a lioness as a punishment for mating with Hippomenes in the sanctuary of the Mother of the gods, belongs to this category of heroines.[9]

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[6] N. Marinatos 2000: 20-44 and especially 61-5 where the author interpreted Medusa's representation in the Corfu pediment as 'initiatrix of young men.' J.P. Vernant 1991: 111-41 and 141-51.

[7] Callim.h.Dian. *passim*. For the relation of Artemis with her protégés see, R. Seaford 1994: 34.

[8] For rape as initiatory theme, see ch1nn61, 197 and 227; also see ch1n25.

[9] Hippomenes in Ovid forgot to thank Aphrodite for her help (ch1p.42). A similar tribute was expected for Artemis (by Cyrenean law)

The role of the apples which Aphrodite gave to Hippomenes in order to win Atalanta's hand illuminates the initiatory character of the myth, because apples were a standard feature of Greek weddings that, along with other fruits, like quinces and pomegranates were thought of as securing fertility for newly-weds. Furthermore, it has been shown that the apples were employed in order to arouse the female sexually,[10] a custom rooted in Near Eastern spells of sympathetic magic which had survived not only in the myth of Atalanta, but also in Aristophanes' text as much as in the playful throwing of apples between Daphnis and Chloe in Longus.

The magical character of love was implied in the erotic frenzy that Atalanta experienced as soon as she glanced at the apples, a detail explicitly treated by Theocritus who was later imitated by Vergil and Propertius. The Latin poets seem to project an understanding of Theocritus which has been rather ignored by modern editors of the *Idylls*. Based on the sound knowledge of Greek literature of both Vergil and Propertius, as well as on their insight into the initiatory motifs associated with Atalanta, it has been suggested that the Roman poets attempted a combination of two sound poetic images for rendering erotic frenzy, that of 'leaping of love' with that of 'wandering in love.' Theocritus' familiarity with both images, often rendered with the verbs "ἅλλομαι" and "ἀλάομαι," has been illustrated. The initiatory nuances of the two traditions that have been employed to describe Atalanta's reaction to the view of the apples, have been analysed; the possibility that Theocritus understood Atalanta as victim of magic and therefore, he opted for "ἅλλομαι," which is found in magical spells, was put forward. Propertius apparently understood Atalanta's magical infliction which prompted the address to the witches in his first elegy. Nevertheless, the heroine was understood by poets both as 'losing her mind' in love, or as 'leaping in love.'[11]

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from the girl's side. Hence, once more Artemis and Aphrodite are paralleled.

[10] Cf. C. Faraone 1999: 50-67 and *passim*.

[11] The second explanation has been justified by those leaping from a rock like Sappho and Anacreon, a motif also employed by Theocritus. In addition, the occurrence of the phrase 'leaping in love' in Greek lyric poetry and magical spells has been pointed out (ch1pp.75f. and 97; ch2p.185). Although, there is continuity with regards to the image of

This reading of Theocritus agrees with the previous evidence on the initiatory character of the myth and offers a clear lineage of mythic models and religious perceptions from the time of Hesiod until the Augustan elegiac poets.[12] The motifs of running in the wild and of leaping of love should be understood as denoting frenzied love.[13]

The character of Roman elegiac poetry does not seem any longer an invention of passionate Latin temperament, but a literary production firmly rooted in centuries of identifying the madness of love with 'spiritual' death. In his programmatic elegy Propertius seems to have founded the melodramatic character of his poetry on the experiences of glorious heroes at this marginal phase of their lives, a fact that of course had not escaped the attention of ancient storytellers and mythographers. Furthermore, since love was evidently considered as a mental disease of magical character that could even be fought with purification, the agent of this evil, the elegiac mistress, needs to be appreciated in the light of the new indications. Cynthia's comparison with a Thessalian witch in the fifth elegy of Propertius implies that the elegiac mistress was regarded as a dangerous female figure that could afflict her male victims in the way Circe and Medea would. The typical motif of the deification of the elegiac mistress implies that she was viewed as a mortal projection of her divine prototype, normally imagined so much cruel as lusty. However, both attributes rest on the character of Atalanta as rendered by the predecessors of Propertius and of course, in the character of the eastern goddesses whose cult was often mentioned in Latin elegies. Hence, it might be argued that the concept of love as discussed by the Latin elegiac poets

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running in the wild that seems to be particularly associated with the myth of Atalanta, Theocritus' intention to employ an image of 'leaping' could allude to his understanding of Atalanta as victim of magic.

[12] Verg.Aen.4.68-73: "uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur /urbe furens, quails conjecta cerva sagitta, quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit /pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum /nescius: illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat /Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo."

[13] In ch2p.151f. the beloved of Daphnis, as well as the girl in the *Song of Solomon* were depicted as running in search for their lovers. The motif was also noted in Bion's poem about the death of Adonis who described Aphrodite as running in the wild distraught by the death of her lover. Finally, Vergil also wrote that Eurydice met her death as a newly wed bride that ran in frenzy in her attempt to avoid Aristaeus' lustful attack.

communicated previous ideas explicitly found in eastern initiatory cults.

Chapter Two

The key role of Hellenistic literature in the transmission of eastern (including, of course, primarily Greek) ideas and poetic forms to Rome was already noted in the first chapter of this study with special reference to Callimachus and Theocritus. The latter had been acknowledged as the first systematic composer of bucolic poetry. However, in the years after Theocritus, literary critics viewed bucolic poetry with disdain and cast out the genre from the principles of Hellenistic literary production on the grounds of its brutality. The debate embarks at the beginning of the chapter on the comparison of Theocritus' 'bucolic' production with Vergil's 'pastoral' and reputedly more elevated poetry. This view is refuted and a discussion of the bucolic motifs retrieved from various genres of ancient Greek literature, largely from tragedy and Homer, to sustain Theocritus' restoration to the sphere of Hellenistic taste.

The work of Theocritus was introduced by his editors to the public with the *myth of Daphnis*, another natural deity who in myth exhibited steadfastness similar to that of Atalanta and, according mainly to Aristophanes and Propertius, similar to the spirit of Milanio (Melanion). In the second chapter the mythic character of Daphnis was examined as an archetype of the later elegiac lover, a view contradictory to the customary perception of Daphnis as a Hellenistic representation of Hippolytus. Theocritus had already stated that Atalanta, despite her traditional resoluteness, had actually fallen in love with Hippomenes (Milanio in Propertius) and her erotic drama was rendered by Ovid in a lively way. The possibility that Daphnis, the first singer of bucolic poetry, died in Theocritus' first *Idyll* not because he refused love but, on the contrary, precisely because he fell madly in love like Atalanta seems to make more sense of Theocritus' obscure poem than the traditional explanations. This reading of Daphnis could function as an indication of the rich religious and mythological background of bucolic poetry, which had been for a long time wrongly identified as Theocritus' own invention. Although it has been nowadays accepted that Theocritus did not invent bucolic poetry, the credibility of ancient sources that referred to religious rites as the hearth of bucolic poetry has been doubted.

Investigating the proven Hellenistic background of Daphnis in Theocritus, one does not come across any cult of Artemis as suggested by the ancient testimonies; yet Theocritus spends time on the cult of Adonis in *Idyll* fifteen. The similarities between the tradition of Adonis and the treatment of Daphnis' death in the first *Idyll* point to the near-identification of the two heroes. If Daphnis is to be understood as a type of Adonis, who had already been classified in the ranks of eastern divine consorts such as Dumuzi and Tammuz, further evidence of Theocritus' affinity with these cults is provided.

The poet clearly included in the first *Idyll* Near Eastern patterns already documented in specific texts like the Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh* which was indirectly reflected in the angered speech of Daphnis towards divine Aphrodite. The Babylonian episode of Gilgamesh and Ishtar mirrored the encounters of Adonis, Diomedes and Anchises with Aphrodite, all derived from Near Eastern cults. The divine couple of Adonis and Aphrodite, celebrated at Byblos, Alexandria and even fifth century Athens, originated in the ceremonial union of the fertility goddess with her consort which was ritually lamented throughout the East since primordial times. In particular, it is argued that the story of Daphnis belonged to the strand of the consort-goddess erotic and profoundly unhappy encounters. The pathetic fallacy typically associated with the death of Daphnis from Theocritus onwards should be understood as the literary representation of the cultic mourning in honour of Adonis, as treated by Theocritus as well as by Moschus and Bion.

In addition, more evidence on the nature of Daphnis and of bucolic poetry seems to come to the surface once the eastern background of Theocritus is established. Based on the lengthy and carefully designed description of a Cup in the first *Idyll* of Theocritus, it has been argued that the images carved on it possibly allude to traditions and ideas related to the unfortunate circumstances of Daphnis. The first and the second image are engaged with commonplace notions about the harsh nature of love by which Daphnis was patently afflicted; the third image on the Cup has a more than fortuitous correspondence with the *Song of Songs*, a Hebrew poem that, when understood in the tradition of Adonis, reveals the deep cultic associations of bucolic poetry and explains the bucolic character of love as found in Theocritus and

his followers, particularly in Vergil.

Furthermore, since the association of love with death has been already treated in the myth of Atalanta as part of the ancient transition rites, the death of Daphnis is itself interpreted in this light. It is suggested that Theocritus employed the phrase '[Daphnis] crossed the river' in its metaphoric use evident in the ancient belief that one would join the realm of the dead once one had crossed the river of Acheron, still attested in modern times. The poet did not imply that Daphnis drowned, but simply used a poetic expression for stating that Daphnis perished. The motif of associating love with death and magic (already examined in Chapter one) is further traced in samples of Near Eastern literature.

Chapter Three

The influence that Theocritus exercised on Vergil was already demonstrated in the previous chapter. At this point, the decisive contribution of Vergil to the bucolic genre that led to preference for the simple and naïve style of his Greek models was examined more thoroughly. It is argued that Vergil understood the religious and cultic origins of Theocritus' poetry as evidenced in his own illustration of Daphnis: in the fifth *Eclogue* Vergil referred to the apotheosis of the hero, which apart from likening Daphnis to the recently deceased Caesar, incorporated the tale of a hapless shepherd in the tradition of culture heroes who had paved the way for the salvation of the whole of humanity. It seems that Vergil employed the bucolic ideal in its distorted form as experienced by the agriculturists of his time who were constantly threatened by the Augustan proscriptions. He attributed to bucolic serenity, in which his most fortunate characters indulge an element from the Stoic and Epicurean dogmas, thus presenting the bucolic *modus vivendi* as compatible with the philosophical fashions of his time. Furthermore, Vergil identified the era in which this ideal of simplicity and cosmic peace could be attained with the legendary Golden Age as set out by Hesiod. By casting Daphnis in the role of culture heroes like Prometheus or Orpheus, Vergil tried to answer positively the question about the recurrence of that Age and its precise circumstances. The similarities of Daphnis with Orpheus and Prometheus as culture heroes are elaborated and the transfer of bucolic song from Theocritean Sicily to Arcadia is explained as a technique of combining the Hellenistic tradition with the cultural

semiotics of Arcadia, which according to Hesiod had witnessed the first Golden Age.

The fourth *Eclogue* dealt exclusively with the fulfilment of a prophecy regarding the second Golden Age that, according to the Vergil, was about to start. The poet gave substantial clues about the ciphers that would proclaim this new age focusing on the birth of a child whose growing to maturity would reflect the progress towards the realisation of the New Era. It has been argued that here Vergil draws from a number of ancient mystery cults in which the birth of a child is the culmination of the rites offered, and secures the well-being of the initiates in terms of fertility but also of spiritual *soteria*: this applies to cults like the Dionysian rites and the Eleusinian mysteries. The association of the Orphic rites with the cults cited above is explained, and it is argued that even if syncretism is to be suspected this should not change the ancient perception according to which these rites were understood as similar. The Near Eastern background of several of these cults was also explored. The poem concludes with a transfer to Arcadia, which poses as the place that will naturally receive the second Golden Age. Vergil wishes to be judged by Pan in a singing contest against Orpheus or Linus, and is confident he will be found the winner. In this rather obscure finale of the poem Vergil already associated Orpheus with Arcadia, yet not, as expected, in his persona as the incomparable legendary singer. On the contrary, it seems that the poet wished to underline the role of Orpheus as a hierophant, a role that Vergil himself obviously aspires to.

Vergil also referred to the automatic production of honey during the first Golden Age, a state which humanity would soon re-experience. Vergil wrought this agricultural image in close imitation of Hesiod who associated the labour of the bees with the small cast of just farmers among whom traces of the original Golden Age were remaining. It is suggested that the belief in the recurrence of the Golden Age was not only a philosophical device (*megas eniautos*), but also an idea implied already in Hesiod and in ancient mystery religions.

Chapter Four

The tenth *Eclogue* has been particularly interesting as regards the poetic ambitions of Vergil at the beginning of his career. The poem was modelled after the death of Daphnis, yet Vergil replaced him

with Gallus, who was described as travelling to idyllic Arcadia and dying there, unable to relieve his erotic torture. This *Eclogue* not only confirms arguments on the nature of Daphnis as a lover, but also puts forward the question regarding the position of poetry in this New World Order that Vergil celebrated in the fourth *Eclogue*. It is suggested that the comparison of Gallus with Orpheus, the legendary singer and theologian, did not aim solely at exalting Gallus' poetic talent; it mainly put forward Arcadia as a possible location for Orpheus' erotic drama. Orpheus and Gallus were pre-eminent in the art of poetry and they both died of love in a pastoral environment unsuited to their sufferings. As mentioned, Orpheus enjoyed the double capacity of a poet and theologian, which actually renders the ancient term of "vates," the Latin poet-prophet. It appears that Vergil did not spurn the authority of a "vates," for long misjudged by his contemporaries, and aimed at restoring the role of poetry in the Roman future.[14] Gallus offered to Vergil an ideal literary link between the Hesiodic past and the Augustan present; by discussing the unfortunate *Eros* of Gallus, Vergil debates the role of poetry, which was traditionally listed along with uncontrolled emotions such as love. Furthermore, the poet defended his own position as the hierophant of the New Golden Age in the footsteps of Orpheus.

As implied, the role of poetry goes hand in hand with Vergil's views on love as he discussed them in the third book of the *Georgics*. Agriculture poses as the means of securing the second Golden Age; hence, Vergil clearly did not speak of a repetition of the initial Golden Age but of its simulation under the theodicy of Zeus. In antithesis to the usual interpretations that Vergil condemned sexual passion uncritically and praised in return the asexual life of the bees, it is argued that Vergil admired the immeasurable boost of energy that "caecus amor," 'blind' love initiated in its victims, an energy that in the New Era the farmer is called to channel properly so that he forces nature back to its primal Golden condition. It seems that Vergil did not exclude

[14] Propertius' 3.5 summarises the ideal poetic career. While young the poet devoted himself to erotic poetry and the Heliconian Muses (ll.1-22); however, as soon as old age will make him unfit for a lover, Propertius wishes to turn his interest to the mysteries of the world, human nature and human destiny: "sub terries sint iura deum et tormenta reorum…an ficta in miseras descendit fibula gentes, /et timor haud ultra quam rogus esse potest."

poetry from his vision of the Roman future, but on the contrary regarded poets as the mediums to communicate it to larger audiences. Although poetry's ability to relieve human pain is doubted, its capacity for embuing a memory with tension is appreciated. Orpheus, for example, had eternally captured in his echoing songs the feeling of human loss; the loss of his wife, Eurydice, has been a notoriously popular mythological pattern that also appears in the fourth book of the *Georgics*.

Chapter Five

At the beginning of the chapter, the editorial difficulties unavoidably associated with the scholarship of the poem were discussed. The view that Vergil had composed the story of Orpheus and Aristaeus in memory of Gallus ("laudes Galli"), who had recently committed suicide, is doubted. In addition, the argument according to which Vergil replaced these verses in honour of Gallus with the Aristaeus' epyllion under the orders of Octavian is refuted. It is suggested that Vergil, perhaps having taken his inspiration from Gallus' tragedy, treated the theme of loss with two major nuances: emotional loss and physical loss (death). Although it is normally believed that Vergil invented the story of Orpheus and Eurydice, the origins of his tale are pointed out in ancient religious rites with soteriological content.[15] Eurydice's

[15] S. Wood 2000: 77-99 centres on the rape of Persephone. The myth of the abduction of Persephone by Hades, the god of death, the quest of Demeter for her daughter and the temporary return of Persephone to the world of the living was popular in Roman art, both funerary and honorific. Wood shows how the identification of living women with Ceres came to be accepted and even became popular, because of its association with fertility and good motherhood: from Livia onwards imperial women were represented with the attributes of this goddess (poppies and corn ears). However, the myth also had a special significance in funerary art. It was a popular subject for sarcophagi of both men and women because it expressed hope of victory over death and a happy after-life. If the deceased was a woman, her portrait often identified her with the figure of Persephone. The scene most commonly found on sarcophagi is the abduction, but Persephone is also depicted as the queen of the underworld, interceding with Hades on behalf of the deceased. Wood demonstrates how the myth of Persephone, together with that of Alcestis (who returns from the underworld) and of Protesilaos (who is released for one day on the entreaties of his wife Laodameia), conveys the notion that

frequent association with Persephone brings to mind coming of age rites that equated love with death; Eurydice dies as a maiden on her wedding day never to recover her previous condition.[16] Persephone had similarly vanished from the face of the earth once she became the bride of Hades and despite her immortal nature she was never to return to earth; even her mother's mediation only managed to secure her partial restoration that actually confirms her new status as Queen of the Underworld. Equally Orpheus, who never accepted the loss of Eurydice, died in the hands of the Thracian Maenads; therefore, marriage reserved the death experience for him too. Death symbolises and in linguistic terms metaphorically expresses a transition period. Aristaeus, who was introduced to a difficult transition period when he lost his bees, did not avoid a deathlike adventure which scholars often identify with his journey to the submarine realm of his mother Cyrene.[17]

Gradually the similarity between Aristaeus and Orpheus regarding their reaction towards misfortune seems to gain ground. The traditional dualism between successful Aristaeus and unsuccessful Orpheus is questioned; the common argument that Orpheus should be identified with the image of the idle poet that needs to be sacrificed in the name of practicality and progress represented by Aristaeus does not follow from the mythological background that Vergil consulted. A new suggestion is put forward: Aristaeus was successful not because he was less emotional compared with Orpheus, but because he incorporated the message of happy or balanced existence in the new theodicy of Zeus. As discussed in the previous chapter, Vergil already treated the theme

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death can be overcome and that the love of a married couple conquers death, notions that were regarded as highly appropriate to a funerary context.

[16] M. Eliade 1958b: 24 argued that symbolic death was found in the context of the initiation of boys into manhood. The boys' childhood identity must die so that they may be reborn as men in the community. This process almost universally involves a ritual in which the initiate must feel the terror of an encounter with death, frequently combined with the imprint of intense physical pain, by circumcision or through having a tooth knocked out.

[17] M. Owen Lee 1989 presented Aristaeus' journey to the submarine palace of Cyrene in Jungian terms, as a metaphor for his unconscious need at this point of crisis to return to the maternal womb.

of the Golden Age in the *Eclogues* and repeatedly in the *Georgics* in close correspondence with Hesiod. In Hesiod's account, the Golden Age represented the sovereignty of Cronus, which was finally replaced by the unhappy rule of Zeus that culminated during the Iron Age. Prometheus, the Titan who felt for humans and paved the way of civilised life, was both in Hesiod and Vergil a victim of Zeus. However, it seems that Vergil does not preach the coming of a new divine order from which a new Golden Age will spring; he is rather interested in understanding the current Jovian rule and in conveying an optimistic message about man's standing in the world of Zeus. Vergil highlights the Promethean element in man that should allow him to tame nature and bring it to its initial Golden state. A detailed comparison of Aristaeus and Orpheus with Prometheus reveals even more the similarity between the two heroes in mythic and cultic level.

POETS AND PHILOSOPHERS EMBRACE RITUAL

The *Bugonia*, the creation of new swarm of bees from the corpse of sacrificial oxen, offered to Vergil the ritual basis which he further enriched with the religious awe of the Egyptians, since the poet described the practice of the *Bugonia* primarily in Egypt and with the philosophical tendencies of the Augustan period. Thus, he managed to unify patterns and attitudes so as to shape in religious and philosophical terms a positive disposition towards human progress. Orpheus and Aristaeus should be viewed as legendary figures of the same kind, yet as representing different ritual stages. Orpheus was a significant hierophant[18] who symbolised the end of

[18] In the Renaissance, the legendary poet and philosopher Orpheus was held to have been a pupil of Hermes, and to have founded an esoteric mystical religion, the rites of which he had learnt in Egypt. According to Iamblichus' *Vita Pythagorae*, Pythagoras derived his theory of numbers from the Orphists, which made Orpheus the ultimate source of Plato's Timaeus. Proclus, who remarked that the entire Greek theology stemmed from the Orphic mystic doctrine, confirmed this later. D.P. Walker 1972: 22-41 reported Proclus' view that 'all the Greeks' theology is the offspring of the Orphic mystical doctrine.' Therefore, among the sects associated with Orpheus, the Pythagoreans are particularly important. Iamblichus, and after him Proclus, stated that it was from disciples of Orpheus that Pythagoras, and through him Plato, had learnt that the structure of all things is based on numerical proportions. Orpheus could thus become the

the Golden Age (decline, death); on the contrary, Aristaeus was the hierophant of the new era in which the Romans needed to find ways of healing the traumas of the past and achieving progress (regeneration, rebirth).

However, the initial comparison of Aristaeus with Orpheus pointed to a single gap regarding the substance of Aristaeus as a hierophant since the evidence is too sparse. Nevertheless, the identification of Aristaeus with Aristeas of Proconnesus, a shaman of the Apolline religion which Orpheus also served, not only suggests the breadth of Vergil's sources but also offers a view of the complex religious ideas of antiquity.[19] It might be argued that in the person of Aristaeus Vergil represented the missing rebirth of Orpheus in the theodicy of Zeus. The close connection of Aristaeus with Zeus, treated in chapter five, as well as the importance of Zeus in the *Orphic Hymns*, would sustain this view.[20] The role of Orpheus in the religious foundations of the ancient world is not to be doubted; hence, Vergil's attempt to suggest an alternative interpretation of the Orphic tradition should be valued accordingly.

As argued, this thesis has mainly engaged with the semiotics

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ultimate source of the Timaeus. See Proclus Theolog.Plat.1.6 (Kern T250); Iambl.VP (Kern T249). Proclus ibid. explicitly gave the sequence: Orpheus-Aglaophemus-Pythagoras-Plato.

[19] M. Eliade 1958b: 92 referred to shamanic spiritual initiation. In her description, the theme of death and dismemberment becomes universal. The shaman-to-be undergoes an experience that can only be described as a spiritual death and reconstitution. The initiation may be spontaneous or intentional, brought on by an illness for example; note that especially in Chapter one love was discussed as an illness.

[20] The Orphic mysteries may represent the first introduction of northern European shamanism into Mediterranean Greek culture. It is not at all clear whether Orpheus was an actual man, but many of the characteristics attributed to him are also associated with the shaman. His death appears to reflect shamanic death. Although it does not include Orpheus' own shamanic rebirth, the Orphic cosmology does in several respects. The principle Orphic deity, Dionysus is killed, dismembered, boiled, and eaten by the Titans. Nevertheless, Dionysus is then reborn by Athena having saved his heart and given it to Zeus. Dionysus is thus actually 'thrice born,' because the first Orphic god, Phanes, who emerged from the Orphic egg wound with the spiral serpent, was also named Dionysus. See M. Meyer 1987: 82.

of myths as treated, whether acknowledged or further expanded, by major poets in antiquity. The role of religious rituals in the origins of popular mythological patterns with erotic nuances was clearly appreciated in Hesiodic, Theocritean, and Propertian poetry.[21] Gradually and particularly in Chapter five the focus shifted from cultic metaphors in erotic poetry to the ritual patterns employed by Vergil in a philosophical discussion about the human condition.[22] Of course, erotic passion or rather the "furor" that seized Orpheus in his vain quest to the Underworld was an issue that could not be omitted from such a discussion. The association of *Eros* with nature and culture, often regarded as opposites already in the Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh*, was debated with reference to the accumulated wisdom of mystery religions such as the Eleusinian[23]

[21] Semiotics is very important in the theory of structuralism, which analyses myths through certain patterns always believed to allude to specific meanings. See C. Calame 1990 who interpreted the foundation of Cyrene in structuralistic terms: 319-21. Yet, one might recognise in this theory or rather in its hyperbole the danger of turning literature in a series of semantic patterns. Nevertheless, the repetition of specific motifs throughout ancient literature was frequently pointed out in this work as an indicator of a common literary and cultural heritage available to litterateurs and their imagination. In the previous pages it has been argued that the focus should be on the poet's initiative in employing a motif and not on a motif's 'pre-decided' contribution in the poet's creation.

[22] K.A. Morgan 2000: 4 argued that 'We must remember that the incompatibility of myth and philosophy is a reflection of the polemic self-representation of some early philosophers.'

[23] C. Riedweg 1987: 44-5 argued that in Plato's *Phaedrus* 'the thematic layer of the mystery terminology is not a completely unified complex. Bacchic-Dionysian elements (249c-d, 250a, 252d-253c5) stand next to more extended descriptions of an Eleusinian imprint (Pl.Phd.250b-c, 251a, 254b). The common link is the idea of the "ἐποπτεία" around which the mystery terminology of both imprints is organised.' R. Seaford 1981: 255-6 noted that the mysteries repeatedly evoked in the Bacchae were in all probability the Dionysian ones, although Pentheus had several experiences that account for what Plutarch described as the Eleusinian initiation (C. Gallini 1963: 211f.). This view was also confirmed throughout the thesis where poets were shown to have indiscriminately employed elements from mystic religions with the obvious purpose of dramatising their narration. Furthermore, one might suspect that the origins of these cults, attributed to similar psychic needs, as well as their mystic completion that aimed at the fulfilment of the aforementioned

or the Orphic mysteries to which Vergil regularly alluded.[24] The teleology of these mystery cults was not incompatible with philosophical tendencies such as Stoicism and Epicureanism. Hence, the shepherds of Vergil sound as if they are all well read in Epicurus.[25] Furthermore, the *megas eniautos* of the Pythagorean Great Year, a recurrent lunisolar period, could reflect ideas expressed by Vergil about a second Golden Age arriving at the completion of a certain time.[26] The introduction of these patterns

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needs were widely recognised by ancient poets.

[24] The likening of erotic desire with the passion of the initiates in the mystic rites seems to have been a common metaphor during antiquity that had securely found its way in literature. R. Seaford 1994: 284 commented on the example of Sophoclean Aias who was accused of becoming effeminate by his wife. The change of identity required in the rite of passage was expressed by a change of gender. However, transvestism was also a customary part of the Dionysian mysteries during the classical age. It has been argued that Aias could refer to a mystic transition when he uttered: 'even if now unfortunate I am saved.' Soon after the chorus stated that they "ἔφριξ' ἔρωτι." This unusual combination of words was also found in fr.387 of Aeschylus: "ἔφριξ' ἔρωτι τοῦδε μυστικοῦ τέλους" which clearly refers to a mystic rite; cf. Soph.Ant.1115-52 and Aesch.Cho.807-11 and 961-5.

[25] G. Luck 2000: 52 in his discussion of 'Epicurus and His Gods' stated that 'The essential meaning of religion was changing. Convention was taking the place of spontaneous emotion.'

[26] Another example of the influence that often in antiquity cult exercised on philosophy (rather than the other way round) could be the similarities that the Dionysian-Orphic rites share with the theories of Herakleitos. See R. Seaford 1986: 1-26 and 1994: 283 who particularly commented on the resemblance between Herakleitos (i.e. B62 "αθανατοι θνητοι, θνητοι αθανατοι," etc.) and the 5th century BC Olbian bone inscriptions (containing the words "Διο[νυσος]" and "Ορφικ[οι]" as well as the phrases "βιος θανατος βιος, ειρηνη πολεμος, αληθεια ψευδος"). Seaford explained that 'The identity of life and death with each other seems in both mystic and Herakleitean thought to exemplify a general identity of opposites (described in the same antithetical style) and to result from the passage of the soul through the cosmogonical elements.' Also cf. the *Orphic Hymn to Zeus* which begins as follows: 'Zeus is the first, Zeus is the last, high-thunderer: Zeus the head, Zeus the middle; from Zeus all things spring; Zeus is male and immortal bride.' Then the natural elements were enumerated: fire and water and earth and aether, night and day, and Wisdom, first creator and sweet Love which all lie in Zeus' great body.

in a philosophical discussion not only attributes to Orpheus (or his counterpart, Aristaeus) a philosophical dimension,[27] but it suggests passion, erotic or mystic, as a secure way of acquiring wisdom.[28] Indeed in the case of Aristaeus, wisdom (or else the knowledge of the *Bugonia*) resulted from the hero's suffering to indicate the supreme *modus vivendi* under the rule of Zeus.

Clearly, a long way lies ahead in the study of ritual and its figurative use in poetic or philosophical discourse. This should be a comparative study aiming at giving answers to literary issues such as the origins of bucolic (treated in Chapter two) or the nature of love in Latin elegy (treated in Chapter one); furthermore, literature could offer key indications to cultural questions such as the origins of religious beliefs and ideas (e.g. the notion of a new Golden Age treated in Chapters three, four and five). Our ideas about the literary map of antiquity ought to change[29] and more space should be allowed regarding the interaction of peoples and authors in those years. The evident Near Eastern influence on Greek cult and literature does not rob Greek civilisation of its indigenous elements, but rather draws attention to a rich substratum and the procedures of assimilation of foreign influences.

Furthermore, the understanding of Greek *Eros* (often intermingled with magic, a secondary form of ritual) seems to be essential for our perceptions of ancient social structure and of

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[27] K.A. Morgan 2000: 287 commented on the dialogue between philosophy and myth: 'The interaction between *mythos* and *logos* was never a question of literary elaboration or slumming for the non-analytically minded. It is an exercise in self-conscious reflection on the nature and possibilities of philosophical language;' cf. R.G. Edmonds III 2001 BMCR.

[28] It is known from Marinus' Life (Guthrie 1986) that Proclus had zealously sung and studied Orphic hymns, and had used methods of purification both Orphic and Chaldaean, such as immersing himself in the sea every month in order to attain to a theurgic union with God. During the Renaissance M. Ficino (1433-99), a philosopher, philologist and physician developed the doctrine of the *furores* according to which the greatest poets were thought to be possessed not only by the poetic "furor," but also by the religious (Bacchic), prophetic and amorous ones. Ficino quoted Orpheus as an example of his theory.

[29] A. Köhnken 2001: 77-92 (esp.77-83) argued that Callimachus was in fact earlier than Apollonius and Theocritus earlier than Callimachus. Köhnken's ultimate order is Theocritus, Callimachus, and Apollonius.

ancient moral views on human progress. In this major task of revision, the role of ancient poets in the interpretation and tradition of mythic patterns turns out to be vital. Vergil in his sixth *Eclogue* referred to Hesiod's claim about the poets' responsibility for the release of truth. Vergil, in the footsteps of philosophers like Plato, employed myths to meditate on the New Order of things after the end of the Roman Civil Wars.[30] K.A. Morgan claimed that 'when philosophical discourse claims to be authoritative and to present language that corresponds to the way things are, myth ensures that we do not take too optimistic a view of the potential successes of this enterprise.'[31] In her definition of myth, the author compared it with standard philosophic discourse:

> *'By mythological material, I mean story patterns (such as quest, anabasis, katabasis), motifs, or narrative characters, which transgress the format of standard philosophical argument and explanation.'*[32]

However, this standard format is itself defined in relation to myth as treated by the writers that used it to philosophise. It might

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[30] In view of his inability to express his ideas about the nature of reality beyond the sensible world in the medium of language that is inescapably tied to the sensible, Plato used myth, as he used the dialogue form itself, to signal the imperfection of his accounts. See K.A. Morgan 2000: 210. On page 180 Morgan warned: 'We must, however, guard against the notion that dialectic is in principle incapable of justifying philosophical axioms or that myth can be in any way a satisfactory substitute for dialectic.' Also see, C. Calame 2003: 13-14, 19, and 115-7.

[31] K.A. Morgan 2000: 17. Morgan examined the philosophical use of myth in the Presocratics and thinkers such as Xenophanes, Heracleitus, Empedocles, and Parmenides who criticised the poetic and mythological tradition as the source of authoritative speech. The Presocratics charged poetry with ignorance and misrepresentation of the true state of things. Although Xenophanes and Heracleitus appropriated poetic meter and imagery from the poetic tradition, they largely excluded traditional mythic tales from their writings. Parmenides, on the other hand, like Empedocles, made use of traditional mythic elements to lay out his philosophical vision. However, according to Morgan (ibid.: 84), this did not signify their confidence in language but on the contrary, the use of myths underlined the difficulty philosophers had in conveying linguistically their ideas. The quotations in the text are also discussed by R. Edmonds III 2001 in his Bryn Mawr electronic review of Morgan's work.

[32] K.A. Morgan 2000: 37.

be argued that since *Eros* and (*Eros* for) philosophy were channelled through ritual motifs, initiation should necessarily refer to poets as well (see Chapter four). Their witness could prove critical to our reconstruction or understanding of antiquity; although imagination was always regarded as a trait of inspiration, poets often comment on their reality in past terms, thus preserving frozen images of cultural evolution. The anticipation of future studies on ancient poets could be suitably summarised by the poem of R. Wilbur, *Advice to a Prophet*:[33]

> "When you come, as you soon must, to the streets of our city,
> mad-eyed from stating the obvious,
> not proclaiming our fall but begging us
> in God's name to have self-pity,
>
> spare us all word of the weapons, their force and range,
> the long numbers that rocket the mind;
> our slow, unreckoning hearts will be left behind,
> unable to fear what is too strange.
>
> Nor shall you scare us with talk of the death of the race.
> How should we dream of this place without us?—
> the sun mere fire, the leaves untroubled about us,
> a stone look on the stone's face?
>
> Speak of the world's own change. Though we cannot conceive
> of an undreamt thing, we know our cost
> how the dreamt cloud crumbles, the vines are blackened by frost,
> how the view alters. We could believe,
>
> if you told us so, that the white-tailed deer will slip
> into perfect shade, grown perfectly shy,
> the lark avoid the reaches of our eye,
> the jack-pine lose its knuckled grip
>
> on the cold ledge, and every torrent burn
> as Xanthus once, its gliding trout
> stunned in a twinkling. What should we be without
> the dolphin's arc, the dove's return,
>
> these things in which we have seen ourselves and spoken?
> As us, prophet, how we shall call
> our natures forth when that live tongue is all

[33] R. Wilbur 1962. In antiquity the role of a poet often overlapped with the role of a prophet. (cf. ch4 for the history of the term "vates").

dispelled, that glass obscured or broken

in which we have said the rose of our love and the clean
horse of our courage, in which beheld
the singing locust of the soul unshelled,
and all we mean or wish to mean.

Ask us, ask us whether the worldless rose
our hearts shall fail us; come demanding
whether there shall be lofty or long standing
when the bronze annals of the oak-tree close."

APPENDIX I.

THE EPIC TRADITION OF THE FIRST *IDYLL*

DAPHNIS, ACHILLES, HERACLES AND DEATH BY LOVE

According to the plot of the first *Idyll*, Thyrsis, a shepherd pasturing his flock, met a goatherd who would remain anonymous throughout the poem. The latter asked Thyrsis to sing for his sake his famous song about the death of Daphnis.[1] In his lines, the goatherd[2] introduced the reader to the bucolic landscape where rustic deities such as Priapus and Pan would dwell.[3] The goatherd, after praising the voice of Thyrsis -famous for his victory over the Libyan singer Chromis- 'enticed' him to sing with the promise of a wonderful wooden cup, a real work of art that he took the trouble

[1] A.S.F. Gow 1952 ad Id.1.19: "τὰ Δάφνιδος ἄλγε' ἀείδες." The expression could be perhaps compared with the opening lines of the Homeric epics, especially the *Odyssey*, to be understood in a mock-heroic, of course, mood; cf. Id.5.20. Also, see K.J. Dover 1971 ad loc.

[2] The scene took place at noon, which was one of the gods' favourite hours for revealing themselves to humans. See A.S.F. Gow 1952 ad 4.15ff, quoting Ar.Ran.295; Luc.Philops.22; Ov.Fast.4.762; Luc.3.423; Apul.Met.6.12; T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 76, 89 associated noon with the notion of "otium" discussed in the framework of pastoral; ibid.: 91 where he compared the midday stillness with the stillness of the three images carved on the Cup; finally, cf. T.D. Papanghelis 1989: 54-61 for the conception of the elegiac mistress as a goddess based on Corinna's midday appearance in Ovid's Am.1.3 (cf. ch1n224).

[3] The latter was described as rather fearsome and a reference to his irritable character was made (Id.1.15-8). Pan was originally an Arcadian god, a protector of herdsmen and hunters. His presence could imply that in the poetry of Theocritus the association of the pastoral "locus amoenus" with Arcadia was already implied. R. Osborne 1987: 192 argued that the rapid spread of the cult of Pan in Attica after 500 BC should be regarded as evidence that the countryside had acquired an advanced role in religion.

to extol in a rather long description.[4] Three images were forged on the cup, a number common in rituals of all kinds but particularly suitable for magic.[5] The description of this cup, although it has been acknowledged as a typical Hellenistic *ecphrasis*,[6] has often raised long discussions related to the epic background of Theocritus.[7] In particular, it has often been thought that the Cup was modelled on the descriptions of the Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles* and the Homeric *Shield of Achilles*.[8] A first issue that needs to be clarified is the possible connection of a shield, a piece of armour,

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[4] A.S.F. Gow 1913: 207-22; A.M. Dale 1952: 129-32; W.G. Arnott 1978: 129-34. On the name of Chromis, see A.S.F. Gow 1952: 6 ad loc.; cf. Verg.Ecl.6 where Chromis was a shepherd or a faun (the question was posed by D.M. Halperin 1983: 163n56) who bound the sleeping Silenus. Also, see the relevant discussion below.

[5] See Theoc.Id.15.86 for the thrice-loved Adonis or the three apples that Aphrodite gave to Hippomenes; cf. ch1pp.41-2, 46; cf. esp.pp.61 and 63. Also, see Anth.Pal.7.325A, Theoc.Id.6.39 and 20.2, PGM4.2524. On the importance of mystical numbers in antiquity, see R.A. Laroche 1995: 568-76.

[6] Descriptions of artistic objects known as "ἐκφράσεις" were widely in fashion during the Hellenistic years. Homer, whom Hellenistic writers had thoroughly studied, offered the first literary example of such a description. Ap.Rhod.1.730, Mosch.43ff., Epich.fr.79 (Kock). Salvatore Nicosia quoted by Halperin 1983: 162 wrote: 'The *ecphrasis* constitutes a counterweight, a pendant to the lengthy song of Thyrsis, and so it makes the structure of the first *Idyll* conform to that of other pastoral *Idylls* which are always divided among the speakers into individual parts;' cf. Longus' inspiration by a artistic tableau in B.D. MacQueen 1990: 19-30.

[7] S. Goldhill 1991: 244: 'both Thyrsis' song within the poem and the *ecphrasis* of the cup, then, seem to offer privileged images of pastoral scenes, and also to pose a question of difference and complementarity - much as do the bucolic songs of *Idyll* 7;' for the history of the treatment of *ecphrasis* with bibliography, see ibid.: n48; cf. Theoc.Id.15 the *ecphrasis* on Adonis' bier.

[8] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 75: 'it appears that Theocritus decided not to go by the anthropology of his day but to adopt the literary associations of the shepherd's life.' These may be traced all the way back to Homer, especially in the passage of the *Shield of Achilles* (Il.18.525-6): "…δύω δ' ἅμ' ἕποντο νομῆες /τερπόμενοι σύριγξι· δόλον δ' οὔ τι προνόησαν." The herdsmen came to be the archetypal representative of "otium." However, it should be remarked that, apart from the notion of pastoral "otium," the tale anticipates unpleasant connotations of a sudden death.

with the rustic task of a cowherd.[9] Zeus, the father of the gods was brought up in a totally rustic environment entrusted to the care of a goat that suckled him.[10] In addition, Hesiod described the Curetes,[11] the "τροφοὶ" of Zeus, as dancing around the divine baby in full armour, clattering their weapons -their spears against their shields- so that his cries were not heard. In Homer's time, or at least during the legendary period celebrated in the Greek epic, the distinction between heroes and pastoral figures was less clear-cut. Hence, a hero like Odysseus would take pride in a harvesting contest. The agricultural setting of the *Shields* was explicit because Homer spent several verses[12] on the description of cattle and of agricultural life, while Hesiod mentioned in his work "ἀγελείη

[9] Note that in Lycia, a shield device was called Chimera, that is, she-goat. This tradition was perhaps reflected in the story of Chimera, the monster slain by Bellerophon (Hom.Il.6.179-82 and Hes.Th.319ff). L. Gernet in R.L. Gordon 1981: 137. For the Homeric understanding of the pastoral world as a medium between culture and nature, see J.M. Redfield 1975: 189-91. Also see H. Fraenkel 1975: 41 where he discusses the expression "ποιμὴν λαῶν" as an indication of the compliance of the duties of a shepherd and a soldier during the Homeric era. In n36 Fraenkel writes: 'Only later, under the influence of pastoral poetry and the New Testament, did the shepherd become a symbol of peaceful gentleness.'

[10] Callim.h.Zeus42, Apollod.Bibl.1.1.6. For Zeus sharing Amaltheia's milk with his goat-brother Pan, see Callim.h.Pan34ff.; schol.Theoc.Id.1.3.

[11] See Hes.fr.198 (Rzach); Callim.h.Zeus52ff.; Apollod.Bibl.1.1.7; Hyg.Fab.139; Lucr.DRN2.633-9. Note that the cradle of the baby was hung upon a tree as a kind of swing and ritual swinging was closely connected with the Anthesteria, a festival of Dionysus particularly associated with the new wine (cf. ch3nn190-1); see W. Burkert 1983a: 241-2; J. Bremmer 1983: 108-22. According to Paus.5.7.4, one of the Curetes was called Heracles. See F. Graf 2003b: 248-52, M. Jost 2003: 163-4 for the Curetes in Arcadian cults and N. Robertson 2003: 220-2 for the Curetes in the Orphic creation tale.

[12] S. Goldhill 1991: 308-9 discussed the paradigm of epic *ecphrasis* and its impact on the Hellenistic literature. The author argued that the choice of an object for description such as the cloak of Jason in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius 'makes a significant contrast with the *Shields* of Homer and Hesiod, a contrast which has important implications for the sort of figure Jason is and the sort of narrative we are engaged in.' Also, see G. Zanker 1987: 44-50, 69-70, 75-6; A. Rose 1985: 29-44; C. Beye 1982: 91-3; H. Shapiro 1980: 263-86. For Homer's description of pastoral tasks, see Hom.Il.18.520ff.

Τριτογένεια," a goddess responsible for leading the enemy's cattle[13] after the battle for the winning party.[14] Theocritus seemed to acknowledge the agricultural character of war in those days in *Idyll* twenty-two, where the Dioscuri were fighting with the Apharidae[15] because the latter refused to pay a bride price for the Leucippides. In revenge, the Dioscuri stole their cattle and gave them to Leucippus. In line 179 Castor suggests:

> "νυμφίοι ἀντὶ νεκρῶν, ὑμεναιώσουσι δὲ κούρας
> τάσδ' ὀλίγῳ τοι ἔοικε κακῷ μέγα νεῖκος ἀναιρεῖν."

Nevertheless, the comparison of Daphnis with Achilles or Heracles is a difficult one because the latter were famous warriors who had little to do with the idyllic world of Theocritus.[16]

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[13] In Hesiod's account, Adonis' parents were "Ἀγήνωρ" which means manliness and "Ἀλφεσιβοία" which means the one who is worthy of many oxen and hence, charming. In Hesiod Adonis was already a model of virility and strongly associated with bucolic life.

[14] "Τριτογένεια" was a typical epithet of Athena. Its first part has definitely something to do with water since Triton was a sea-god. Athena was the protector of the lake Tritonis, a Libyan lake in which in many accounts Athena was born. (Ap.Rhod.4.1310). Libya was renowned for its flocks from early times; see A.S.F. Gow 1952: 6 ad 1.24 and 65 ad 3.5.

[15] Amycus was dressed in a lion skin (Id.22.51-3); cf. Heracles, the Greek hero profoundly associated with lions (see below). In both *Shields*, lions are described as "χαροποὶ," which was a typical epithet of Charon. According to Hesychius, the epithet could denote pleasure mirrored in the eyes as well as imminent danger, especially when attached to the glance of wild animals. For the use of the epithet in Id.12.35, where Theocritus described Ganymedes, see Gow 1952 ad loc. (pp.227-8), who accepted all meanings apart from terrible. However, it might be argued that the epithet preserved a connotation of danger even in this case because a few lines above the singer had mentioned Acheron and the lover's tomb (ll.19, 30). Lions were also employed in Id.1.72 rather humorously; Gow ibid.: 18-9. Also cf. ch1n99 where Aphrodite is described as being followed by bright-eyed lions.

[16] M.L. West 1997: 389 suggested that certain scenes depicted in both *Shields* such as the image of a besieged city (Hom.Il.18.59-15 and Hes.[Sc.]237ff.) indicate oriental influence. Assaults on cities seem to have been a popular motif found on numerous oriental artefacts such the Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls that probably inspired Homer. The poet actually mentioned the kind at Hom.Il.23.741-7 where he described a silver crater fashioned by "Σιδόνες πολυδαίδαλοι." The epithet, also found

However, it could be suggested that both Heracles[17] and Achilles were possibly associated with Daphnis on the basis of their fertility and cult associations.[18] Achilles and Heracles were renowned for their supreme strength, a clue that would already bring them closer to uncontrolled nature, which Daphnis used to please with his music. In both *Shields*, scenes of everyday life and merry as well as horrific scenes of death are featured, embracing the whole range of

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in the Homeric description of the *Shield of Achilles* in relation with a Cnossian dancing floor, was used by Theocritus for the veil of the woman engraved on the first image of the Cup.

[17] However, Heracles in particular did not reject the pastoral setting and several of his labours are associated with cattle: e.g. Heracles and the cattle of Augeias (Pind.Ol.10.26.30; Hom.Il.2.268-9 and 11.698-702; Diod.Sic.4.13.3; Apollod.Bibl.2.5.5-11 and Paus.5.10.9). A more interesting adventure of Heracles was that of Geryoneus because leading the cattle of his opponent Heracles came to Sicily, the very area where Daphnis was primarily worshipped (see Hes.Th.287-94 and 981-3; Paus.5.19.1; Stesich.PMG186 and Strab.3.2.11); also see Prop.4.9.16-20: "...Alcides sic ait: ite boves /Herculis ite boves, nostrae labor ultime clavae /bis mihi quaesiti, bis mea praeda, boves, /arvaque mugitu sancite Bovaria longo: /nobile erit Romae pascua vesrta Forum." W. Burkert (see 1979: 85ff. and 1988: 10-40) studied Heracles' capture of cattle hidden in a cave from a shape-changing opponent. This capture is closely analogous to the Vedic Indra's fight against the demon Visvarupa, or 'of all shapes' who had also hidden his cows in a cave.

[18] Daphnis has been compared with Gilgamesh, and Heracles seems to have shared significant features with the Babylonian hero. For Heracles' association with the Near East, see H. Frankfort 1934: 2-29, ibid. 1939: 115-123 and 198 and 1955: 37, 42; G.R. Levy 1934: 40-53; W. Baumgartner 1944: 25. The richest evidence for an eastern hero who resembles Heracles comes from pre-Sargonic cylinder seals dated from the middle of the 3rd millennium, while we also have some representations from the 4th millennium. For an early relief goblet in the British Museum (No: 118465), see E. Strommenger 1962: pls24f. and 38f. For Heracles and Ninurta, see F.E. Brenk 1991: 507-26. See M.L. West 1997: 461-465 focused on both heroes relation with lions (cf. The Lion of Nemea) and their grief-stricken wandering in a lion skin, their crossing of the sea on the footsteps of the Sun /Shamash, their adventure at a wondrous garden (cf. The Garden of the Hesperides; see ch2nn178-9 and 284 and ch5nn11 and 183) and their quest for immortality. For Heracles identification with the Phoenician Melquart, see C. Bonnet 1988*passim* and D. Van Bechem 1967: 73-109 and 307-338; W. Burkert 1992b: 111-127 and C. Bonnet 1992: 165-198.

human experience in harmony with the natural world.[19] At the same time, the two *Shields* anticipate the greatness of their godlike holders, as well as their exemplary doom.

Heracles' association with the pastoral world could be reflected in his repeated role as a cowherd during his adventures.[20] Most of his labours had to do with the taming of wild or sacred beasts, while he was not unfamiliar with the blows of Love;[21]

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[19] Hephaestus was said to have forged on the shields of the two heroes' cruel battle-scenes as well as marriages and festivals. However, in both *Shields* the poets described Death in female terms and it was female goddesses who were mainly responsible for Death or any kind of destruction, a conception that agrees with the idea of destruction coming from the female.

[20] W. Burkert 1979: 78-98. Daphnis' association with Heracles was also confirmed by the version of Sositheus who envisaged the latter as intervening in order to save Daphnis and his beloved from the hands of the cruel king Lityerses. According to Servius ad Ecl.8.68, pirates carried off Daphnis' beloved. The latter managed to discover her after long search at the court of the Phrygian king Lityerses; see TGrF99F1 and F2 (Snell) and A.S.F. Gow 1952: 1; according to the scholiast on Theoc.Id.8, Sositheus wrote about a contest between Daphnis and Menalcas judged by Pan. Menalcas was defeated and the Nymph Thaleia became Daphnis' bride. The common eastern background of Heracles and Daphnis and their interaction on the island of Sicily have been part of my post-doctoral research (see ch2n133).

[21] Heracles killed the Nemean Lion (see Hes.Th.326-32; Peisandr.PEGfr.1; Xanth.PMG229; Pind.Isth.6.47-8; Eur.Bacch.13.46-54 and 9.6-9; Theoc.Id.25.153-281; Tib.3.7.12-3 and Apollod.Bibl.2.5.1), the Lernaian Hydra (Hes.Th.313-18; Paus.5.17.11; Peisandr.ap.Paus.2.37.4; Alcaeus ap.schol.Th.LP443; Eur.HF419-24, 1274-5; Simonid.PMG569; Stesich.SLG15; Soph.Tr.573-4; Diod.Sic.4.11.5-6; Ovid.Met.9.69-76; Apollod.Bibl.2.5.2 and Hyg.Fab.30), the Keryneian Hind (Pherec.3F71 and Peisandr.PEGfr.3 ap.schol.Pind.Ol.3.53; Callim.Hec.3.107-9: h.Dian.3.98-109; Apollod.Bibl.2.5.3; Eur.Hel.381-3 and HF375-9; Diod.Sic.4.13.1), the Erymanthian Boar (Soph.Tr.1097; Ap.Rhod.1.122-32 and 2.5.4; Diod.Sic.4.12.1-2), the Stymphalian birds (Paus.8.22.4; Diod.Sic.4.13.2; Pherec.FGrH3F72; Hellan.FGrH4F104 and Apollod.Bibl.2.5.6), and the Cretan Bull (Apollod.Bibl.2.5.7; Diod.Sic.4.13.4 and Paus.1.27.10), he tamed the man-eating mares of Diomedes (Paus.3.18.12; Pind.fr.169aSM; Eur.Alc.481-98 and HF380-6; Hellan.FGrH4F105; Diod.Sic.4.15.3-4 and Apollod.Bibl.2.5.8), he took the belt of Hippolyte (see Ibyc.PMG299; Pind.fr.172SM and Nem.3.38-9; Lycophr.1329-31; Apollod.Bibl.2.5.9; Paus.5.10.9; Ap.Rhod.2.966-9 and

hence, his character could combine the shepherd with the lover.[22] Heracles died because of love, as his wife Deianira revealed in the Trachiniai, a play in which love and war were often equated. Deianira exemplified the notion of death as caused by women[23] because it was her erotic intentions and her hurt ego that forced Heracles to his torturing death.[24] Heracles made his own funeral

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Diod.Sic.4.16.1), he got the apples of the Hesperides (Hes.Th.215-6 and 274-5 [cf.Th.333-5]; Eur.HF394-407; Pherec.FGrH3F16, 17 [cf. schol.Ap.Rhod.4.1396]; Soph.Tr.1090-1 and 1099-100; Ps-Eratosthen.Catast.3,4; Paus.6.19.8; Diod.Sic.4.26; Lucan 9.360-7; Sen.HF530-2 [cf.Ov.Met.4.631-2]; Apollod.Bibl.2.5.11) and led Kerberus to the surface of the earth (Hom.Il.8.367-8 and Od.11.623-6; Hes.Th.310-2, 769-73; Stesich.PMG206; Pind.fr.249aSM; Eur.Bacch.5.56-70; Diod.Sic.4.26.1; Apollod.Bibl.2.5.12; Ov.Met.5.534-50; Eur.HF612-3). For Heracles at the stables of Augeias and his fight against Geryoneus see n17; generally, on his adventures, see F. Brommer 1986.

[22] For the contradictions in the character of Heracles, see G.S. Kirk 1977: 286 and G. Nagy 1979: 86 and 318. Heracles, like Daphnis, had experienced "ἀμηχανία" as Homer (Il.8.362-5) and Aeschylus (Prom.Lyom.fr.199 Nauck) attest, and he had to be saved by the gods at the last minute. His identity was constructed on excess (of strength as in Dio 4.9.2 or gluttony as in Callim.h.Dian.159-61; Epich.Bus.fr.21 (Kock) etc.) including of course sexual hyperbole (Ath.Deipn.12.512e; Ar.Lys.928; Ran.). Furthermore, Heracles experienced madness in relation to marriage and, as N. Loraux 1990: 25 argued, his body was 'driven to the delirium by the effects of melancholy or black bile.' Heracles' grief was well-attested in literature: Arist.[Pr.]30.1; Plut.Lys.2; Lucian Dial.D.15.237. Loraux ibid.: n14, also drew attention in the association of melancholy with epilepsy (cf. Hipp.Epid.6.8.31).

[23] In Soph.Tr.1062-3 Deianira was described as *gunē thēlus*, like the Hesiodic women, therefore, her lineage from the first woman was underlined (Th.590). Also, cf. Prop.2.1.51-4 for a brief catalogue of women who supposedly prepared potions for unsuspected males.

[24] Daphnis would match Heracles in his amorous excess that earned him the title *philogynês*, see Paus.9.27.5-7; Ath.Deipn.13.556e-f; Diod.Sic.4.29; Apollod.Bibl.2.4.10 and 2.7.8. Anecdotes based on his famous lust were common in Hellenistic banquets (N. Loraux 1995: 29). In tragedy, Heracles was depicted, before arranging his kindling, as throwing himself into a river in an effort to relief his suffering from the burning shirt that was melting his flesh. This detail of the myth could create a parallel between the death of Heracles and that of Daphnis who in some accounts was drowned into a river. Soph.Tr.756ff. and Theoc.Id.1.140-1.

pyre on the top of Mount Oite and ordered his burning in a scene usually interpreted as the apotheosis of the hero.[25] In addition, a more specific relation of Heracles with Daphnis was depicted in Sositheus' record of the erotic adventures of Daphnis, according to which the latter was saved by Heracles during his attempt to free his beloved Nymph from the hands of the cruel king Lityerses.[26] Furthermore, it seems that Hesiod included among the themes depicted on the actual *Shield of Heracles* that of erotic disorder.[27] Hephaestus had forged on the *Shield* the bloodstained episode

[25] Fire was a common element in antiquity in the quest of purification as well as of immortality, and Thetis was said to have exposed the infant Achilles into it. However, according to another version of the myth, Achilles was dipped into the water of the Styx. Also note that Heracles was accounted an ancestor of the Ptolemaic House (Theoc.Id.17.26), and therefore from this point of view as well Theocritus would have reasons to affiliate his pastoral protagonist with the tradition of the lionskin-bearing hero. The apotheosis of Daphnis was mentioned by Vergil in Ecl.5.56f.: "Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi Daphnis." A testimony from Adapa mentioned that Dumuzi also had experienced deification; G. Anderson 1993: 73 perceived the text as an indication that Vergil was aware of the tradition of Daphnis outside Theocritus.

[26] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 39 argued that Sositheus in his version of the story employed *personae dramatis* who were demigods and the action was one that has connections with satyr drama. Euripides' Cyclops most probably influenced the poet. A reminiscence of this version could be found at the adventures of Daphnis and Chloe, when pirates abducted the latter, which could suggest the continuation of pastoral ideas in the days of Longus. In addition, S.N. Kramer published a Sumerian prototype (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta) in 1952 and Anderson 1993: 72 pointed out its similarities with the version of Sositheus based on Heracles and the lion-coated champion of the Sumerian story.

[27] Hera was known for inflicting Heracles with madness, but also for being very maternal to him after his apotheosis; see Callim.h.Dian.148-91; Diod.4.39.2-3. N. Loraux 1990: 44 compared Achilles' attachment to Apollo with Heracles' relation to Hera; cf. Pl.Resp.Β where Apollo was charged with the killing of Achilles although he had prophesied to Thetis that her son would live long; cf. the modern Greek treatment of the text by K.P. Kavafis, "Απιστία" 1990: 32-3. However, the famous relations of the two heroes with important goddesses such as Hera and Thetis could reflect the understanding of these stories as of the consort or son and goddess strand. This interpretation would create another link with the tale of Daphnis.

between the Centaurs and the Lapiths,[28] a myth featuring excessive lust traditionally ascribed to the influence of the wine.[29]

As far as Achilles is concerned,[30] Daphnis shared with him a common origin, since they were both sons of Nymphs, spirits of nature.[31] Achilles grew up in his father's palace after the

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[28] As discussed in ch1n60 (cf. ch1nn226-7 and 232-4), the Centaurs were often understood as a symbol of uncivilised life and unlawful excess; cf. Hom.Od.21.295-304 and Anth.Pal.7.725, 11.1, and 11.2 Also see Verg.G.2.455-7 where Bacchus is described as taming ("domuit"), the frenzied Centaurs Phoecus, Pholus and Hylaeus ("furentis Centauros") with death ("leto"). Of these, Rhoecus and Hylaeus were charged with excessive lust as the Callimachean version of the story of Atalanta recites. Note that Heraclitus (Quaest.Hom.33) interpreted the labours of Heracles as the symbolic strife of man to conquer his passions and gain wisdom.

[29] Centaurs unaccustomed to drinking wine got terribly drunk and could no longer handle their sexual instincts, a notion in accordance with Daphnis' tradition. They attacked Perithous' bride as well as the other women and tried to carry them off. It was only with the help of Theseus that Perithous managed to defend his bride and his kingdom against his lascivious cousins. Several ancient sources testify that during this episode Theseus met Heracles who initiated him into the Mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis (Plut.Thes.30, Hom.Il.2.470ff., Diod.Sic.4.70). The aspect that the myth of Theseus is the Athenian answer to the Boeotian myth of Heracles is generally accepted. Their myths often cross with each other as in the case of the Bull of Crete, which Heracles carried off from Crete to the mainland, but Theseus killed later at Marathon. Another parergon associated with Heracles' excessive lust was the impregnation of the fifty of forty-nine daughters of king Thespios who offered him hospitality; see Hdt.31F20; Paus.9.27.6-7; Diod.Sic.4.29.2-3.

[30] Mimnermus fr.2 (Campbell) complains in purely Hesiodic terms about the fact that men must grow old: "…Κῆρες δὲ παρεστήκασι μέλαιναι, /ἡ μὲν ἔχουσα τέλος γήραος ἀργαλέου, /ἡ δ' ἑτέρη θανάτοιο· μίνυνθα δὲ γίγνεται ἥβης /καρπός, ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ γῆν κίδναται ἠέλιος. /αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ τοῦτο τέλος παραμείψεται ὥρης, /αὐτίκα δὴ τεθνάναι βέλτιον ἢ βίοτος." The brevity of life has always been a popular poetic theme. Note the use of "μίνυνθα" in the sense life' brevity and compare it with Atalanta (ch1n37) and Achilles below (n35).

[31] In Hom.Il.2.671-5 Nireus is compared with Achilles who was both the most beautiful and the strongest. Other handsome men in the Iliad were Paris (Hom.Il.3.44-5 and 391-4), Ganymedes (Hom.Il.20.232-5), Bellerephon (Hom.Il.6.156-65). The latter provoked adulterous lust and a charge of rape. For Daphnis' beauty see Anth.Pal.12.128 by Meleager: "Αἰπολικαὶ σύριγγες, ἐν οὔρεσι μηκέτι Δάφνιν /φωνεῖτ'…ἦν γὰρ ὅτ' ἦν Δάφνις

irretrievable separation of Thetis and Peleus and was an apprentice of Cheiron, while Daphnis was exposed under a laurel tree to which he owes his name to be brought up by the shepherds who found him.[32] It should be noted that the relation of Thetis with Peleus belongs to the goddess-consort stories, which correspond to the adventure of Aphrodite with Adonis and similar eastern parallels.[33] Achilles, like Daphnis,[34] died young and they were both honoured as heroes and demigods.[35] It would be worth noting that

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μὲν Ὀρειάσι, σοὶ δ' Ὑάκινθος /τερπνός· νῦν δὲ Πόθων σκῆπτρα Δίων ἐχέτω."

[32] For exposure of babies and fertility deities, see ch1pp.16-8. In addition, although Achilles was not associated with shepherding at all, he seems to have enjoyed fame as a skilled musician like Daphnis; he was also reported to be very handsome like Daphnis. Quintilian referred to Achilles' musical accomplishment as validation for contemporary study (Inst.1.10.30-1) and to his beauty as an example of a minor oratorical theme (Inst.3.7.11-12). In addition, Cheiron, Achilles' instructor, might be perceived as representing nature and the bond with nature which Daphnis, as the legendary primal *boukolos* enjoyed.

[33] See ch1n26 where Peleus wrestles with Atalanta in an apparently erotic context; M.L. West 1997: 335-8 compared Achilles and Gilgamesh to find striking similarities between the two: Gilgamesh, like Achilles, has been characterised as 'manic-depressive.' He wept bitterly for his inability to *out-wrestle* Enkidu, like Achilles, who was bitterly angry with Agamemnon, and like Daphnis, who thought he could overthrow *Eros* (my italics-note the notion of wresting in both scenes; cf. ch2p.141f.). In addition, Gilgamesh was inconsolable for Enkidu's death like Achilles for Patroclus. Achilles wished to glorify his name after the death of Patroclus like Gilgamesh who craved for a great achievement, heritage for the future generations. Note that Achilles was described as a lion crying for his lost cubs (Hom.Il.18.316-23), like Gilgamesh, while Theocritus had lions weep for Daphnis' loss.

[34] The story of Hymenaios as told by Servius ad Verg.Aen.4.99. The hero was so lovely that he managed to hide himself in a group of *korai* disguised as a girl, in order to be close to his beloved. This part of the story sounds similar to Achilles' adventure at Skiros and based on the fact that Hymenaios was the god of marriage, the nuptial sacrifices in honour of Achilles could be explained. Furthermore, Servius continued his story with an episode that sounds similar to Daphnis' adventures according to Sositheus. Pirates abducted the Athenian girls and among them Hymenaios too. He managed to free them and ask the girl he loved in marriage.

[35] Achilles was said to have been the youngest of the warriors (Hom.Il.9.440-1) *nēpios*, 'a child inexperienced in either battle or assembly,

Achilles was extensively prepared by his mother for his death according to the social norms of the time, and his corpse was touchingly mourned by her and her sisters,[36] a detail that Theocritus seems to have ignored. However, Vergil who wrote in the latter's footsteps, referred to the lamentation of Daphnis' death by his mother, pointing out the plausibility of a comparison between Daphnis and Achilles.[37] Furthermore, Achilles had experienced erotic grief in the same dramatic terms as Daphnis.[38] The whole theme of the Iliad was based on his grief for the loss of Briseis[39] as well as on his inconsolable grief for the loss of his

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where men become distinguished;' cf. Hom.Il.2.786-9 and 19.218-9. He was characterised as "μινυνθάδιος" 1.352 (cf. Hom.Il.1.417, 505; 18.95, 458); cf. n176. The adjective was attributed in the Iliad to those dying young and unmarried. See S.L. Schein 1976: 1-5 (esp.3). Achilles received public lamentation by the Crotonians (Lycoph.Alex.859 with schol.), by the Eleans (Paus.6.23.3) and the Thessalians (Philostr.Her.20.22).

[36] K.C. King 1978: 6; In Hom.Il.18.478 Achilles was described as mourning his death in terms of the effect that it will have on others; Achilles was 'the explicit and conscious carrier of the sorrow that pervades his environment.' Similarly, Daphnis wept for the impact of his loss over nature. In addition, Vergil treated in Ecl.5.22-3 the laments of Daphnis' mother, who was also a Nymph, in accordance with Thetis, a Nereid: "cum complexa sui corpus miseraile nati."

[37] The scene was identified as referring to a comparison of Daphnis with Orpheus, but Achilles' fate was also mourned by his mother and her sisters, the Nereids, in Hom.Il.18.28ff.

[38] The chorus in the Octavia of Seneca (ll.814-5) sung Cupid's feat who: "ferocem iussit Achillem /pulsare lyram, fregit Danaos." Hence, it might be suggested that Theocritus wished to elevate Daphnis to the level of the heroic Homeric examples like Achilles and like Diomedes. The scene in which Aphrodite, wounded by Diomedes, resorted and complained to her parents (Hom.Il.5.311-430) has been compared with the scene in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* where Ishtar, insulted by the hero, complained to her parents Anu and Antu (Tablet 6.1-106); see G.K. Gresseth 1975: 1-18; W. Burkert 1981: 115-9.

[39] Achilles loved Briseis as any sensible man would love his woman (HomIl.9.341-3). In Hom.Il.9.336 he addressed her as his wife; Ovid (Her.3.7-56) gave a contrary though equally stereotypical picture of Achilles as lover; Briseis complained that Achilles' love for her was not strong enough. In Ars.Am.2.711-16 Ovid imagined the two of them in bed, Achilles' murderous hands now expertly engaged in giving her sexual pleasure. Ovid saw the roles of lover and warrior as quite compatible and

beloved friend Patroclus.[40] His torment as a lover inspired the bucolic poets as well.[41] A fragment ascribed to Bion (c. 100 BC) was sung by a shepherd and referred to Achilles' teenage love for Deidameia:[42]

"Σκύριον....ἔρωτα,
λάθρια Πηλειίδαο φιλάματα, λάθριον εὐνάν,
πῶς παῖς ἔσσατο φᾶρος, ὅπως δ' ἐψεύσατο μορφὰν
χὤπως ἐν κώραις Λυκομηδίσιν ἀπαλέγοισα
ἠείδη κατὰ παστὸν Ἀχιλλέα Δηιδάμεια."

In addition, it seems that Achilles' erotic persona was not an innovation of the Hellenistic years but a tradition dated at least as far back as Bacchylides.[43] It might be suggested that another basic

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he had Briseis utter that hands that are expert in battle should be equally expert during night in love (Ov.Her.3.25-42, 55-6).

[40] In Hom.Il.18 and 19 Achilles repeatedly groans over the death of Patroclus. He lies in dust and his grief is such that Antilochos is afraid that he will kill himself (18.33-4). Accius as well (170-after 90BC), treated Achilles and his friend Antilochos: the latter accuses the hero of stubbornness; Myrmidones I (Ribbeck 137). Also Nonnus Dion.433.3-8; cf. Gilgamesh who seized dust and ashes with both hands and poured them over his head, M.L. West 1997: 340.

[41] An interesting parallelism between Adonis and Achilles could be sustained: the rites of the former used to take place in mid-July on the rooftops of private homes, during the Dog-Days, when Sirius the Dog Star rose with the sun, a phenomenon the ancients thought to be responsible for certain diseases (Paus.3.18.1, Adesp.fr.872C). The same days were considered as bringing the 'zenith' of women's sexuality (cf. Alc.374 Campbell). Homer compared Achilles' raging mania with the Dog Star (Hom.Il.22.26-31), thus confirming the aberrant nature of his character.

[42] It is not certain whether in Id.29.33-4 Theocritus referred to the Achillean friends as in friendship or erotic love; cf. irony in Ov.ArsAm.1.689-706. In Hom.Il.9.336-43, Achilles chose to die because he also loves his wife, not only the Argives. In Il.9.412-6, Thetis revealed to him his twofold fate. According to Thgn.1231-2, *Eros* was the only factor responsible for the fall of Troy.

[43] K.C. King 1978: 172: Bacchylides in his 5th century BC victory *Ode to Pytheas of Aegina* ascribed Achilles' withdrawal to a 'sexy blonde:' Hom.Il.12.136-7. His view must have had some currency because, when Propertius summarised the Iliad in elegy 2.8.29-38, he wrote that love for Briseis motivated everything that happened: "ille etiam abrepta desertus coniuge Achilles /cessare in tectis pertulit arma sua. /Viderat ille fuga stratos in litore Achivos, /fervere et Hectorea Dorica casrta face; /viderat informem multa Patroclon harena

similarity between Achilles and Daphnis could be found in the attitude that finally led to their death. As mentioned, the Iliad revolves around the "μῆνις" of Achilles who for a long time remained adamant in his anger against Agamemnon.[44] Hence, Achilles could be charged with the fault of arrogance.[45] Similarly, Daphnis' reaction towards Aphrodite, indicated by his persistent silence in the repeated questions of his visitors as well as by his angry speech towards Aphrodite, has been characterised as arrogant.[46]

In the *Shield of Achilles*, crafty Hephaestus is said to have depicted the incident of Theseus and Ariadne, a tale that symbolised erotic deception.[47] Among the various versions of the

/porrectum et spasras caede iacere comas, /omnia formosam propter Briseida passus: /tantus in erepto saevit amore dolor. /At postquam sera captiva est reddita poena, /fortem illum Haemoniis Hectora traxit equis."

[44] K.C. King 1978: 89-90. Plato Plt.391c: "…as to contain within himself two opposite diseases: servile greed (*philochrematia*) and at the same time arrogance (*hyperephania*) toward gods and men;" cf. Hor.Carm.4.6.1-12; Hyg.Fab.107. Achilles' angry retort to Apollo that he would take vengeance for being tricked if he had the power (Hom.Il.22.19-20) was interpreted by Plato as arrogance (Plt.891c) and may have formed the basis of a story that he was killed for *hubris*.

[45] Achilles' arrogance was brutally crushed like that of Daphnis, as their weeping denoted. Their emotional instability was expressed in terms of feminine attitude, thus continuing a long tradition which associated wetness with women and dryness with men, or at least with good men; A. Carson 1986: 135-69. In Homer (Il.14.165) the mind of Zeus, who has to provide for everyone, was characterised as "φρεσσὶ πευκαλίμησι," while Heracleitus describes a man whose psyche is wet as unable to keep his self-control (B117VS); cf. the rarity of Heracles' tears in A.S.F. Gow 1952: 421 quoting the ancient sources (e.g. Eur.Bacch.5.155; Soph.Tr.1072).

[46] N. Loraux 1995: 191: Achilles, 'the best of the Achaians' like Daphnis, the best of the *boucoloi*, was 'a hero manly unto excess that nevertheless ripened in his anger, like a woman;' cf. Daphnis' anger against Aphrodite when the latter visited the fading hero (Theoc.Id.1.100-13).

[47] As explained above (n39), the theme was in accordance with later tradition regarding Achilles' deceptive attitude in love. In Ovid Briseis cast Achilles in the role of the typical oath-breaking lover abandoning the woman who has been faithful to him; cf. Ov.Her.3.53-4, 115-20. Achilles, like Heracles, was afflicted by *Eros*, which was regarded as the most liquid and most dangerous of all emotions. This could be concluded by the loss of self-control observed in the tradition of the two heroes; see Hes.Th.27-

tale one mentioned that Dionysus,[48] having cast a spell on Theseus, made him forget his promise to Ariadne and even her very existence.[49] Homer told the story on the occasion of describing a dancing floor similar to the one Daedalus had fashioned for Ariadne.[50] This reference implied that the feast, which followed on the *Shield*, should be considered as part of the cult in her honour.[51] Moreover, it has been accepted that Ariadne must have been

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8 and in his footsteps Palladas of Alexandria, Anth.Pal.9.165:1-5 (see ch2n125 and App.IIn26).

[48] Heracles, the supreme male, appears to be especially connected with Dionysus, the more effeminate of the Olympians, who celebrates an "ἱερὸς γάμος" during the Anthesteria at Athens. W. Burkert 1983a: 230-8 (cf. Intro.n9); also see N. Loraux 1995: 30-40 discussing the feminisation of Heracles; cf. Ov.Her.9.54ff., Lucian Dial.13. As mentioned above, Achilles by hiding among the daughters of Lycomedes and by weeping for Patroclus and his own life also demonstrated signs of female attitude. In addition, Daphnis was specifically mentioned as weeping in Theocritus; generally, emotional *cyclothymia* was ascribed as a feminine trait. His adventure of transvestism in Scyros has been read as yet another tale of adolescent initiation, D.D. Leitaon 1995: 130f.; R. Garland 1990: 170ff.

[49] Paus.10.29.2, Diod.Sic.5.51.4, schol.Theoc.Id.2.45. Note that in the Homeric epic, through the expeditions he shared with Odysseus, Diomedes also exhibited cunning and guile. See B. Fenik 1964: 12-3; cf. n124. Furthermore, notice that Diomedes also was guilty of arrogance (Hom.Il.5.440-2): "φράζεο Τυδεΐδη καὶ χάζεο, μηδὲ θεοῖσιν /ἶσ' ἔθελε *φρονέειν*, ἐπεὶ οὔ ποτε φῦλον ὁμοῖον /ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν *χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων* τ' ἀνθρώπων."

[50] Hesiod had already described the art of the "πολυδαίδαλον ἱστὸν" which Athena bestows to Pandora, while Theocritus describes the woman forged on his cup as "δαίδαλμα" which only the gods could create. For Ariadne in Catullus, see P.A. Miller 1994: 108-111. C. Martin 1992: 55 argued that Catull.63 created parallels between Attis and Cybele, Theseus and Ariadne and Catullus and Lesbia. This clue confirms the fertility character of the tale of Ariadne and consequently of the Homeric *Shield*. It also establishes the notion that the elegiac lover saw his relationship as an analogue of the consort-goddess strand. Also, see M. Skinner 1993: 119.

[51] Ariadne's association with childbirth creates a parallel with the role of Artemis, who was identified with Iphigeneia, her protégé. Iphigeneia (Iphianassa in Homer) was also called Chromia, a name that brings to mind Thyrsis' rival poet. It might be suggested that relying on Iphigeneia's infernal associations, Chromis also alluded to similar notions. Iphigeneia was said to have been Achilles' fiancée and some even argue that she was the mother of Neoptolemus and not Deidameia; cf. Eur.IA *passim*, Soph.Elec.574, Apollod.Epit.3.22.

during the Mycenaean period a deity of vegetation whose death was celebrated at Naxos.[52] The story of Ariadne might have inspired Theocritus in his second *Idyll*.[53] Hence, it seems that Theocritus' pastoral poetry shared considerable affiliation with the mythical and ritual background of the epic *Shields*.

In particular, Daphnis seems to have shared the same fertility related background as Heracles and Achilles and therefore, it could be suggested that the pastoral Cup[54] of Theocritus and the epic *Shields* belong to the same tradition.[55] Furthermore, all three characters seem to share the same traits, which affiliated them with women and loss of self-control. As underlined, this common

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[52] M.P. Nilsson 1950: 527; according to Plut.Thes.20, Theseus left Ariadne on the island of Cyprus pregnant but she died on childbed. To her honour every year at Amathus (e.g. Macr.Sat.3.8.2) a young man would imitate a woman in childbed; cf. the festival of the bearded Aphrodite, at the same place, which had its origin in marital customs (where a man would dress up in female clothes); see Plut.Quaest.Graec.35 and Thes.16, where he quotes Aristotle.

[53] Cf. Id.2.45f. Catullus depicted the same episode in his epyllion about the marriage of Thetis to Peleus. The goddess was given to marriage to a mortal because a prophecy said that her child would dethrone his father. Hence, both Zeus and Poseidon, who were wooing her, feared the result and withdrew. Catullus (64.353-5) compared Achilles with a reaper and described him as a deity that demanded chaste beauty as the ultimate sacrifice. See M.C.J. Putnam 1974a: 84.

[54] According to Apollonius, Jason's marvellous cloak was more dazzling than the sun (Ap.Rhod.1.725-6). In addition, it seems that there was a danger of beguilement at its view (1.765-7): "κείνους κ᾽ εἰσορόων *ἀκέοις*, ψεύδοιό τε θυμόν, /ἐλπόμενος πυκινήν τιν᾽ ἀπὸ σφείων ἐσακοῦσαι /βάξιν, ὃ καὶ δηρόν περ ἐπ᾽ *ἐλπίδι θήσαιο*." See E. George 1972: 49: 'the poet warns the reader that he is liable to be charmed' quoted by S. Goldhill 1991: 310. Theocritus' Cup was equally described as a marvel to look at, a clue that might entail a notion of beguilement as well.

[55] T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 191: 'the cup is not a case of description at all, but like the landscapes, a series of highly selective details put together for a purpose. Each of the panels-the old fisherman, the coy mistress and the drowsy watchman- is given in its barest essentials; together they remind us of the life of *ponos* which the herdsmen have left behind them, or so they think, though the poet knows better.' See ch4p.283ff. (esp.pp.301-10); in *Eclogue* 10, Vergil underlined that Gallus felt erotic misery even in idyllic Arcadia.

background reflects myths of the goddess-consort or son strand,[56] which becomes obvious at the death of each hero. Achilles died because he overestimated his mortal nature and because his divine mother Thetis had failed to secure him immortality.[57] Heracles, the embodiment of extreme physical strength, died because of his excessive lust.[58] Similarly Daphnis' death was attributed to his intense love, and in each case, death was a step towards deification.[59] In addition, Achilles and Heracles, through the cult(s)

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[56] The association of the *Shields* with the fertility goddesses could be further implied by the representation on them of bulls, boars and lions, which, as explained in the previous chapter, belonged to the fertility realm. Early bull representations are often found in cemeteries and therefore, bulls should be connected with death. Lions also seem to symbolise death; archaeological finds dated before the Mycenaean period specify that it was not actually a lion but a lioness that was used in ancient representations, a fact that casts more light in the connection of wild life with female goddesses. A statuette found in Crete shows a female figure with a long dress, which bears a cat or lioness head. See L. Goodison 1989: 80-92.

[57] Often a divine mother or nurse was depicted as attempting to make her son immortal by exposing him to fire like Demeter (Hom.h.236) did with Demophoön, or to water, like Thetis did by dipping young Achilles in the waters of Styx (Stat.Achill.1.269, Serv.Aen.6.57), namely in a magical way. Arethusa was the Nymph of waters and, according to the myth, she was pursued by her determined suitor Alphaeus, who had fallen in love with her. In her effort to avoid him, she invoked Artemis to help her (Paus.5.7.2). The goddess listened to her pray and transformed her into a spring and her wooer into the homonymous river, which stresses once more, the lustful character, which water was thought to have in antiquity. However, Pausanias attributes this adventure to Artemis herself. Paus.6.22.5; also, see schol.Pind.Pyth.2.12.

[58] Eur.Hipp.545-54. The chorus evoked the following story about Heracles: "τὰν μὲν Οἰχαλίᾳ πῶλον ἄζυγα λέκτρων, ἄνανδρον τὸ πρὶν καὶ ἄνυμφον οἴκων ζευξασ' ἀπ' Εὐρυτίων δρομάδα ναΐδ' ὅπως τε βάκχαν σὺν αἵματι σὺν κάπνῳ φονίοισι νυμφείοις (Barrett; "φονίοις θ' ὑμεναίοις" MSS)᾽Αλκμήνας τόκῳ Κύπρις ἐξέδωκεν· ὦ *τλάμων* ὑμεναίων" (my emphasis) where "τλάμων" can be interpreted as 'bold, daring, excessive;' cf. H. Lindheim 1998: 43-66.

[59] Cf. Soph.fr.855 (Nauck): 'Cypris is not Cypris alone, but is called by many names. She is death and undecaying life; she is the rage of madness.' Euripides (fr.26N) also wonders at the dual nature of Aphrodite: there are many complexities in Aphrodite, for she delights and grieves mortals very

they used to receive in antiquity (even if some of these cults were based on their death narratives),[60] were believed to have enjoyed a relation with nature analogous to that of Daphnis. It appears that in these fertility-related legends death was treated as a synonym of "Ὕβρις" and was identified with female love, erotic[61] or maternal.[62] Hence, the common framework of the tales which the two epics and the Theocritean *ecphrasis* tried to capture would draw attention to the violation of limits set to mortals by their own "φύσις." In addition, as situations in which mortals approach the essence of their nature (dangerously perhaps) were primarily believed to be those of falling in love and dying.[63]

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much. The nurse in *Hippolytus* says (ll.359-60): 'Cypris is no god, but something greater than a god.'

[60] Especially in the case of Achilles, it has been argued that the cults in his honour must have sprung from his popular role in the Iliad. Generally, hero-cult in Greece was traced around the 10th century BC and it did not seem to become regular before the 8th century BC. However, even if the fertility associations of Achilles and Heracles should be understood as later inventions, they still represented the mentality of a certain era and consequently, a popular tradition. A. Brelich 1958; I. Morris 1988: 758-61.

[61] Thetis was destined to marry a mortal man when Zeus found out that she could bear him a successor in the reign of Heaven; thus, he managed to save his sovereignty by imposing on the goddess maternity of a son destined to die. The same could be argued about Aphrodite; her affair with the mortal Anchises which was designed to punish the goddess for humiliating Zeus, gave Aeneas to her, a son who despite his heroic saga did not escape death (Livy, Zeus Indiges). A goddess could extend her maternal attitude towards her favourites like Aphrodite did in Iliad when she saved Paris from the battlefield by hiding him in the folds of her shining *peplos* or robe in the same way she had saved her son Aeneas (Hom.Il.5.314-5).

[62] Demeter's sorrowful maternity and the symbolic death of her daughter, Persephone, underlined in particular the association of love with death. Persephone's death has its excuse in her abduction by Hades, although I think that the appropriate term here should be seduction. As argued, perhaps love should be held responsible for Persephone's 'death' as well as for the death of Daphnis.

[63] The definition might sound rather naïve, yet it is a matter of approach and correspondence to Daphnis' world of naivety whether the situation should be addressed as falling in love or as coming of age or even as socio-religious rebirth within the frame of the ancient city-state.

HERACLES AND OMPHALE

Heracles was sold as a nameless slave and Omphale,[64] the Lydian Queen, bought him in order to serve her for a whole year.[65] To associate Heracles, the utter symbol of masculinity, with any kind of feminine attitude would seem inconceivable.[66] Yet, Heracles was reported to have worn female clothes while in the service of Queen Omphale.[67] He was reported to have been engaged with female activities such as teasing wool or spinning the thread.[68] He soon became the queen's lover and as such, he would often exchange

[64] See F.W. Alonso 1996: 103-120. Heracles was sold as a slave in order to expiate the murder of Megara and his children or cure his madness or to pay for stealing the tripod from Delphi; Diod.Sic.4.31, Apollod.Bibl.2.6.2. According to Lichas at Soph.Tr.248-80, Heracles killed Iphitus, son of Eurytus of Oechalia, by treachery and Zeus decreed that (being sold in) slavery would be his punishment. It is during his time in Lydia that Heracles is said to have killed Lityerses, a Phrygian, in some accounts, king, and saved Daphnis, and his beloved. For this version of the story, see schol.Theoc.Id.10.41; cf. Pollux 4.54.

[65] Apollod.Bibl.2.6.2-3 argued that after the killing of Iphitus Apollo refused to give Heracles an oracle and so the hero carried off the Delphic tripod. Zeus halted the quarrel and Apollo decreed that Heracles should be sold to Omphale, daughter of Iardanus and queen of Lydia, for three years. The price should be given to Eurytus. Ovid Her.9.53-118 reported that, as Omphale's slave, Heracles had to dress as a woman and perform women's work. He was her lover and had one or more children by her (Lamus in Ovid). See LIMC 7.1 (1994): 45-53.

[66] Homosexual affairs were never denied to the hero, but this sexual behaviour was accepted in antiquity, and it was Zeus first who did not manage to resist stealing Ganymedes from Auge.

[67] The episode was often regarded as an invention of the Roman love poets to whose weird taste the story would appeal as a type of an extravagant sexual foreplay. N.B. Kampen 1996: 233-46. The theme was quite popular in Roman art; see G.K. Galinsky 1972: 156 and C. Bonnet 1996: 121-31.

[68] N. Loraux 1995: 35-36. See M. S. Cyrino 1998: 214: 'The story of Heracles' servitude to the Lydian Queen Omphale has been often dismissed by critics determined to preserve and maintain the masculinity of the great hero: the story has been denigrated as an aberrant Hellenistic addition to the saga.' For Hercules association with transvestism and his parallelism with Achilles, see E.J. Ament 1993: 15-20 who examines the heroes' relations to Amazons as an allusion to rites of passage, especially in art.

clothes with his mistress. She would wear his lion skin and carry his club while he wore the saffron tunic appropriate to women, the *krokotos*.[69] Heracles' transvestism has been interpreted as kind of ritual that marked his passage from the human to his divine status.[70]

However, the *krokotos*, which has barbarian origin, is closely associated with Dionysus. Heracles seems to have a strong intimacy with Dionysus, the other son of Zeus,[71] who also played a significant role in the celebration for the apotheosis of Heracles.[72]

Diodorus[73] narrated a weird story according to which when the hero returned from war to a life of peace and festivals he was given gifts by all the gods, and surprisingly enough Athena is said to have given him a *peplos*.[74] Of course, the *peplos* is always

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[69] It has been argued since ancient times even that Omphale stands for omphalos, 'belly-button;' N. Loraux 1995: 25. She 'represents the transition or middle of his heroic life…through which he must be reborn on his journey to immortality.'

[70] M.S. Cyrino 1998: 216. This principle of inversion was very common to Greek rites especially on entering adolescence or marriage. On Dionysus' disguise as Heracles in the *Ranae*, see R.G. Edmonds III 2003: 181ff. claiming that the god's character does not undergo any initiatory transformation through his Heraclean costume. However, the disguise allows Aristophanes plenty of comical situations and rude comments that were commonplace for the 4th century Heracles while employing the well-known religious affinity of Heracles with Dionysus. For the role of Dionysus in the Underworld, see S.G. Cole 2003: 193ff.

[71] Soph.Tr.510-11, Strab.15.1.6.

[72] G.K. Galinski 1972: 81-2. Schauenburg 1963: 113-33. Also cf. *Ranae* of Aristophanes where Dionysus enters the Underworld as Heracles and wears a lion skin over his *krokotos* (ll.1-60). Moreover, in comedy Heracles was frequently depicted as drinking heavily and the association of Dionysus with wine as well as with madness is beyond any doubt; cf. the story of Pentheus and the story of the daughters of Minyas. It has been argued that this depiction of Heracles emphasises the destruction caused by love, since even Heracles becomes effeminate under its influence. In antiquity a more feminine style of dress was permitted to young men, musicians, actors and devotees of Dionysus; J. Lydus, De magistr.3.64; Artemid.2.3.

[73] Diod.Sic.4.14.3; also, see N. Loraux 1995: 33-40.

[74] Cf. Eur.Hipp.513. The hero is mentioned to wear a *peplos*, perhaps because of his virginal character: "δεῖ δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου δή τι τοῦ ποθουμένου /σημεῖον ἢ λόγον τιν' ἢ πέπλων ἄπο /λαβεῖν."

associated with Athena, and in Athens the citizens would offer her a *peplos* decorated with a Gigantomachy every four years.[75] However, Plutarch[76] clearly mentioned that the priest of Heracles at Antimacleia on the island of Kos put on a woman's dress and wore a ribbon in his hair, the *mitra*,[77] when he sacrificed.

[75] This *peplos* was a symbol of protection and victory, a sort of talisman. However, throughout Greek tradition the *peplos* is a garment worn by women or barbarians and is thought to correspond to the *chiton* which signifies a man's garment. There is a clear parallel here with Pandora, who was equally given gifts by all the gods, and Hesiod specifically mentions that Athena taught her the art of weaving a "πολυδαίδαλον ἱστὸν."

[76] Plut.Quaest.Graec.58 explains that Heracles had to diguise himself as a woman when the Meropes attacked him on the island of Kos. After he defeated his opponents, he wore a flowery robe in order to marry the king's daughter.

[77] Cf. Sappho's poem in which she cannot find a similar Lydian ribbon for her daughter, Cleis (fr.82). For the influence that Sappho exercised on Theocritus, see R.L. Hunter 1996.

APPENDIX II.

THE CUP OF THEOCRITUS

THE FIRST IMAGE

It has been suggested that the first image on the Cup registered scenes that would depict the anguish of living in the *polis*,[1] portraying a sense of energy, but also of cruelty and deception.[2]

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[1] Theocritus was aware of the civic environment in which the first scene of the Cup should be probably placed. The urbane setting of *Idyll* 7, in which the poet mentioned nocturnal serenades, led R. Coleman 1969: 115-6 to argue that despite the pastoral colour of the poem, the songs of Lycidas and Simichidas evoked several motifs from other erotic genres. F. Cairns 1972: 201-4 commented on the komastic forms employed in the *Idyll*. Also D.M. Halperin 1983: 123-4 noticed that 'neither poem [22, 11, and 3] elaborates natural scenes…or incorporates folkloric poetic structures -unlike the one work which scholars have customarily taken to be typical of Theocritean bucolic poetry: the Daphnis-song of Thyrsis in *Idyll* 1.' However, it would not be atypical of Theocritus to imply the city in his programmatic *Idyll*; in addition, P. Alpers 1990: 26 noticed the correspondence between Comatas and the boy depicted on the third image on the Cup. See ch2n104 and p.163f.

[2] This is the life for which Ec.4.31-6 provided a tune-up of sorts: "pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis." For the urban frame of Theocritus' *Idylls*, see S. Goldhill 1991: 274 discussing *Idyll* 15 where the rustic beloved of Aphrodite was celebrated in totally metropolitan surroundings. For pastoral poetry as a product of nostalgia for a past closer to nature, see D.M. Halperin 1983: 50-2 and 127 (Id.2). Also see pp.91-4 for the notion of the corrupting city in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* where a prostitute introduced Enkidu, the savage counterpart of Gilgamesh, to culture (see ch2nn119, 183, 192, 207; cf. ch3n67). After this, his relation with the wild animals was destroyed (A.R. George 2003: 547-551). However, this text is regarded as an exception in Near Eastern literature in which the city was usually praised. On the contrary, the nostalgia for a pastoral existence was prominent in the Biblical tradition. See A.L. Oppenheim 1977: 111; note

This mood was plausibly conveyed in the description of a refined woman torturing two men with empty erotic promises.[3] Theocritus' verses are cited (ll.32-7):

> "ἔντοσθεν δὲ γυνά, τι θεῶν δαίδαλμα, τέτυκται,
> ἀσκητὰ πέπλῳ τε καὶ ἄμπυκι· πὰρ δέ οἱ ἄνδρες
> καλὸν ἐθειράζοντες ἀμοιβαδὶς ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος
> νεικείουσ' ἐπέεσσι· τὰ δ' οὐ φρενὸς ἅπτεται αὐτᾶς·
> ἀλλ' ὅκα μὲν τῆνον ποτιδέρκεται ἄνδρα γέλαισα,
> ἄλλοκα δ' αὖ ποτὶ τὸν ῥιπτεῖ νόον…"

The scene could be paralleled with Hesiod's advice towards the unsuspecting lover (Op.373-5): "μὴ δὲ γυνή σε νόον πυγοστόλος ἐξαπατάτω /αἰμύλα κωτίλλουσα, τεὴν διφῶσα καλιήν. /ὃς δὲ γυναικὶ πέποιθε, πέποιθ' ὅ γε φηλήτῃσιν." Theocritus mentioned specifically that the youths were competing with each other in flatteries: "νεικείουσ' ἐπέεσσι" (ll.35). In addition, the poet underlined particularly the elegance of the woman on the Cup, describing in detail her refined garments:[4] "…τι θεῶν

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that cities are also depicted on the two *Shields* discussed above.

[3] See the discussion below and compare the girl in the *Song of Solomon*, who totally surrendered to the affections of the king, declared that she would not behave 'like a veiled one;' cf. Pandora, the first Hesiodic woman who was endowed a *peplos*; however, Pandora was a synonym for male destruction. N. Loraux 1990: 211 discussed the story of Teiresias, who, according to one version, was blinded when he caught sight of Athena untying her *peplos*. The goddess, an unrepentant virgin, hid her power under her veil. Similarly in the case of Heracles, who also wore a *peplos*, the garment symbolised his excessive virility as hidden behind women's clothes; ibid.: 123-31. Hence, it might be argued that Theocritus possibly intended to use the *peplos* as a symbol of the danger lurking underneath.

[4] Cf. Hes.Th.574-5: "καλύπτρην δαιδαλέην;" the *peplos* as a bridal garment was figured prominently in Eur.Med.1159 as well, a famous example of an ominous bride. In addition, her *peplos* was characterised as "ποικίλος," an adjective which alludes to the elaborate dancing floor designed by Daedalus on the *Shield of Achilles*. The bridal dress was also described as variegated in Ar.Plu.530. However, the epithet could bear a notion of ambiguity, which Theocritus definitely intended. For the *peplos* as a murderous weapon, see the discussion on the second image on the Cup; cf. R. Seaford 1994: 389. For the special relation of Heracles and Achilles to *peploi* in cult, see N. Loraux 1990: 33-40. Also, note that Eriphyle was allured to betray her husband for the price of a *peplos* and a golden necklace; L. Gernet 1981: 121. Also, the word "ποικίλος" used to

δαίδαλμα…ἀσκητὰ πέπλῳ τε καὶ ἄμπυκι·" (ll.32-3). Theocritus also mentioned that the two men were labouring for the sake of the deceptive lady to no avail, a motif conspicuously treated later in Propertius' programmatic elegy. Furthermore, the poet rendered the lovers' continuous torment with the expression "ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι" -they laboured-, a word also employed by Sophocles in the Trachiniai to denote the suffering of Heracles.[5] Generally, it might be argued that Thyrsis began his song in a negative way; by outlining the life in the city, he defined the opposite of the pastoral ideal and the opposite of Daphnis' world.[6] This pretentious and unfriendly environment could pose a threat to young lovers such as Daphnis.[7] Indeed this love-hostile urban ambush was mirrored in the deceptive looks of the volatile lady described by Theocritus.[8]

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have a notion of deception as the phrase "ποικιλώτερος ὕδρας" was used, according to Diogenianus, "ἐπὶ τῶν δολερῶν." See, Diogen.CenturiaVII69 (Leutsch and Schneidewin).

[5] For the use of *mochthos* by Sophocles, see Tr.1101, 1170; cf. 1047. Also, see the tragedy *Heracles*. The one-year span of the love-sickness was also found in Theoc.Id.30 as well as in Prop.1.1; Theocritus wrote (ll.22-3): "…πόλλα δ' ὄραι νύκτος ἐνύπνια, /παύσασθαι δ' ἐνίαυτος χαλέπας οὐκ ἴ<κανος νόσῳ>." It might be argued that the continuous effort of the lovers for a whole year could denote that they were probably sick with love.

[6] If the antithesis of city and country is accepted as a motif often employed in pastoral poetry, then Vergil's couplet in Ecl.8 (ll.68, 76, 79, 84, 90, 94, 100, 104) could be explained more sufficiently: "Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin." Cf. T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 16. Furthermore, the song of Alphesiboeus in the Ec.8.64-109 was modelled on the incantation of Simaetha in Theocritus' Id.2.17-63; W. Clausen 1994: 237-8.

[7] In the *Argonautica* of Ap.Rhod.3.19-21, Athena (as a virginal goddess) was described as unable to contrive a plan to help Jason in his erotic affairs. It should be underlined that Apollonius characterised the prospective plan as a *dolos*. Also see T.G. Rosenmeyer 1969: 22-3: 'Just as the *Shield of Achilles*…introduces real warfare in the place of the stylised duelling of the epic, so the Theocritean pastoral also cannot do without intimations of a sterner and more hurtful life ostensibly excluded from the arbour. The cup in *Idyll* 1 registers scenes that serve notice of the anguish of life in the polis, grubbing for a livelihood, cruelty, and deception.'

[8] Quint.10.1.55: "admirabilis suo genere Theocritus, sed musa illa rustica et pastoralis non forum modo verum ipsam etiam urbem reformidat." For the different interpretations of the text, see D. Halperin 1983: 11, D. Russell and M.

The anguish of her victims was depicted in their swollen eyes:[9]

"οἳ δ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος δηθὰ κυλοιδιόωντες ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι."

Hence, the lovers' eyes were hollowed because of love. Another reason, which could cause the under part of the eyes to swell was wine: "τὸ τὰ κύλα οἰδεῖν ἐκ μέθης." Hence, Theocritus described a scene of erotic distress in which the precise nature of the suffering of the prospective lovers could be debated: linguistically the lovers could be understood to suffer either from sleeplessness or from drunkenness.[10] However, the last possibility could create an interesting parallel with the tradition of Daphnis according to which a princess got the unfortunate hero drunk.[11]

Winterbottom 1972: 388. It might be argued that although Halperin's translation sounds closer to the text, his argument about the inconsistency of Quintilian in the use of "genus" is not totally convincing.

[9] According to Liddell-Scott, the verb "κυλοιδιάω" means to have a swelling below the eye from blows or from sleepless nights. Photius also explains that "κύλα δὲ λέγεται τὰ ὑποκάτω τοῦ κάτω βλεφάρου ἃ ἡμεῖς ὑπώπια καλοῦμεν." Photius included drunkenness among the reasons that cause the eyes to swell. Sleeplessness (cf. Propertius' erotic symptoms) and drunkenness have been repeatedly attested in poetry as symptoms of the enamoured. Therefore, the swelling of the eyes could imply that someone was inflamed or troubled by love; also see A.S.F. Gow 1952: 9 ad 1.38. Theocritus described an urban environment where one might imagine young lovers walking around drunk as often depicted in the Hellenistic epigrams or in Latin elegies. Hence, the swelling of the eyes might have been designed to describe the young men of Theocritus' poem as lovers.

[10] During the Hellenistic period people believed that the eyes could also swell when someone was poisoned: Nic.Al.478 (2nd century AD); there was a popular analogue between love and poisons, widely adapted in Hellenistic poetry and Latin elegies. Propertius compared Cynthia's love with dangerous poison in elegy 1.5: "infelix, properas ultima nosse mala, /et miser ignotos vestigia ferre per ignes, /et bibere e tota toxica Thessalia." Cf. that Heracles identified poison with love-charm; Simaetha in Id.2.159-64 would poison her lover in case the magical potion did not work. See Hom.Il.22.90-375 where Achilles was compared to a snake 'fed on noxious poisons, an abiding fury within him.' Xen.Mem.1.3.9-4 quoted a discussion with Socrates in which the latter described erotic experience as poison injected by sexually attractive people. The worst is that they do not need the contact a spider needs; they poison their victim from a distance. He finally advised the lover to go away for a year, an idea that Theocritus repeated (Id.9).

[11] Plato (Resp.3.396d) invited the sage not to imitate the hero 'if he

Furthermore, the notion of getting drunk with love is a very old one[12] in literature.[13] Such a parallelism seems to have been within the poetic abilities of Theocritus who would once more confirm his knowledge of the traditional myth of Daphnis to which he constantly alluded in his first *Idyll*.[14] Nevertheless, the poet does not explicitly refer to drunkenness either for the two youngsters carved on the Cup or for Daphnis.

However, he does mention that Daphnis was crying at the realisation of his death, which could be interpreted as a symbol of bearing his affliction like a woman.[15] Propertius, who was

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sees him stumble in sickness, love, drunkenness, or some other disgrace.' There is a great temptation to place Heracles' name beneath the description of a hero who joins sickness with love (*Trachiniai*), drunkenness (*Alcestis*) and unhappiness. For Heracles and the *nosos* in love, see Soph.Tr.445, 543-4. See also C. Segal 1978: 113-4 and P. Biggs 1966: 223-8. Hence, possibly Daphnis' weakness should be interpreted as illness, an erotic illness that would comply with his affliction by a woman's love.

[12] Anacreon [388 Campbell (= PMG376)] employed the motif famously in one of his poems: "ἀρθεὶς δηῦτ' ἀπὸ Λευκάδος /πέτρης ἐς πολιὸν κῦμα κολυμβῶ μεθύων ἔρωτι;" also quoted in ch1n237; cf. p.427n11 and ch2n270. Elegiac poets, who were normally regarded as bewitched, used to offer dedications to *Pontia Aphrodite* when rescued from a dangerous love. Another common elegiac motif is the lover shipwrecked which occurs both in Propertius and Tibullus.

[13] The *Song of Solomon* included several comparisons of love with wine (see below). Hence, the king urged his friends to "drink, and be drunk with love" (5.1). His beloved also declared that his love "is better than wine" (4.11) and that his kisses were "the best wine that goes down smoothly" (7.9).

[14] Furthermore, already in Bion's poetry Aphrodite mourning for Adonis wishes to 'drink his love.' However, Aphrodite refers to Adonis' love also as "φίλτρον," love charm. Note that in Eur.Hipp.516 the nurse promised Phaedra a *pharmakon* for her erotic advances, a dangerous drug or spell.

[15] From this point of view, as explained, Daphnis would match the unstable character of Achilles whom Homer had described as crying; cf. Empedoc.B62.1VS who characterised the female gender as "πολυκλαύτων." For the tears of Achilles, see H. Monsacré 1984: 137-42. In Homer mourning was signified as *ponos*, a word also denoting 'the effort of waging war, suffering and trials…;' cf. Hom.Il.21.525; 22.488. *Ponos* was also associated with agricultural labour Hes.Th.599; Op.305; Ar.Plu525. For *ponos* in association with Heracles, see Eur.Her.22, 357, 388, 427 and *passim* and Theoc.Id.24.82-3 who used the word *mochthos*;

influenced by the pastoral shadow of love, clearly stated that Cynthia's cruelty made him cry.[16] In addition, in elegy 1.18 Propertius presented Cynthia as being upset with him and mournful. In this description of his sorrowful beloved, Propertius paid attention to her deformed eyes (ll.15-6):

> "ut tibi sim merito semper furor, et tua flendo
> lumina deiectis turpia sint lacrimis."

Hence, it could be argued that the eyes' deformity in general signified distress and in particular erotic distress.[17] Furthermore, crying was regarded as effeminate and a sign of weakness.[18] The lover, both in Hellenistic epigram and Latin elegy, was often depicted as going on a *komos* at his mistress' door to confess his love; he was typically shown as shedding tears for his mistress, and as for the idea of dying because of love, both Propertius and Tibullus went as far as imagining their own funeral. From this

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also N. Loraux 1990: 29. In addition, in Latin the word "labor" was used similarly for the 12 labours of Heracles as well as for the erotic efforts of Propertius (poem 1).

[16] Although, as mentioned, Heracles was not often figured as crying, Bacchylides (Epinic.5.155ff.) made him weep over Meleager in Hades; cf. epic references to the hardship he endured: Hom.Il.8.362-3 (exhaustion and tears); Hom.Il.19.133 and Od.11.618-26 (ignominious trials); Hes.Th.951 (*stonoenta erga*). Also, see N. Loraux 1990: 39-40. For Heracles as a woman, see Soph.Tr.1075. The hero was thought of as sick; on 'Heracles' sickness,' see Hippoc.Mul.1.7 (Littré: 33).

[17] The deformity of eyes and especially blindness was a motif often associated with erotic disorder and as stated before, according to the traditional version of the story, Daphnis was punished for his adultery with blindness. Hence, Archilochus, stating that he does not intend to marry Neoboule, wrote: "δέδοιχ' ὅπως μὴ τυφλὰ κἀλιτήμερα /σπουδῇ ἐπειγομένη /τὼς ὥσπερ ἡ κύων τέκῃ." For the Sumerian and Akkadian history of the proverb, see M.L. West 1997: 500 esp.n15. In addition, if syncretism should be suspected, it should be noticed that blindness was a typical punishment in the religion of Isis for a sexual attack made on a woman sacred to the goddess. See Ov.Pont.1.1.53-4: "alter, ob huic similem privatus lumine culpam, /clamabat media se meruisse via;" cf. Juv.Sat.13.93: "Isis et irato feriat mea lumina sistro." Golden or silver eyes were common voting offers in the sanctuary of Isis and Sarapis at Delos indicating the gratitude of those who were saved from blindness. S.K. Heyob 1975: 65 esp.n55.

[18] N. Loraux 1990: 39 perceived Heracles as suffering from excessive lust: 'And here Heracles, who knew only the *nosos* of desire, is beaten by a 'female woman' and crushed by a cruel sickness with searing pains.'

point of view, the elegiac lover who would traditionally favour the Roman "otium," would once more recognise a worthy forebear in the figure of Daphnis. In antiquity, weakness was associated with women and those afflicted by them; Aristotle seems to have taken female incontinence for granted as a consequence of feminine weakness.[19] However, as argued above, exaggerated erotic passion was in all probability the reason for Daphnis' suffering. Therefore, anyone who, like Daphnis, would be infected by love would become effeminate and weak. It could be argued that the young men on Theocritus' cup bore already in their eyes the symptoms of their weakness. Similarly, Daphnis, who according to Aelian (10.18), invented bucolic songs about 'his suffering over his eyes,' should be expected to appreciate the situation of his counterparts only too well.[20]

As observed, both Achilles and Heracles met their death when they failed to understand the limits of their nature and more specifically the limits of love. It could be argued that Achilles overestimated the love of his mother who nevertheless, did not secure him immortality, while Heracles underestimated the love of his scorned wife.[21] Daphnis also, in Aphrodite's opinion, seemed to

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[19] Aristotle (Eth.Nic.7.7.1150b6), who compared passion with sleep, madness and drunkenness (Eth.Nic.1147a ff.), denied to women a full measure of "αἰδῶς;" cf. Arist.Hist.an.608b12; Also in Hist.an.572a8-13 he explained that in eagerness for sexual intercourse of all the female animals the mare comes first, next the cow. See A. Carson 1990: 142-3. Ovid in Ars.Am.1.269-282 and 335-336 employed Medea as the model of the unlawful lust that would characterise women rather than men.

[20] G. Anderson 1993: 67; cf. p.74 for the correspondence between the infidelity of Daphnis, which according to Aelian caused his punishment, and that of Dumuzi, who was indifferent to the death of his spouse Inanna: 'on their own merits the resemblances between the Theocritean and Vergilian Daphnis and the Sumerian Dumuzi have much to commend them: in both cases the arch-patron of the pastoral world dies after breaking his fidelity to the sex-goddess or a Nymph; a renewal is arranged and some kind of resurrection takes place.' That eastern material had already attracted the interest of the Romans could be attested by the Zmyrna of Calvus referring to Adonis' mother, and Catullus' poem on Attis.

[21] Dio Chrys.458.7 Deianeira should be held responsible for the hero's death. He wrote: "...καὶ λεγομένου δὴ ὡς ἐρασθείη τῆς Ἰόλης, ἡγησαμένη βέλτιον εἶναι ἅ παρῃνεσεν ἀνύεσθαι, ἐπιτίθεται αὐτῷ καὶ, οἷον δὴ πέφυκε τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἰμύλον καὶ πανοῦργον,..."

underestimate the power of Love.[22] However, in the nexus of Greek religious thought such an attitude would be characterised as *hubris*. An example of this mode of thinking could be found in Euripides' Phaedra where the chorus assumed that a demon had possessed the queen forcing her to fall in love with her husband's son. Phaedra described her torment as the "ἄτη" of a demon[23]. However, later in the plot she described her passion in purely human terms as if it were a synonym of human nature.[24]

THE SECOND IMAGE

Theocritus located the second image forged on the Cup next to the

[22] Deianira called Heracles' passion a sickness and excused him because of it. Hyllus trying to explain what happened to his father when he put on the robe gives a vivid allegory to the idea of love eating the flesh of the lover. For the erotic notions of the verbs "βιβρώσκω, βορέομαι" in lyric poetry, see M.S. Cyrino 1995: 140-1 quoting Sapph.fr.96.15-7, 145, 158nn.31-2; Hes.Op.65-66 "γυιοβόρους μελεδώνας;" cf. Soph.Tr.445, 544, 767-87, 1053-56; Sapph.fr.1.3-4C, fr.31C; Theoc.Id.2.82-90 and 106-10; Eur.Hipp.131-2 and 765-66. For the conception of love as a disease in the philosophers, see: Pl.Symp.207a, Leg.714a, Ti.91b, 86d, 73c. Other examples of erotic disease imagery: Eur.Med.1364, frr.400, 428 (Nauck); Democr.DK68fr.32; Eub.fr.67 (Kock), Theoc.Id.11.69: 14.3-6: 23.24: 30.1; Callim.Ep.32; Men.fr.541 (Kock).

[23] Eur.Hipp.141-6; note that in Ov.Her.4.93-100 Phaedra cited the love affairs of Cephalus, Adonis and Meleager in her attempt to woo Hippolytus, thus comparing her passion with that of Eos, Aphrodite and Atalanta. Ate was presented as the daughter of Zeus in Homer (Il.19.91) along with Athena (Il.4.128), Persephone (Od.11.217), Artemis (Od.20.61), Helen (Od.4.227) and the Muse of the Odyssey (1.10). For Ate as the punishment for *hubris*, see Hes.Op.214ff., Th.205f. For Ate and erotic disorder, see the discussion on the second image on the Cup below.

[24] The two-faced woman in Theocritus' Cup seems to share a lot with Pandora, her Hesiodic archetype. Hesiod openly named women as a trick of Zeus against impious humanity, Op.83: "αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δόλον αἰπὺν ἀμήχανον ἐξετέλεσσεν." Hesiod presented Pandora as the "δόλος" that Zeus sent to the naïve brother of Prometheus, Epimetheus, who forgot the warnings of his brother and did not suspect the evil of the gift. Hermes, a god with a long history in the art of deception, endowed Pandora with an "ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος;" cf. the deception motifs found on the epic *Shields* and Hom.h.Ven.5.17, where Helen was described as the 'painful lewdness' that Aphrodite gave to Paris as a gift; cf. Hes.Th.224 and 205-6 for *philotes* and *apate* as parts of Aphrodite's train.

seaside.[25] A sense of danger would have already filled the air because the sea was widely compared to female frivolity during antiquity.[26] Plato wrote: "πρόσοικος γὰρ θάλαττα χώρᾳ τὸ μὲν παρ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἡδύ, μάλα γε μὴν ὄντως ἁλμυρὸν καὶ πικρὸν γειτόνημα· ἐμπορίας γὰρ καὶ χρηματισμοῦ διὰ καπηλείας ἐμπιμπλᾶσα αὐτήν, ἤθη παλίμβολα καὶ ἄπιστα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐντίκτουσα, αὐτήν τε πρὸς αὑτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἄπιστον καὶ ἄφιλον ποιεῖ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὡσαύτως."[27] The poet

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[25] The seashore is a boundary where opposites meet exactly in the sense of the mountaintops from Chapter one. It is where the human meets the uncanny: Hippolytus and the bull, Andromeda and the sea-monster, Daphnis and his death. It is the place 'where the no-longer-human-but-not yet-properly dead belong' (R. Buxton 1994: 103 esp.n109) like the ghost of Polydoros in Euripides' *Hecabe* and where the marginalised hero withdraws: Achilles in the Iliad, Odysseus on Calypso's island, Philoktetes on Lemnos. Latin poetry also offers many examples: Verg.Aen.6.362 Palinurus said: "nunc me fluctus habet versantque in litore venti." Also, see Catullus 64 in which Ariadne, inhabiting a no-man's land between father and husband, dwells alone amid the seaweed: 168: "nec quisquam apparet vacua mortalis in alga." For Eur.IT, which took place in a series of marginal places, see R. Buxton 1992b. For the seashore in satyr-plays, see P. Voelke 1992: 41-2.

[26] Hippokrates associated women with moisture; see A. Carson 1990: 137-45 (esp.138); cf. Arch.fr.184 (Wehrli): "τῇ μὲν ὕδωρ ἐσφόρει /δολοφρονέουσα χειρὶ, θητέρῃ δὲ πῦρ," which also confirmed the notion about the deceptive character of women in antiquity. O.Vox 1990: 375-6 commented on M. Davies' view concerning the dripping love in Alcman 148c /59aP; Davies rightly noted that this passage differed from Hes.Th.910 referring to the Graces and Eur.Hipp.525f. "Ἔρως, Ἔρως, ὅ κατ᾽ ὀμμάτων στάζεις πόθον," 'inasmuch as no eyes are mentioned;' cf. Hes.Op.65f. where desire was paired with grace and cares and 'poured around' the head of Pandora: but grace too was already thought of as a liquid in Homer. Vox added Callistr.Stat.14 (n2): "Νηρηίδες…ἀφροδίσιον ἵμερον ἐξ ὀμμάτων στάζουσαι." In addition, for the idea of love as fluid he suggested R.B. Onians ²1954: 202-3 and E.J. Kenney 1959: 145f; cf. Ov.ArsAm.1.236, Lucr.4.1059f, Crin.Anth.Plan.16.199.5f. He also pointed out Homer's Il.14.315f.: "ἔρος…θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περιπροχυθεὶς ἐδάμασσεν" which is an *hapax legomenon*.

[27] Pl.Leg.705a (T.J. Saunders); also, see Sim.7.27-42 (H.J. Loyd-Jones). Homer referred to the devices of Hermes, his traps and nets, as "δόλοι." Oppian (2nd /3rd century AD; Hal.3.9-28) recorded the death of Typhon, a sea-monster. He mentioned that Hermes "ποικιλόμητις," its killer, was the first to device the arts of hunting and fishing: "βουλὰς δὲ

Semonides compared the ocean to a type of woman, another unfathomable being whose tameness was always threatening to unleash its latent savagery (ll.37-41):[28]

> "ἦ δύ' ἐν φρεσὶν νοεῖ·…
> ὥσπερ θάλασσα πολλάκις μὲν ἀτρεμής
> ἔστηκ' ἀπήμων χάρμα ναύτῃσιν μέγα
> θέρεος ἐν ὥρῃ, πολλάκις δὲ μαίνεται
> βαρυκτύποισι κύμασιν φορευμένη·
> ταύτῃ μάλιστ' ἔοικε τοιαύτη γυνή
> ὀργήν· φυὴν δὲ πόντος ἀλλοίην ἔχει."[29]

The sea was believed to be uncontrollable and wild like Love, which would travel "over the sea and in the wild lands."[30]

περισσονόων ἀλιέων…πρώτιστος ἐμήσαο." The epithet *poikilos* discussed in association with women was surely attributed the meaning 'cunning' when applied to Hermes. For Typhon, see Hes.Th.819ff., 309ff.; Aesch.PV356-8. He terrified the gods who flew to Egypt (apart from Athena) and disguised into animals (*Aphrodite changed to fish*); Pind.Pyth.1.15ff. and Hyg.Fab.152. In Apollod.Bibl.1.6.3 Typhon, the opposite of Zeus, was represented as disorder (like women). For the similarity of the myth with the Hittite material, see J.P. Vernant 1981: 1-15. W. Burkert 1979: 78-88 pointed out a Hittite hero who might have been a model for Heracles.

[28] Phaedra used sea imagery to describe the attack of Aphrodite on her (Hipp.415, 443, 470): 'For Cypris is unbearable when she comes in flood. How do you think to swim to land?' The image of sea storms as disaster recurs throughout the play: cf. 139-40, 315, 447-8, 767, 822-4.

[29] M. Yaguello 1978: 91-113 (esp.198): 'The question with which we are faced, as with the more general problem of language- thought relationships, is this: do we perceive death, the sea, the moon etc., as feminine because the chance of a blind nominal classification has endowed them with the feminine gender? or, on the contrary, are they feminine because they are symbolic values attached to them which could be tied to mental and social structures and to cultural values? A problem of the chicken and the egg, you could say.' R. Padel 1992: 161 puts female figures into this context: 'female personifications in classical Greek are a living part of a precise imaginative landscape. This landscape concentrated demonic danger in female forms, such as the Sirens and tragedy's talismanic daemons, the Erinyes.'

[30] Soph.Ant.785-6. Oppian maintained that Hermes entrusted his art to his son Pan, also reputed to have killed Typhon by tempting him with a fish-feast. The monster came ashore, where Zeus struck him with his thunderbolt. This story is comparable to Heracles' encounter with

Nevertheless, the sea was often employed in ancient myths as a symbol of renewed hope.[31] In addition to mirroring the two-faced sea, myths would stress the role of imaginary fishermen as the catchers of the unexpected.[32] A reflection of these beliefs might be implied in the central figure of the second image, in which a fisherman is described as gathering a big net on a rugged rock (so to make a cast):[33]

Periclymenus or Nereus who were also able of changing their shape (Apollod.Bibl.1.6.3; cf. Apollod.Bibl.2.5.11 and 170; Hdt.7.124-7; Hyg.Poet.astr.2.15). Also Thetis, Achilles' mother, as a sea-goddess could transform herself into various animals. Indeed she defended herself against Peleus' rape attempt in this way, and her last shape was believed to be a fish. Cheiron advised Peleus to hold her firmly until she again became a goddess and a woman. The popularity of the myth of her capture is obvious in the art of the 6th century BC.

[31] Cf. Perseus and Danae; hauled ashore by Diktys, the Net Man, the baby was metaphorically reborn, growing up to a new life of reinstated honour. W. Burkert 1983a: 209. In ritual as in myth, contact with the sea can constitute a fresh beginning, the re-inauguration of hope. Note that the exact location of these rituals is the seashore. R. Buxton 1994: 102; also, see L. Gernet 1981: 123-31 for the tale of the ring of Polycrates, Theseus' quarrel with Minos and Enalos' adventure, all related to fishing valuable objects from the sea. The story of Enalos particularly was associated with love; deprived of his beloved, who was thrown into the sea during a sacrifice, the hero followed her in her wet death, a motif that is reminiscent of jumping from the Leucadian Rock out of love. Yet he found her living happily with the Nereids and as a proof of his tale, he brought to the surface a magnificent Cup.

[32] Fishermen resemble the herdsmen who stumble on fortune in the mountains. Mountains and sea as parallel (both may receive polluted objects): Hippoc.Morb.sacr.6.363 (Littré) with R. Parker 1983: 229, J.N. Bremmer 1987: 47. A frequent motif is the netting of a sacred object: Hdt.3.41-2 about Polykrates, Luc.Adv.ind.11-12; W. Burkert 1983a: 102 about the head of Orpheus. Paus.10.19.3 about the olive wood image of Dionysus, Callim.fr.197 about an image of Hermes. Also W. Burkert ibid.: 202-3, 204n40. Also, for the link between an origin or return from the sea and the beneficial character of the object retrieved, see F. Graf 1987a: 302. For *agalmata* found in the sea, see references quoted in ch2n282.

[33] Like the shepherd, the fisherman is little talked of in ancient narratives; both prayed to Pan, god of the wild outside. Theoc.Id.5.14 with Gow's commentary ad loc., Anth.Pal.10.10. Hesiod too implied a parallel between fishing and herding, in that Hecate helps both groups (Hes.Th.440-7). On Hellenistic fishermen, see Schneider 1967-9: 2.97-8;

"τοῖς δὲ μετὰ γριπεὺς τε γέρων πέτρα τε τέτυκται
λεπράς, ἐφ' ᾗ σπεύδων μέγα δίκτυον ἐς βόλον ἕλκει
ὁ πρέσβυς, κάμνοντι τὸ καρτερὸν ἀνδρὶ ἐοικώς.
φαίης κεν γυίων νιν ὅσον σθένος ἐλλοπιεύειν,
ὣδέ οἱ ὠδήκαντι κατ' αὐχένα πάντοθεν ἶνες
καὶ πολιῷ περ ἐόντι· τὸ δὲ σθένος ἄξιον ἄβας."[34]

Usually in ancient literature the fisherman's point of view was either passed over in silence or was at best considered as enigmatic.[35] Daphnis' silence to the repeated questions of his visitors regarding the reason of his suffering could create a parallel with the fisherman's typical lack of speech.[36] Indeed Theocritus' fisherman was designed as a mute figure deeply devoted to his laborious duty. The fisherman symbolised the marginalised area where he would normally be active, a location that should be identified with the region in which Daphnis experienced death. Therefore, a parallelism between the two figures seems to arise: similarly to fishermen, who were reputed to catch usually

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cf. Proteas herding the seals; E. Vermeule 1979: ch6.

[34] Cf. Longus 3.22 where Daphnis was described as attending the sea from the seashore like the fisherman: "Ὁ μὲν οὖν Δάφνις εἰδὼς τὸ πραττόμενον μόνῃ τῇ θαλάττῃ προσεῖχε, καὶ ἐτέρπετο τῇ νηΐ παρατρεχούσῃ τὸ πεδίον θᾶττον πτεροῦ, καὶ ἐπειρᾶτό τινα διασώσασθαι τῶν κελευσμάτων, ὡς γένοιτο τῆς σύριγγος μέλη."

[35] Daphnis was compared to Prometheus, who kept silent through his suffering on the Caucasian Rock when visited by his fellow gods (Aesch.PV7ff.); A. Parry 1957: 11; G. Lawall 1967: 20-2. However, Lawall noticed the influence of Greek drama on Theocritus to discuss the replacement of 'Aeschylus' universal theological theme' by a 'personal erotic one.' In addition, he saw Daphnis as a chaste hero of Hippolytus' nature. See W. Berg 1965: 11-23 where he maintained that Vergil's fifth *Eclogue* was heavily influenced by the figure of Prometheus in the Aeschylean *Prometheus*-dramas. Vergil presented Daphnis as a benefactor of the bucolic world of the same level as Prometheus and even Orpheus. The latter's impact on nature and his pre-eminence in singing could be paralleled with the first bucolic hero (for Daphnis' Dionysian and Orphic parallels, see ch3p.219f.).

[36] Prometheus' silence served as a disguise for his guilt and therefore, it might be suggested that Daphnis also refused to explain his suffering out of (*erotic*) guilt. In addition, although Hesiod (Th.534ff.) discussed the punishment of Prometheus in association with his deception regarding the sacrificial meals, Aeschylus had it that Prometheus tried to withhold from Zeus the oracle according to which had he married Thetis he would have been dethroned; PV757-70; 907-27.

unexpected things, Daphnis was obviously caught by love unexpectedly. Sea metaphors, or the comparison of a lover with a sailor, were very common in Hellenistic and Latin elegiac poetry, and it seems that Theocritus played with this pattern.[37] The seashore was an ideal place to revere the gods or even to experience a divine epiphany. In the tale of Daphnis the hero met his divine visitors and left his last breath at the banks of river Anapos.[38] Alternatively, it was reputed that he found his death after jumping into the sea from a rock. Furthermore, as mentioned, at Syracuse Daphnis, although a cowherd in mythology, was worshipped at a fountain. This clue brings to mind Adonis' cult, which included the throwing of his small, withering garden-pots in water sources.[39] Hence, it might be argued that Theocritus' intention was to raise the story of the cowherd Daphnis to the cultic standard of deities such as Adonis by drawing material from their common background. Although the resurrection of the latter was not clearly stated in the available literary sources, it was

[37] Anth.Pal.5.11, 17, 44, 124, 154, 156, 161, 190, 204, 205; Anth.Pal.12.84, 85, 157, 167.

[38] R. Parker 1983: 221; in later antiquity love was often regarded as a condition the hapless suitor might have sought to cure by purification. This notion perhaps continued a classical Greek tradition (Tib.1.2.59; Nemes.Ecl.4.62-7; contra Ov.Rem.260). Plato (Leg.854b) that urged the man driven by sacrilegious impulses to turn to the rites of expulsion; cf. Pl.Cra.396c-e. In addition, purifications with water or in the sea were extremely common and the notion of purifying love by water was underlined by the comparison of the lover with a rescued sailor. According to the *scholia* of Euripides' *Orestes* (ad 1629 and 1684), Helen was a lucky star for the sailors. However, they add, the sailor lost in a storm is better off never seeing Helen's sinister star. See F. Zeitlin 1985a: 63-94 (esp.81-2).

[39] For sea sacrifices, see L. Gernet 1981: esp.129-30. Note that similar sacrifices used to take place in honour of Achilles in the Black Sea. In addition, in Ath.Deipn.15.576a (vol.7, C.B. Gulick 1941) Aphrodite was said to have stopped a sea storm. Isis as well was the mistress of rivers, winds, and the sea; Isid.1.39, 43, 49, 50. She was the saviour of sailors; Isid.1.1-2.25-34; Apul.Met.11.5. A similar ritual was described at the end of Eur.Hel.1238-71 and 1554-88 (Kannicht). Compare a sailor's ritual at Syracuse that involved throwing an earthenware cylix into the sea from a boat (Polemon of Ilium in FGrH3.136F75; Ath.Deipn.11.5, 462b-c).

sufficiently implied.[40] Consequently, perhaps Theocritus anticipated the recovery of Daphnis as well. However, he would be expected to design the hero's death before alluding to any possible rebirth.

The fisherman on the Cup was said to "ἐλλοπιεύειν," a word derived from the adjective "ἔλλοψ" which had the meaning 'mute' and was often attributed to fish. The word was found in the description of the *Shield of Heracles* where death was described as silent: "θανάτοιο λασιφθόγγοιο δοτῆρες."[41] Furthermore, Theocritus insisted on the old age of the fisherman, although he added that he was still as vigorous as a youth. Vergil in his *Aeneid* offered a similar description of Charon underlying his strength despite his age:[42]

> "portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
> terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento

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[40] W. Berg 1965: 13-4: 'As a being who dies and finds new life, Daphnis reflects the dying and rising divinities popular among the Greeks, like Adonis, the Thracian Dionysus, and Osiris, not to mention such heroes as Heracles, the Dioscuri, and Romulus, who found their way after death to the company of the gods.' See H.J. Rose 1942: 137 also referred to Adonis and Hippolytus (Eur.Hipp.1423-30 and Verg.Aen.7.761-82) in comparison to Daphnis. For Daphnis and Osiris see E. Pfeiffer 1933: 56-7; also, see below where Daphnis' (metaphorical) conveyance to the Underworld is compared to that of Osiris.

[41] M.L. West 1997: 160 commenting on silence as a feature of death: '[The Underworld was imagined as] a place devoid of music and conversation…A sixth century poet applies to death the epithet "λαθίφθογγος," causing one to forget voice, another says that when he dies he anticipates lying below the earth like a stone, voiceless, and a third remarks that no one, once he goes down to the Dark, the house of Persephone, has any more joy from the sound of the lyre or the piper.' Hes.[Sc.]131 and 212; cf. Hes.Th.567-9, 973-5; Mel.adesp.PMG1009 and Verg.Aen.6.264f.: "umbraeque silentes /et chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late." The same idea that silence prevails in the Underworld was traced in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and in the Hebrew *Psalms*; see West ibid.: esp.nn250 and 251.

[42] Anth.Pal.7.603: 'Charon is savage... But in mind he has the equal of greybeards…' Aen.6.295-97 about the whirlpool: "Hinc via, Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas. /Turbidus hic caeno vastaque voragine gurges /aestuat, atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam." Though old, Charon's age is that of a god, fresh and hardy. Thus he tends not only the sails of his boat but propels his ferry with a punting pole, a feature mentioned as early as Euripides' *Alcestis*; cf. Stat.Theb.8.17-20; cf. R.H. Terpening 1985: 76-7.

canities inculta iacet, stant lumina flamma,
sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus.
Ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat
Et ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba,
Iam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus."

Hence, it seems that there was a tradition of Charon as an aged yet vigorous figure, which Vergil gave sufficient evidence of.[43] Therefore, it would not be illogical to assume that Theocritus alluded to a rather traditional representation of Charon in his second image on the Cup. In antiquity, death was often associated with water, and four rivers were supposed to surround the Underworld itself.[44] Moreover, the idea of Charon as a ferryman to whom the souls of the dead had to pay an *obolus* in order to be conveyed across, in the region of the Underworld, was widespread.[45] Theocritus mentioned that the anonymous goatherd bought the cup from the ferryman of Calydna, a possible parallel to

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[43] As mentioned, the seashore is a marginal place. It is not accidental that the souls of the dead wait on the shore to be conveyed across on Charon's boat. The Sibyl in Aen.6.329 reported: "centum errant annos volitantque haec litora circum."

[44] Ar.Ran.183. Theocritus mentioned that Thyrsis was renowned for his victory over the Libyan singer Chromis. Homer named Chromis the chief of the Mysians, who found death when murdered by Achilles *in a river* [cf. Daphnis] outside the Trojan Walls. This kind of death suited Chromis perfectly given that he bore the name of the (well-known in antiquity) river-fish *chromis*. The word meant 'multicoloured' and was just a variant of the fish "τρίγλη," a typical sacrificial offering to chthonic Hecate (Apollod.ap.Ath.Deipn.325a). Chromis was also found in *Daphnis and Chloe* 3.15; 4.38: "Ἦν δέ τις αὐτῷ γείτων, γεωργὸς γῆς ἰδίας, Χρόμις τὸ ὄνομα, παρηβῶν ἤδη τὸ σῶμα. τούτῳ γύναιον ἦν ἐπακτὸν ἐξ ἄστεος, νέον καὶ ὡραῖον καὶ ἀγροικίας ἀβρότερον. τούτῳ Λυκαίνιον ὄνομα ἦν."

[45] A modern Greek custom derived from this belief has the Greeks to put a coin into the mouth or the hand of the dead. In art, Charon was depicted from the 6th century BC, while in literature he is firstly introduced in the Minyad and in Aesch.Sept.842. Note the description of the waters of death in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (N.K. Sandars 1960: 99-100 = A.R. George 2003: 683, ll. 81-88): "Gilgamesh, there is no crossing the Ocean; whoever has come, since the days of old, has not been able to pass that sea. The Sun in his glory crosses the Ocean, but who beside Shamash has ever crossed it? The place and the passage are difficult, and the waters of death are deep which flow between;" cf. Heracles who travelled in the "δέπας" of the Sun.

Charon.[46] Theocritus employed the word "πορθμεὺς" to describe the ferryman and, although Gow mentioned that the noun could be used for long journeys as well, the poet elsewhere clearly applied it to Charon.[47] In *Idyll* seventeen (ll.46-50), Theocritus described Charon as "…στυγνὸν ἀεὶ πορθμῆα καμόντων…"[48] The possible connection between the image of Charon (Death) and Daphnis could be explained by the fact that the latter died because of love, a pattern well established in literature during antiquity. Sappho's experience of love (poem 31), which brought her to the brink of death, had formed a long tradition, part of which was later conveyed in the image of the shipwrecked lover[49] who was dying

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[46] In the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the hero made a journey to 'Utnapishtim the faraway' in search of eternal life. The Netherworld was indeed thought of as lying beyond the sunrise and beyond the waters of Death (M.L. West 1997: 167): "Enlil came up into the boat, /he grasped my hands and led me up, /led my wife up, made her kneel at my side…let Utnapishtim dwell far away, at the mouth of the rivers. /they took me and settled me far away, at the mouth of the rivers" (cf. N.K. Sandars 1960: 110 = A.R. George 2003: 717, ll.199-206).

[47] See A.S.F. Gow 1952: 15. Note the description of Urshanabi, the ferryman to the Underworld in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (N.K. Sandars 1960: 100 = A.R. George 2003: 683, ll.87-91): "…you will find Urshanabi, the ferryman of Utnapishtim; …he is fashioning the serpent prow of the boat. Look at him well, and if it is possible, perhaps you will cross the waters with him; but if it is not possible, then you must go back."

[48] Theoc.Id.16.40-1: "…ἐς εὐρεῖαν σχεδίαν στυγνοῖο γέροντος…" Eustathius [391(=1666.36-37)] said that the ferryman Charon and his boat appeared only after Homer. However, cf. Hom.Il.23.69-74 where Patroclus mentioned a river that he was prohibited from crossing before receiving funeral rites. In Od.11.156-9 Anticleia observes how hard it is for the living to behold the realms of the Underworld because of its great rivers and dread streams. You first need to cross Oceanus, a crossing possible only if one have a well built ship; cf. Verg.G.4.502 and Ov.Met.10.72-3 where the gatekeeper of Orcus refuses Orpheus to cross again the barring pool. Paus.10.28 describes a painting of the Underwolrd by Polygnotus who in his opinion, had followed the poem Minyad: 'There is water like a river, clearly intended for Acheron, with reeds growing in it; the forms of the fishes appear so dim that you will take them to be shadows rather than fish. On the river is a boat, with the ferryman at the oars.' Also Aesch.Sept.854-60: "…ἀλλὰ γόων, ὦ φίλαι, κατ' οὖρον /ἐρέσσετ' ἀμφὶ κρατὶ πόμπιμον χεροῖν /πίτυλον, ὃς αἰὲν δι' Ἀχέροντ' ἀμείβεται, /*τὰν ἀστιβῆ 'πόλλωνι, τὰν ἀνάλιον*, /πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χέρσον."

[49] Eastern fertility goddesses often cure death or intervene in order to save mortals from a shipwreck. Myrine, the queen of Amazons, was

away from his beloved on a deserted shore.[50] The allusion to the presence of Charon in the scene could dramatise the imminent death of Daphnis who would be dying as a lover in the Hellenistic fashion that Propertius and Tibullus would later adopt.[51] Furthermore, Fairclough in his edition of the *Aeneid* remarked that the "portitor" was properly the harbour master, who used to watch over the port.[52] The noun was derived from the word "portus," which meant harbour and its original use would be still detectable in Vergil's expression "flumina servat." Hence, it might be argued that, based on the literary associations of a fisherman with death

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caught in a sea storm. The mother of the gods saved her: Arrian, fr.58; Diod.Sic.2.451; Hdt.4.110; Ap.Rhod.2.987-9; Lys.quoted by Tzetz.On Lycoph.1332. [Myrine was a synonym of Smyrna, mother of Adonis]. A similar type of goddess was worshipped in Samothrace: her devotees were entitled to wear a purple amulet as a protection against all dangers but especially shipwreck: Ap.Rhod.1.197; Diod.Sic.5.49. cf. the myth of Sagaris who was driven mad by the mother of the gods for prohibiting her mysteries. He consequently drowned himself in the waters of the Lydian River named after him. His prohibition insulted the eunuch priests of the Lydian goddess one of whose names was Cybele. Hence, the presence of Aphrodite as a fertility goddess in the death of Daphnis and his complaints against her are better explained.

[50] Prop.1.18; Tib.1.3; also cf. Sappho's poems regarding her brother who would die far from her arms because of the wicked love of another woman. Phaedra described her lust as a storm; later the chorus commented on her as 'water-logged with harsh disaster' when she threw a noose around the rafter above her bed and hanged herself. (Ib.fr.286C; Eur.Hipp.315, 767-8; Cerc.fr.5P). Prop.2.27.11-16: "Solus amans novit, quando periturus et a qua /Morte, neque hic Boreae flabra neque arma timet. /Iam licet et Stygia sedeat sub harundine remex, /Cernat et infernae tristia vela ratis: /Si modo clamantis revocaverit aura puellae, /Concessum nulla lege redidit iter." Also, see Tib.1.10. 33-38. He laments that war brings death before one's time.

[51] In addition, the image of Charon or the allusion to it could anticipate vengeance as Aphrodite later revealed in her poem. *Eros* had taken his revenge on Daphnis for his arrogance in thinking that he could master love. In Polygnotos' Underworld in the *lesche* of the Knidians at Delphi, there were according to Pausanias 10.28.4: 'very interesting figure's below Charon's boat: a man who was wicked to his father was being strangled by him.'

[52] Eur.Her.770: The chorus says that Heracles returned from the Acherontian harbour. Iris the messenger of the gods addresses Madness: "ἔλαυνε, κίνει, φόνιον ἐξίει καλῶν, /ὡς ἂν πορεύσας δι' Ἀχερούσιον πόρον τὸν καλλίπαιδα στέφανον αὐθέντη φόνῳ:" 'shake out the sales of death.'

and the paranormal, the image of the fisherman in Theocritus' Cup could plausibly allude to the death of Daphnis as a lover. The substance of a fisherman as a symbol of a dangerous encounter (a category which would, of course, include an encounter with love) was argued in the epic tradition. A fisherman was also depicted on *the Shield of Heracles* as ready to cast a net on the sea and, despite the total serenity of the fisherman's secluded environment; the scene was surrounded by images of violent death. The Hesiodic fisherman, like the one on the Cup of Theocritus, was situated in a harbour safe from the irresistible sea ("ἀμαιμάκετος"). It is worth noting that Sappho had employed another form of the same epithet to describe love as "ἄμαχον ὀρπετόν." In ancient literature, the comparison of a lover, especially of one that managed to escape from the nets of Love, with a shipwrecked sailor was very common.[53] It could be argued that in this scene Theocritus also wished to anticipate the erotic torment of Daphnis and ultimately his death.

[53] It should be also noted that the comparison of a lover with a sailor is part of a more general conception of life as a sea of troubles. The idea was especially associated with the cult of Isis who was believed to guide the sailor throughout his travels by land and sea and after all the vicissitudes of life and all its storms to bring him safely to his home; S.K. Heyob 1975: 44; cf. 66-8 for Isis as a goddess of love. Apuleius (Met.11.25) after his initiation to the cult of the goddess asked her to render him peace.

APPENDIX III.

FISHERMEN: LOVERS OF DEATH?

As commented in the previous appendix, a silent fisherman was depicted in the second image on the Cup of Theocritus. He was engaged in gathering his net and, in literature, nets were often used metaphorically for the traps of Love as well as for the traps of Death. It might be assumed that Theocritus implied a comparison between the fisherman and Daphnis who was 'caught' by love. Aeschylus, who had exercised an important influence on Theocritus, offered an allusion to both fishing and death.[1] In the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus Cassandra referred to the "δίκτυον Ἅιδου," the fishing net of Hades which signified metaphorically the trap which Clytemnestra set for the newly returned king.[2] Clytemnestra, hurt by her husband's offensive adultery, punished

[1] Theocritus presented Daphnis as uttering before dying: "ἐς Ἄιδαν ἔλκομαι ἤδη" (ll.130). The fisherman was described as drawing his net with the following words (ll.40): "μέγα δίκτυον ἐς βόλον ἕλκει." Stesichorus and Timaeus (Ael.VH10.18) had named Daphnis' beloved Echenais, a story that Theocritus apparently was aware of; Id.8.1-4 (see A.S.F. Gow 1952: 171). The name means the one who holds back ships and it is translated in Latin as "remora." Both Aristotle and the Elder Pliny (HA2.24.20-4; Pliny HN9.79; cf. Opp.H.I.212 and Aesch.Ag.149) confirmed that "ἐχενηΐς" or "remora" is a kind of fish, very small, 'which some people call the ship-brake: some use it as a charm for lawsuits and love affairs.' This detail could promote the cult of fish offering to Hecate, a goddess with magical powers. Moreover, if tradition attributed to Daphnis a beloved with that name he should perhaps be treated as bewitched. Hesiod after all described love as a mere abstraction (Th.120ff), a concept that is in accord with the idea of delaying, which the specific fish expresses.

[2] Aesch.Ag.1115; for *peplos* as a trap see Ag.1126 and 1580. Deianira (Soph.Tr.1051-2) also called the deadly shirt she gifted to Heracles a *peplos*, although *chiton* would be a more appropriate term. N. Loraux 1995: 200 wrote: 'In the *Trachiniai* the lethal *peplos* is simultaneously a winding sheet, a woman's trick like the sheet in which Clytemnestra caught Agamemnon and an ambiguous garment that will make Heracles into a 'woman' before he gains control of himself in his death agony.'

him through an erotic trap that led to his death.[3] Agamemnon had offensively returned home with a new bride, Cassandra. Equally, according to the usual version of the story of Daphnis, the hero was unfaithful to the Nymph he had once loved, mindless of the warning on her behalf that such a folly would bring about a punishment. In the *Eumenides*,[4] the chorus deplored the Doom of Agamemnon and recounted the insidious plot of the queen:

"ἐν δ' ἀτέρμονι
κόπτει πεδήσασ' ἄνδρα δαιδάλῳ πέπλῳ."[5]

Hence, the trap set by the king's wife could be compared to the fishing net of Hades,[6] a comparison confirmed by the queen's thoughts (Ag.866-8):

"καὶ τραυμάτων μὲν εἰ τόσων ἐτύγχανεν
ἀνὴρ ὅδ', ὡς πρὸς οἶκον ὠχετεύετο
φάτις, τέτρηται δικτύου πλέω λέγειν."

Clytemnestra in a most ironic way pre-figured the murder of her husband which she later committed with her own hands

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[3] On Clytemnestra's reasons for killing Agamemnon and her embodiment of a mother's wrath ("μῆνις"), see N. Loraux 1995: 189-90. Note that Achilles and Clytemnestra both suffered from anger against the king of the Greek army at Troy.

[4] Aesch.Eum.630-38; for Agamemnon's self-consecration by walking on purple material, see L. Gernet 1981: 120-1. Agamemnon was hesitant to walk on the red carpet Clytemnestra had laid for him because he knew that this was an honour strictly kept for the gods. The treacherous queen managed to appeal to his arrogance, thus confirming that Agamemnon was suffering from the same *nosos* as Achilles.

[5] The chorus described the trap with which Clytemnestra achieved the doom of Agamemnon as a *peplos*, a veil normally aimed for a bride as discussed above. In the *Epic of Gilgamesh* the hero was described as mourning for the death of Enkidu (N.K. Sandars 1960: 93 = A.R. George 2003: 655, ll.59): "So Gilgamesh laid a veil, as one veils the bride, over his friend." See C. Faraone 1999: 6.

[6] It has been suggested that the transvestism of Achilles and Heracles should be regarded as a form of death, and it was customary in rites of passage; see N. Loraux 1995: 33-40 (esp.33-5). It also seems that a notion of danger was associated with the female *peplos*, which could be applied to Theocritus' attentive remark regarding the *peplos* with which the two-faced woman in the first image of Theocritus was covered. Note that Pandora, the deceptive gift of Zeus towards humanity, had been adorned by Athena with a long veil, a marvel to see; C. Penglase 1994: 199.

(Ag.1382-4):

> "ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον, ὥσπερ ἰχθύων,
> περιστιχίζω, πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν,
> παίω δέ νιν δίς·"

This comparison which could elucidate the mythical and literary background employed in Theocritus' poem seems to agree with the ancient views of women and their similarity with the sea. After all Clytemnestra herself deceived the king with a warm welcome. Nevertheless, she was not to be totally blamed for the death of Agamemnon since the king had the responsibility of challenging the gods. She only had to persuade him to enter the palace walking over rich purple stuffs. Thus, he committed "ὕβρις" because he dared compare himself with the sacred gods.[7] So, female treachery triumphed: Agamemnon accomplished his own doom by assimilating himself to divinity, by acquiescing in the fatal consecration brought about by setting foot upon purple stuffs.[8] Daphnis in Theocritus also seemed to have brought upon himself his terrible fortune by underestimating, as repeatedly mentioned, the power of love.

In addition, the expression "δίκτυον Ἅιδου" could be compared with the phrase "δίκτυον Ἄτης" also used in Aeschylus.[9]

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[7] Isocrates repeated the philosophers' opposition of temperance to "ἀκολασία καὶ ὕβριν," that is licentiousness and outrage (Antiph.DK87fr.58; D.45.79-80; Isoc.8.119). The chorus of *Iphigeneia at Aulis* prayed for a moderate and temperate (*sophrosynas*) Aphrodite, a sexual passion that would avoid the 'maddening goads' and arrows of *Eros*; the reformed Helen, exiled in Egypt while a shameless phantom of her commits adultery in Troy, wished that Aphrodite would be 'moderate,' for then she would be the kindest of all the gods; the chorus of *Medea* likewise prayed to be spared from Aphrodite's unerring arrow poisoned with desire and hopes for an Aphrodite who comes 'just enough,' as well as for the protection of temperance (*sophrosuna*). B.S. Thornton 1997: 136 declared that these appeals reveal Euripides' 'distrust of the ability of a rational virtue to control the powerful force of sexual passion' (Eur.IA543-57; Hel.1105; Med.630-6).

[8] An identical mode of self-consecration was employed in the ritual of the 'Great Oath' at Syracuse according to Plut.Dion56.5.

[9] Aesch.PV.1078; for *Eros* as a form of *hubris*, see B.S. Thornton 1997: 14: 'Usually the implication of destructive excess, of overwhelming desire sexual in its intensity, colours the use of *eros* in what are not sexual situations. In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (ll.341-2) Clytemnestra having heard

The conception of Ate had an important role in the plays of Aeschylus;[10] Prometheus, as well as Agamemnon, called Ate upon him through his actions, and he was even aware of doing so. It seems that the Greeks understood Ate in a double sense and hence from the point of view of the gods it was normally interpreted as Fate, while from a human point of view it would signify the blindness of the mind.[11] Daphnis quite probably had also felt the consequences of Ate.[12] The myth had it that he was deceived by a mortal princess, although his divine beloved had warned him not to cheat on her. Therefore, Daphnis, like Agamemnon, could be perhaps considered to have consecrated himself.[13] The myth

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of the sack of Troy and the imminent homecoming of Agamemnon hopes that "ἔρως δὲ μή τις πρότερον ἐμπίπτῃ στρατῷ /πορθεῖν ἃ μὴ χρή, κέρδεσιν νικωμένους." Ironically this *eros* to violate describes her own sexual passion and violence, her own various confused lusts.

[10] In the *Persians* (ll.111-15) the chorus explained the nature of Ate: "φιλόφρων γὰρ (ποτι)σαίνου– /σα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει /βροτὸν εἰς ἄρκυας Ἄτα, /τόθεν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ θνα– /τὸν ἀλύξαντα φυγεῖν."

[11] According to Hesiod (Op.320ff.), Dike came after Hubris to punish those who had crossed the limits of human nature. She did so through Ate, who deceived the sinners at first and for a very short time before they realised their folly. In the *Iliad*, Agamemnon was described as recognising his own folly (Hom.Il.19.137, 91): he dishonoured Achilles because Ate stole his mind, Ate that ruins all things; the same word was employed by the poets to describe sexual indiscretions: cf. Pindar (Pyth.3.24) and the tale of Coronis who was unfaithful to Apollo; Theognis (1231) also used the same word to describe the blind folly that made Ajax attack Kassandra in the temple of Athena. [Pers.fr.1(E-W), also Eur.Tr.77]; finally, Medea in Ap.Rhod.3.798, 4.62, 4.412 decried her 'reckless Ate.'

[12] Dio Chrysostom (2.388.18) underlined the fact that Achilles, as Daphnis, died young, and he makes a special reference to his beauty, an almost effeminate beauty like that of Adonis. Dio compared Adonis and Phaon with Achilles and Theseus arguing that the last two were said to be not only beautiful, but also brave. Nevertheless, they lacked common sense: "περὶ δὲ Ἀδώνιδος ἢ Φάωνος ἢ τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅσοι περιττῆς δόξης ἐπὶ τῷ εἴδει ἔτυχον, οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ περὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἀκούομεν. μόνους δὲ ἂν εἴποι τις ἀνδρείους τῶν ἄγαν καλῶν Θησέα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα, καὶ τούτοις οὐ πάνυ ἡ σωφροσύνη ὑπῆρξεν. ου γὰρ ἂν αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἑλένην πρὸς βίαν ἥρπασεν, ὁ δ' ἐστασίαζεν ἐπὶ Τροίας ὧν ἕνεκεν ἐστασίαζεν. Ἱππολύτῳ δὲ σωφροσύνη μὲν ὑπῆρξεν, ἀνδρεία δὲ ἄδηλον εἰ παρῆν· οὐ γὰρ ἀληθὲς τεκμήριον κυνηγεσία."

[13] Dio Chrys.4.422.6-7; also 436.5-6 where Cheiron angrily addressed young Achilles telling him that he is destined to die because of his arrogance. In these lines Dio clearly compared the "ὕβρις" of Agamemnon

mentioned that he was blinded for his sin and this punishment could very well imply that Ate, the divine blindness, afflicted him.[14] The suspicion that the notion of Ate lay behind the death of Daphnis could be sustained by similar myths regarding other fertility deities: Adonis died either because he aroused the jealousy of Ares or, in some accounts, because he had somehow offended Artemis.[15] Hence, Adonis, who in Ezekiel was identified with Tammuz, was also regarded as a victim of Ate.[16] Hence, it seems that the interpretation of the second image defined in more detail the circumstances of Daphnis' death and perhaps alluded to the hero's deification.[17] The hero deceived by love and driven by passion surpassed the limits that the Nymph had set to him. Hence, he consecrated himself and punishment was due to follow soon.[18]

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and Achilles. Their wrath was characterised by Dio as pure foolishness and madness. He also says that they were diseased and corrupted by their rage. He wrote: "...ἐπαιρόμενοι διὰ δόξαν ἢ δύναμιν, καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐγίγνωσκε (ὁ Νέστωρ) διὰ τοῦτο ἐπαιρομένους καὶ στασιάζοντας ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας ἑκάτερον."

[14] Helen both during the war in Troy and back in Sparta, reconciled to Menelaus, called her behaviour a case of Ate, that blind sin born of excess and frequently linked to *Eros*. She was glad for 'having regretted the blind folly (Ate) that Aphrodite had given her, forcing her to abandon her home and husband;' cf. Sapph.fr.16.7-11C; Hom.Il.6.356 and Od.4.261. Other descriptions of Helen's behaviour: Aesch.Ag.749, Eur.Alc.fr.283.3: Eur.Hec.443, Soph.Tr.368-9, 892-3, 768-9, 771: El.213, Hel.73.

[15] Osiris, whose tradition has certain similarities with the tales of both Adonis and Daphnis, found death either by drowning or by his brother (god) Seth disguised as a boar. Plut.DeIs.etOs.12-19 and commentary by J.G. Griffiths ²1980.

[16] Ate was often imagined as resting her feet on the heads of mortals the same way that, during the Hellenistic period especially, *Eros* was depicted planting his feet on the heads of his victims; cf. Anth.Pal. 12.101, Prop.1.1.

[17] Hence, Vergil should not be considered as the first poet to allude to the deification of Daphnis (Ec.5). The fact that the suffering of Daphnis was situated next to a water source, like in Heracles' apotheosis, could make the possibility stronger.

[18] Furthermore, Theocritus repeated the moral codes found in Hesiod and Aeschylus and reset the boundaries of human nature; cf. the elegy of the *Muses* by Solon.

APPENDIX IV.

ORPHEUS, PYTHAGORAS[1] AND THE EGYPTIANS

It was not accidental, perhaps, that the earliest text containing an allusion to anything like Orphic religion is supplied by Herodotus (2.79) in his account of the curious customs of the Egyptians. However, the meaning of the Greek is not beyond question. According to Herodotus, the Egyptians did not adopt foreign customs, and they would rather follow the customs of their ancestors. Nevertheless, there were similarities between the Egyptians customs and those of other nations.[2] A significant resemblance between Egypt and Greece was found in certain

[1] Pythagoras, like Orpheus, shared a great deal of shamanic characteristics. He was identified with the Hyperborean Apollo, and with the figure of Abaris, again a shamanic figure from out of the north. He was also identified with Aristeas, a shamanic figure from the north who was said to bi-locate, to go into trance, to have a soul like a bird, and to be associated with rebirth. Finally, Heraclides of Pontus tells us that (presumably) Pythagoras himself recounted that in a previous life he was Hermotimus, who was himself identified with soul travel and prophecy, and who was said to have authenticated his identity as the Homeric hero Euphorbus in his previous life by identifying the rotting shield of Menelaus at a temple of Apollo (see Heraclit.B36, 45, 107, 117; Xenoph.B7.5 DK; Diog.Laert.8.1.4-5; cf. Pl.Men.81a-c) This suggests that Pythagoras like Orpheus might have represented an incursion of northern shamanism into Mediterranean culture. See W.K.C. Guthrie 1965: 164; cf. M. Marcovich 1967: 71-4 for Heraclitus' criticism of Pythagoras.

[2] See I.M. Linforth 1973: 38-50; for example, a certain song is found not only in Egypt but also in Phoenicia, Cyprus and Greece. Although the author does not explain how the other people came to know the song, there is apparently no doubt among them about its Egyptian origin. In addition, Linforth notes that both in Egypt and in Sparta special emphasis is put on respect towards the elderly, which it is not traceable to the rest of the Greek world.

prohibitions regarding the use of wool. The Egyptians used to wear linen *chitons* and, over them, white garments of wool; but wool was not worn in the temples, nor it was buried with the dead because it was forbidden by religion:[3]

> "ἐνδεδύκασι δὲ κιθῶνας λινέους…ἐπὶ τούτοισι δὲ εἰρίνεα εἵματα λευκὰ ἐπαναβληδὸν φορέουσι. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα οὐδὲ συγκαταθάπτεσθαί σφι· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον."

Similar prohibitions against the use of wool were also found in Greece:

> "ὁμολογέουσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἐοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι· οὐδὲ γάρ τούτων τῶν ὀργίων μετέχοντα ὅσιον ἐστὶ ἐν εἰρινέοισι εἵμασι θαφθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος."

Various discussions dealt with the four adjectives used by Herodotus in order to describe either the people who participated in those rites, or the rites themselves.[4] Questions have been raised regarding whether the adjectives referred to one, or to more than one set of things. It has been questioned whether the Orphica and the Bacchica were identical or two different kinds of orgies[5] or

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[3] Hdt.2.81.

[4] Herodotus could hardly believe, that the prohibition against burying in woollen clothes in fact was borrowed by Pythagoras in Egypt, and then from Pythagoreans came to Orphics (such is the logic of the long version). The historian told us nothing about Pythagoras' travel to Egypt, but he asserted directly that prophet Melampous borrowed from the Egyptians the cult of Dionysus (Hdt.2.49), and the sages who followed him explained in detail its significance. One can easily imagine among those sages Orpheus and Musaeus. Hecataeus' of Miletus, in a context that reveals Herodotus' influence, directly speaks of Orpheus and Musaeus' visit to Egypt (FGrH264F25.96ff.). Independent epigraphical evidence demonstrates that at the time of Herodotus Orphics did exist and gives the short version additional weight.

[5] Many scholars have doubted that there was a religious movement called Orphism; Wilamowitz, among others, said that Orphic theogony existed, but it is by no means evidence of some special religion or special religious community. *Orpheotelestai* were no more than Winkelpriester, earning their living like dream-interpreters, with the help of their books where purificative procedures were described. Orphism is a term invented by modern scholars; it was not used in antiquity. The word "ὀρφικοὶ" is to

whether they were both Egyptian /Pythagorean or one was Egyptian and the other Pythagorean. Various ways of sorting out the adjectives have been proposed.[6] Most scholars, including Rohde, Gruppe, Comperz, Kern, and Knapp, have thought that they all refer to a single kind of *orgia* which were called Orphic and Bacchic, but which were really Egyptian and Pythagorean.

There have been many disputes about the order of the words, and, based on the two manuscripts of the text which have a slight but vital disagreement between them, Linforth suggested that there had been a possible interpolation as far as the words "καὶ Βακχικοῖσι ἑοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι" are concerned.[7] In any case, the reader is left with the impression that similar if not identical rules would apply both in the Egyptian and the Pythagorean mysteries. It might be argued that Herodotus did not compare the four types of

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be found only once in Apollodorus and that in association with Epimenides and Musaeus. Dionysian mysteries have nothing to do with the Orphics and Dionysus is not associated with the Orphic-Pythagorean ascetism (W.K.C. Guthrie and M.P. Nilsson retained the same position).

[6] L. Zhmud 1992: 164; in the first version the point in question is Orphics and Pythagoreans (dat.plur.masc.), in the second (longer) version-Orphic and Bacchic rites, which in fact are Egyptian and Pythagorean (dat.plur.neut.). Linforth, although in his time other cases of the usage of "οἱ Ὀρφικοὶ" in the 5th century BC were not known (unlike "τὰ ὀρφικὰ" relating to rites and literature), adduced convincing arguments that the long version appeared as a result of interpolation. (He referred particularly to the passage in Apuleius (Apol.56), which preserved just the short version, I.M. Linforth 1973: 38-51) These arguments seem particularly important as they contradict his general tendency to deny the existence of Orphic communities. And if W. Burkert (1972: 127 and 1975: 87) preferred to accept the long version, emphasising that ancient testimonia speak of "ὀρφικὰ" and not of "Ὀρφικοὶ," after the publication of the Olbian finds his argument loses its force.

[7] I.M. Linforth 1973: 38ff. Obviously, the unknown scholiast must have been acquainted with the mythological theory that Dionysus and Osiris were identical and that Bacchic rites had originated in Egypt. Diodorus had already written much on this subject in his books. The *scholium* would have been intended to inform the reader either that in addition to Orphic and Pythagorean institutions there was a third Greek institution, the Bacchic, itself Egyptian in origin, which resembled the Egyptian in its prohibition against wool, or that the Orphic and Pythagorean institutions, possibly only the Orphic, were Bacchic and in origin Egyptian.

mysteries in a scholarly way, but simply recognised their resemblance to each other. Obviously by Herodotus' time (and definitely by Plato's time) the resemblance between these rites was acknowledged and it should also be assumed that one was entitled to refer to all of them as variations of a similar type of mysteries.[8] Besides the much-discussed passage in Herodotus, the prohibition against the use of wool was attested for the Greco-Roman world in only one other text. Apuleius wrote in his Apologia:[9] "quippe lana, segnissimi corporis excrementum, pecori detracta iam inde Orphei et Pythagorei scitis profanus vestitus est." It is possible that Apuleius has taken this information from Herodotus.

Hence, as mentioned, the Egyptians agreed with the Orphics as well as the Pythagoreans as far as the prohibition in the use of wool was concerned. A passage in Diodorus[10] cast additional light on the relation of Orpheus to Egypt. According to Diodorus, Orpheus had introduced rites of Dionysus and Demeter from Egypt. In addition, the Egyptian priests asserted that many of the Greeks who were distinguished for their intellectual attainments studied in Egypt. They named in particular a dozen men, of whom Orpheus was one, and they pointed out in some detail what each of them learned. Of Orpheus they say that he carried back with him from their country most of the features of the mystic rites, the ritual of the various religious ceremonies that he encountered in his travels, and the mythological account of Hades. They mentioned in particular that the rite of Dionysus was the same as that of Osiris, and that the rite of Demeter was very similar to that of Isis.

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[8] Therefore, the meaning of the words "τοῖσι᾽Ορφικοῖσι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι" could be understood as mysteries and orgies in general. From this point of view, the verb "ὁμολογεῖ" is not very different in meaning from the form "ὁμολογέουσι" which appears in the second manuscript because it could very well be an example of Attic syntax since the orgies are neuter in the plural. Possibly a later author did not understand the syntax and tried to make the sentence even more explicit by changing the verb into the plural as well. See G. Zuntz 1971: 370-383 for the similarities between the Orphic /Pythagorean and the Egyptian beliefs about the afterlife. At a relatively early date Zuntz even presented some Mesopotamian parallels of the Greek and Egyptian ideas of the Underworld, ibid.: 385-93.

[9] Apul.Apol.56.

[10] Diod.Sic.1.96 and fr.293. It is most probable that Diodorus' source was Hecataeus of Abdera who visited Egypt during the reign of the first Ptolemy. See Schwartz R-E 5, 670.

> Ὀρφέα μὲν γὰρ τῶν μυστικῶν τελετῶν τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πλάνην ὀργιαζόμενα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου μυθοποιίαν ἀπενέγκασθαι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ὀσίριδος τελετὴν τῇ Διονύσου τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τῆς Ἶσιδος τῇ τῆς Δήμητρος ὁμοιότατην ὑπάρχειν, τῶν ὀνομάτων μόνων ἐνηλλαγμένων."

Diodorus went on about the debt of Greek religion to Egypt, especially as far as the myth of Hades was concerned. However, already Orpheus posed as the initiator into Greece of the rites of Dionysus and of Demeter specifically. Since, Osiris' identification with Dionysus was accepted by ancient scholars, it is plausible that the mysteries which Orpheus instituted in his honour were concerned with his dismemberment. From this point of view, it would not seem strange if the hierophant of the god was subjected to the same fate as his master. The dismemberment of the god would in fact be a message of his awaiting resurrection.[11]

[11] See R.H. Beal 2002: 197–209 for a peculiar Hittite custom of dividing a god in order to expand his sphere of influence and to spread his cult geographically; cf. J.R. Davila 2002: 283-303 for shamanic initiatory death and rebirth in Judaic texts.

ABBREVIATIONS LIST

AA	Acta Antiqua
A&A	Antike und Abendland
AC	Acta Classica
AD	Archaeologicon Deltion
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJPh	American Journal of Philology
AK	Antike Kunst
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
AugAge	Augustan Age
AUMLA	Journal of the Australasian Universities; Language and Literature Association
BAGB	Bulletin de l'Assoc. G. Budé
BCH Suppl.	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
BMCR	Bryn Mawr Classical Review
CB	The Classical Bulletin
CJ	The Classical Journal
ClAnt	Classical Antiquity
Clas.Ir.	Classics Ireland
CM	Civiltà Moderna
C&M	Classica et Mediaevalia
CPh	Classical Philology
Col.Eng.	College English
CompLit	Comparative Literature
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CR	Classical Review
CRAI	Comptes Rendus de l' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres
CSCA	California Studies in Classical Antiquity
CW	Classical World
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Berlin-Leiden, 1923-58
GIF	Giornale Italiano di filologia
G&R	Greece and Rome
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies

HLB	Harvard Library Bulletin
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HThR	Harvard Theological Review
JCS	Journal of Classical Studies
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
ICS	Illinois Classical Studies
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae. Zürich, 1981-present
MD	Materiali e Discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici
MH	Museum Helveticum
Mus.Phil.	Museum Philologicum
NLH	New Literary History
OA	Opuscula Atheniensia
OCD	Oxford Classical Dictionary, ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth. Oxford, ^{3}1999 (first published 1996).
OIP	Oriental Insitute Publications, Chicago III
OF	Orphicorum Fragmenta, ed. O. Kern. Berlin, 1922 (reprint 1963).
PCPhS	Proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical Society
Phil.	Philologus
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome
PMG	Poetae Melici Graeci, ed. D.L. Page, 1962.
PGM	Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri (2 vols.), ed. K. Preisendanz, 1973-4.
PVS	Proceedings of the Vergilian Society
QUCC	Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica
RA	Revue Archéologique
RBPh	Revue belge de philology et d' histoire
REL	Revue des Études Latines
RhM	Rheinisches Museum
SCI	Scripta classica Israelica
TAPhA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
SIFC	Studi Italiani di filologia Classica

SMSR	Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni
Stud Rom	Studi Romagnoli
TGF	Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, ed. A. Nauck. Leipzig, ²1889 (reprint Hildesheim, 1964, with Supplement, ed. B. Snell).
UET	Ur Excavation Texts. London.
UCalPublClPh	University of California Publications of Classical Philology
WS	Wiener Studien
YCIS (YCS)	Yale Classical Studies
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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